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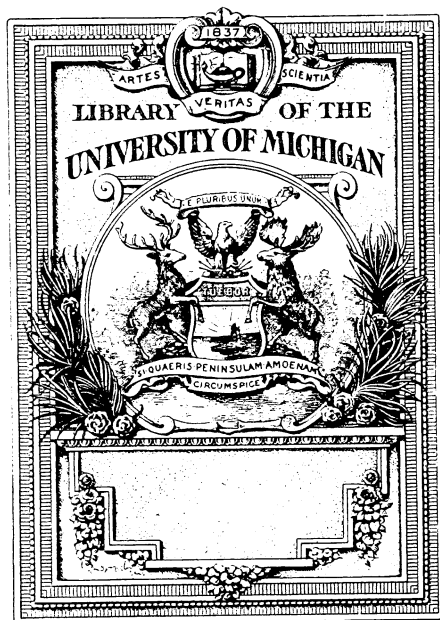
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THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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REVIEW.

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and ingenious father exercised a deep and lasting influence on the susceptible nature of his son. Mr. Maxwell planned all the buildings and improvements on his estate, and superintended all domestic matters, even to the cutting of the last for his own square-toed shoes. And as James was his one companion and care, it is not an exaggeration to say that those mechanical and mathematical proclivities which he manifested at a quite juvenile age, and which found their consummation in the planning of the Cavendish Laboratory during his Cambridge professorship, were the direct products of his father's example and training. As his biographers say, "The Galloway boy was in many ways the father of the Cambridge man; and even the 'ploys' of his childhood contained the germ of his life work" (p. 429).

The necessities of education led to James being sent to Edinburgh Academy at the age of ten, his father taking up his abode again at Edinburgh, except during the summer season, when he repaired to Glenlair. He was thus enabled to take the oversight of his son's studies, and also, which was more important, of his recreation. Some slight oddities in dress and manners did not tend to make the boy's introduction to school-life smooth and agreeable. Tunics of hoddie gray tweed, and shoes clasped and fashioned after the somewhat bucolic ideas of his father, were not likely to escape the keen observation of frolicsome schoolboys, to whom round jackets and shoe-strings were *de rigueur*. But his fine natural gift of irony, combined with his geniality of disposition, saved him on many an occasion from provoking merriment, and established him eventually as a general favourite. The very first time he was questioned as to the maker of his shoes, he replied in broad Scotch *patois* :

"Din ye ken, 'twas a man,
And he lived in a house
In-whilk was a mouse."

At school, though at first he seems to have found more pleasure in watching "humble bees" than in the monotony of Latin grammar, yet he soon applied himself with vigour to his books, and placed himself in the first rank among his compeers. His ingenuity is evidenced by his framing a system of mnemonics based on the positions of the windows in the school, and by his humorous sketches and hieroglyphic letters to his father. He also displayed as a mere

result of the chemist's skill and the observations of the botanist; but it also cultivates a true metaphysic by the discovery of cause and effect, and fosters those intellectual qualifications which are as indispensable to correct religious as to scientific thought. And there ought to be no concern as to the fate of Christianity in consequence of the study of nature, when we call to mind that the most distinguished philosophers and scientists of every age have clung to it with fervent tenacity, and have attributed to its inspirations the noblest impulses of their minds. Copernicus, Tycho Brahé, Kepler, Galileo, Newton and Descartes, all accepted a divine revelation. Pascal defended the faith, and Kant bent all his energies against sceptical modes of thought. Hamilton, Hugh Miller, Owen, Faraday, Agassiz, and Clerk Maxwell, princes among men, found a place in their beliefs for a direct communication of the Creator's will to mankind, and Francis Bacon, whom students of nature reverence as the high priest of their order, has said, "Slight tastes of philosophy may perchance move to atheism, but fuller draughts lead back to religion."

We shall have to refer again to what we regard as the most charming characteristic of this lamented man, too soon stricken down by death, the trustfulness and fervour with which he clung to the faith in which he had been nurtured; but we must now endeavour to outline the development of his mind, and sketch the growth of those intellectual tastes which led on to the splendid attainments of after years, and the permanent contributions to science which he has made.

James Clerk Maxwell was born at Edinburgh, in 1831. Being an only child, with the exception of a daughter who died in infancy, he was the object of great solicitude, and as his mother died when he was but nine years old, it was fortunate that his father was eminently qualified for the training of a young mind, and the moulding of a moral character. This important and congenial task he performed with the "judiciousness," to borrow a word from his Bradwardinean vocabulary, which characterised all he did. As a younger son he had received a portion of the old Middlebie estate, which by the conditions of entail could not go with the Penicuik estate of the Clerks, and to this he added by purchase the Glenlair farm. It was to Glenlair that he retired after his marriage, and here James lived till he was ten years of age. During this period the kindly

ideas when he ventures to tell out the deeper feelings of his mind, awakened by a contemplation of the soul's relationship to God. Those who have won celebrity by the brilliance of their theories, or the novelty of their speculations in one or two departments of science, but who with an almost scornful cynicism have turned aside from those realms of thought and study which border upon religion, or which are of a distinctly theological character, while they have not refrained from pronouncing dogmatically upon the vast problems concerned therein, ought not to be astonished if thoughtful men decline to give that deference to their opinions which they freely accord to others, who, like Clerk Maxwell, have attained to high rank among scholars and discoverers, and who have not shrunk from bringing their extraordinary powers of mind to bear upon the great subjects involved in the beliefs and doctrines of Christianity.

It is almost taken for granted in some quarters that there is a necessary and irreconcilable conflict between science and religion. The bolder spirits amongst the devotees of science, and the more timid of the adherents to Christianity, to whom perhaps science is almost a sealed book, have come to regard one another with feelings approaching to implacable hostility, as if the one class tended to the license of atheism, and the other dreaded anything like freedom of thought. These, however, are the extreme sections of the two encampments between which there is a vast phalanx of sober and devout men who love both science and religion, and see much in each to help the other. Scientific methods of the pursuit of truth give precision and accuracy to the visions of faith, while a wider sweep and loftier range are imparted to the inquiries of the mind by the aspirations of faith. Science might have grown ridiculous because of brilliant but false theories and unwarrantable generalisations had it not been for the moderating influence of Christian thought, and theology owes some of the most effective demonstrations of her reasonableness and truth to the principles and researches of scientific men. Earnest and painstaking study of the laws and phenomena of nature have not only a practical influence upon the material and social welfare of humanity, ameliorating sanitary conditions by the light of physiological researches, improving manufacturing industry by a better understanding of physical laws, or making agriculture more productive as the

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ART. I.—*Life of James Clerk Maxwell.* By PROFESSOR LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D., and PROFESSOR WILLIAM GARNETT, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. 1882.

THE life of James Clerk Maxwell, who, as his biographers state, "has enriched the inheritance left by Newton, consolidated the work of Faraday, and impelled the mind of Cambridge to a fresh course of real investigation;" and who, amid all the subtlety of speculation, the profundity of research, and the brilliance of discovery for which his career is so distinguished, retained the simplicity and fervour of the Christian faith, well deserves to be chronicled, and to hold a permanent place in human memory. Professors Campbell and Garnett have performed their task with great ability and fairness, and have conferred an invaluable boon upon what is after all the major portion of scientific students, those who are observers rather than theorists, and who do not desire to drift away from the old moorings of religious conviction and sentiment. We have here presented to us the history of a man of eminent natural endowments, of keen penetration fitting him for the closest scrutiny, of calm clear judgment without which genius is but a Phaeton holding the reins of the sun, who attained to scholarship in classics and English literature, who shone in mathematics and astronomy, and who spoke with unsurpassed authority in every branch of physical science. Such a man cannot be regarded as narrow and fossilized in his

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lad those versifying powers and imaginative faculties which through his whole life he occasionally exercised, and which, had he not been occupied with sterner pursuits, might have placed him among our principal poets. On leaving the Academy at the age of sixteen he was first in English, and only narrowly missed being first in classics, besides gaining the great distinction of the mathematical medal. Already he gave proof of that extraordinary capacity for physical investigations, and that skill in the application of mathematics to physical problems which afterwards raised him to the highest eminence in the scientific world. His attention was turned to magnetism and to optics, especially the phenomenon of "Newton's Rings," the chromatic effect caused by pressing lenses together. He was also incited to the study of the polarisation of light in consequence of a visit to Mr. Nicol, of Edinburgh, the inventor of the polarising prism bearing his name. In 1846, while he was but fifteen, young Maxwell prepared a paper for the Royal Society of Edinburgh, on the description of oval curves and those having a plurality of foci, in which he presented the suggestion that the common theory of the foci of conic sections could be extended to curves of a higher degree of complication. Professor Forbes, in a letter to Maxwell's father, said of this paper, "I think it very ingenious, and certainly remarkable for his years, and I believe substantially new." James found out later on, what Professor Forbes seems not to have observed, that his ovals were the same as those of Descartes, and that his method of describing the curves by means of cords and pins was identical with that of the French philosopher; but his paper was clearly original. Professor P. G. Tait, with whom Maxwell commenced a friendship at this time, which lasted throughout his life, says of his schoolfellow's mathematical ability, when he first met him: "I still possess some of the MSS. we exchanged in 1846 and early in 1847. Those on the 'Conical Pendulum,' 'Descartes' Ovals,' 'Meloid and Apiod,' and 'Trifocal Curves,' are all drawn up in strict geometrical form and divided into consecutive propositions. At the time when these papers were written he had received no instruction in mathematics beyond a few books in Euclid and the merest elements of algebra."

In 1847 Maxwell entered Edinburgh University, where he remained for three years. He of course followed the usual curriculum, but the subjects on which his attention

was most concentrated during this period were polarisation, galvanism, rolling curves, and the compression of solids. There was no scientific problem, however, but was interesting to him. Biology was then rapidly acquiring that fascination and prominence which it now possesses, and Owen's hypothesis of types of creation, with its terminology and the problems it involved, was completely mastered by Maxwell. He was also led under Sir W. Hamilton through the abstract but to him intensely interesting fields of metaphysics, and from that able and learned philosopher he received impressions which remained with him through life. His mathematical bent made him responsive to the doctrine of natural realism, while his mystical tendency was appealed to by Hamilton's distinction between knowledge and belief in relation to perception. Hamilton's philosophy has received rude criticism from the more positive schools of later years, but no metaphysician has ever inspired in his disciples a more ardent love for abstract thought than that which has been manifested by many who listened to Hamilton's speculations on perception, his demonstration of the reality of an external world, and his masterly treatment of the unconditioned or infinite. Maxwell evidently took a great interest in those subjects dealt with by Hamilton which constitute the borderland of physics and metaphysics, for a paper which was found by Professor Baynes treasured in Hamilton's private drawer, and which had been written by Maxwell as an exercise, displays a profound acquaintance with the properties of matter, and the speculations of such men as Descartes and Leibnitz. It is true he spoke in 1870 at the Liverpool meeting of the British Association of "the barren metaphysics of past ages;" but he would have admitted without hesitation that his psychological studies had helped him to an accurate understanding of the problems concerned in vision on the one hand, as well as in molecular physics on the other, when he came to study experimental optics and the laws of matter and motion. He must also by this time have made some mark in the departments of electricity and chemistry, for Sir W. Thomson requested him to make some magne-crystalline preparations for Tyndall and Knoblauch, who were studying the origin of magne-crystalline forces.

Meanwhile he was prosecuting inquiries into colour vision and colour blindness. At the meeting of the British Asso-

ciation, in 1850, when a paper by Sir David Brewster had been read on "Haidinger's Brushes," two conspicuous yellow appearances, with the complementary violet colour filling up the space between them, which are seen by some persons when they look at a point in the sky at a distance of 90° from the sun, general surprise was created by the rising of Maxwell, a beardless youth, to dispute some point that had been urged. Although he was embarrassed by bashfulness, yet he succeeded in gaining the hearing and the confidence of his audience. Even in his adolescence, a period when most youths are led by authority, he had begun to think for himself. Some of his criticisms on men and books at this period reveal a maturity of intellectual vigour and independence rarely met with in young men not yet of age. Of Professor Wilson, the moral philosophy lecturer, he wrote :

"Wilson, after having fully explained his own opinions, has proceeded to those of other great men : Plato, Aristotle, Stoics, Epicureans. He shows that Plato's proof of the immortality of the soul from its immateriality if it be a proof, proves its pre-existence, the immortality of beasts and vegetables, and why not transmigration? He quarrels with Aristotle's doctrine of the golden mean—a virtue is the mean between two vices—not properly understanding the saying. He chooses to consider it as a pocket rule to find virtue, which it is not meant to be, but an apophthegm or maxim or dark saying, signifying that as a hill falls away on both sides of the top, so a virtue at its maximum declines by excess or defect (not of virtue), but of some variable quantity at the disposal of the will . . . So that Wilson garbles Aristotle, but I bamboozle myself" (p. 128).

Maxwell's father had supposed his son would follow in his own footsteps by embracing the legal profession, but it was clear by this time that, as James himself expressed it, he "was called to study another kind of law." This point was at length finally settled by Maxwell's entrance at Cambridge, first at Peterhouse, and afterwards, for the sake of the greater advantages presented by the larger establishment, at Trinity College.

—When he went up to Cambridge there was a general expectation that he would distinguish himself in the mathematical and scientific studies which form so prominent a portion of the curriculum of that University. The "average undergraduate," accustomed to parsing and late

rising, would no doubt feel considerable astonishment at beholding Maxwell's scraps of gelatine and unannealed glass, his bits of magnetised steel, and other similar objects which the odd young freshman took with him, and which were evidently of greater interest to him than some of the studies which have become venerable in our universities. His originality was somewhat pronounced too, in the curious modes of exercise and recreation which he occasionally adopted. One of his contemporaries says: "From 2 to 2.30 a.m. he took exercise by running along the upper corridor, down the stairs, along the lower corridor, then up the stairs, and so on, until the inhabitants of the rooms along his track got up and lay *perdus* behind their doors to have shots at him with boots and hairbrushes as he passed."

His geniality and social temperament, combined with wit which sparkled but rarely wounded, soon attached to him many sincere and valuable friends, among whom were C. Hope Robertson, Mackenzie, afterwards Bishop of Natal, Howard Elphinstone, and F. W. Farrar. His intellectual development rapidly progressed, and everything that had to do with experimental physics was more than ever fascinating to him. In 1851 he witnessed the pendulum experiment at Trinity, which Foucault had just introduced to the scientific world to prove the rotation of the earth. He also received a strong impulse towards the practical and utilitarian as the result of a careful inspection of the Great Exhibition held in this same year at the Crystal Palace. At Cambridge there was a "Select Essay Club," composed of the very cream of the University, the members of which, being limited in number to twelve, were familiarly known as "the Apostles." Into this circle of the *élite* Maxwell was soon welcomed, and his contributions to this society which still remain show that he was busily investigating the first principles of all things. As an illustration of his speculative tendencies as well as of the activity of his intellect, and the fine irony which characterised his humour, the following extracts are taken from a paper on "The Nature of the Evidence of Design," which he read before this association, when he was most closely occupied with preparation for the approaching mathematical tripos, and which deals with subjects that were gradually becoming the main study of his life:

"Design! the very word disturbs our quiet discussions about

how things happen with restless questionings about the *why* of them all. We seem to have recklessly abandoned the railroad of phenomenology, and the black rocks of ontology stiffen their serried brows and frown inevitable destruction . . . The belief in design is a necessary consequence of the laws of thought acting on the phenomena of perception. The essentials then for true evidence of design are : (1) A phenomenon having significance to us. (2) Two ascertained chains of physical causes contingently connected and both having the same apparent terminations, viz., the phenomenon itself and some presupposed personality. If the discovery of a watch wakens my torpid intelligence, I perceive a significant end which the watch subserves. It goes, and considering its locality, it is going well. My young and growing reason points out two sets of phenomena : (a) the elasticity of springs, &c. ; (b) the astronomical facts which render the mean solar day the unit of civil time combined with those social habits which require the cognisance of the time of day. . . It is the business of science to investigate these causal chains. If they are found not to be independent, but to meet in some ascertained point, we must transfer the evidence of design from the ultimate fact to the existence of the chain. Thus, suppose we ascertain that watches are now made by machinery . . . the machinery including the watch forms one more complicated and therefore more evident instance of design."

He then goes on to speculate upon the Neo-Platonic notion of *Δημιουργοί*, and almost intimates a belief that, if a plurality of intelligent creators were discovered, it would not weaken our conviction that there is an ultimate First Cause.

Mathematics, of course, in view of the *tripos*, now constituted his main study, and in this department he displayed wonderful power. At one of Hopkins's lectures, when the tutor had filled the black board three times with the investigation of some hard problem in geometry of three dimensions and was not at the end of it, Maxwell came up and said he thought it would come out geometrically, and thereupon he showed how, with a diagram and a few lines, the solution could be obtained at once.

At the end of his three years' course at Cambridge he obtained the second place in the mathematical *tripos*, Mr. Routh, the well-known tutor, being first wrangler, and in the still more difficult examination for Smith's Prize he was bracketed first with Routh. Soon afterwards he was elected Fellow of Trinity, and was at once appointed to

lecture on hydrostatics and optics. By this time it may be said that his path in life was determined, and the habitual bent of his mind, as well as his replete and varied scholarship, were speedily to find favourable opportunities and appropriate spheres for their display. His experiments with the colour top and the colour box for the purpose of studying the combinations of colours and the laws of colour vision were continued with zest, and by these he was able to show that the common notion that blue and yellow make green is correct only in the case of pigments and not where light is concerned. He also constructed an instrument called the ophthalmoscope, with which he could examine the retina of living animals, and he continued to seek for the principles of matter in motion. Magnetism and electricity were pursued with avidity, and at every favourable opportunity he would fascinate, while he often mystified, his friends, with excited and voluble descriptions of the swift invisible motions by which galvanic and magnetic phenomena were to be explained. These studies led up to his mathematical treatment of Faraday's lines of force, one of the most profound as well as most useful of his achievements. The next sphere in which Maxwell was called upon to labour was at Aberdeen, where he was appointed to the Chair of Natural Philosophy in Marischal College. Shortly before he entered upon his duties he experienced one of the greatest sorrows of his life in the death of his father. These two had been associated for years in the bonds of an affection which was inspired on the one hand by the wisdom, integrity, and paternal solicitude displayed by the father, and on the other hand by the filial reverence, the gentleness and purity of heart, which had ever characterised the son. Their letters to each other, interchanged every two or three days, and at some periods oftener, kept up the community of thoughts and pursuits during their absence from one another that had always marked their companionship. The grief caused by this bereavement was borne by Maxwell with a quiet spirit and uncomplaining resignation, which were the noble fruits of that faith whose germs had been fostered in his soul by him who was gone. A poem elicited by this sad event, from which the following lines are taken, reveals the depth of tender feeling which lay underneath the placid demeanour of the bereaved son :

“ Yes, I know the forms that meet me are but phantoms of the
brain,
For they walk in mortal bodies, and they have not ceased from
pain,
Oh those signs of human weakness, left behind for ever now,
Dearer far to me than glories round a fancied seraph’s brow.
Oh the old familiar voices ; oh the patient waiting eyes ;
Let me live with them in dreamland while the world in slumber
lies,
For by bonds of sacred honour will they guard my soul in sleep
From the spells of aimless fancies that around my senses creep.
They will link the past and present into one continuous life ;
While I feel their hope, their patience, nerve me for the daily
strife.
For it is not all a fancy that our lives and theirs are one,
And we know that all we see is but an endless work begun.
Part is left in nature’s keeping, part has entered into rest ;
Part remains to grow and ripen hidden in some living breast.”

With chastened mind and a deepened sense of responsibility, Maxwell now entered upon the double work of carrying on the management of the Glenlair estate, which had been the object of so much care and interest to his departed father, and the still more engrossing duties of his Aberdeen professorship.

He now for the first time turned his attention to Saturn’s rings, studying them as instances of the circular motion of fluids. The idea with which he set out was that the very forces which would tend of themselves to divide the ring into great drops or satellites are made by the motion to keep the fluid in a uniform ring. For more than a year he followed up this laborious task with a view to the writing of an essay on “The Structure of Saturn’s Rings,” the subject set by the examiners for the Adams Prize, given by St. John’s College, in honour of the discoverer of Neptune. To draw up an hypothesis which should embrace all the conditions of the case, and stand every test to which it could possibly be put, was an undertaking of no ordinary difficulty, but it was one that completely fascinated him for a time, nor was it beyond his vast intellectual capacity and mathematical ingenuity. He constructed a very clever model by which the motions of a ring of satellites could be practically demonstrated. This model is preserved in the Cavendish Laboratory, at Cambridge, and consists essentially of two wheels turning on parallel parts of a cranked

axle, and thirty-six small cranks equal in length between corresponding points of the circumferences of the wheels, each carrying a little ivory satellite. It is not astonishing that work done in this thorough manner should be rewarded by the highest success. The Adams Prize was awarded to him, and after a minute revision the essay was published.

At Aberdeen he became acquainted with the family of Principal Dewar, to whose daughter, Katherine Mary, he was married, in June, 1858. It is impossible that there could be a deeper tenderness or a truer devotion than he manifested towards his wife as long as he lived. For more than twenty years he brought to her in the smallest domestic concerns, as well as in matters of greater moment, the most perfect sympathy and the most prudent counsel. Even when lying on his death-bed he regularly inquired into everything that concerned her comfort, and, so far as he could, supervised those household arrangements which from her invalid state of health she was prevented from attending to. And she, on her part, fully reciprocated his devotion, for she interested herself in all his labours, rendered him such assistance as she could in his experiments, and on several occasions when he was dangerously ill, once with a highly infectious disease, she nursed him with unwearied assiduity. His views of the married state had something almost mystical about them, and it seemed to him as if in spirit they were one, whether absent from each other or together. There is an exquisite touch of sentiment in the following lines, which he sent to his wife during an absence from home, revealing something of the depths of his manly heart :

“Oft in the night from this lone room
I long to fly o’er land and sea,
To pierce the dark dividing gloom,
And join myself to thee.
“And thou to me would’st gladly fly,
I know thee well, my own true wife !
We feel, that when we live not nigh,
We lose the crown of life.”

Then, referring to their approaching meeting, he continues :

“Then shall the secret of the will,
That dares not enter into bliss ;
That longs for love, yet lingers still,
Be solved in one long kiss.

"I, drinking deep of thy rich love,
Thou, feeling all the strength of mine,
Our souls will rise in faith above
The cares which make us pine.

"Till I give thee, thou giving me,
As that which either loves the best,
To Him that loved us both, that He
May take us to His rest.

"Wandering and weak are all our prayers
And fleeting half the gifts we crave ;
Love only, cleansed from sins and cares,
Shall live beyond the grave.

"All powers of mind, all force of will,
May lie in dust when we are dead,
But love is ours, and shall be still,
When earth and seas are fled."

After only three sessions at Marischal, the Professorship of Natural Philosophy lapsed, owing to the fusion of the Aberdeen Colleges. Maxwell therefore, in 1860, accepted a similar position in King's College, London. Here his duties were more burdensome than at Aberdeeen. His courses of lectures extended over nine months out of the twelve, and there were additional lectures in the evening to artisans. At the meeting of the British Association this year, at Oxford, he exhibited his box for mixing the colours of the spectrum. He also read a paper on Bernouilli's theory of gases, in which he showed that what is called the viscosity of gases, as well as their low conductivity for heat, and Graham's laws of diffusion, could all be accounted for by the supposition that gas consists of a number of independent particles in rapid and constant motion among themselves, and he calculated that in ordinary atmospheric air each particle undergoes more than 8,000,000,000 collisions every second, and that the flying molecules repelled one another as the inverse fifth power of their distance.

The following year he delivered his first lecture at the Royal Institution, on the theory of the three primary colours. He also acted upon a committee with Balfour Stewart and Fleeming Jenkin to make experimental measurements in order to determine the electric ohm, the standard of electrical resistance, and the system of units then established was adopted by the Electric Congress, which met at Paris in 1881. Further investigations were

also made by him while in London, on the subject of electric units for the purpose of making comparisons between electricity and the velocity of light.

Mainly in consequence of ill-health he resigned the professorship at King's College, in 1865, and for some half-dozen years lived in comparative retirement at Glenlair, hoping to bring to completion his great work on Magnetism and Electricity, upon which he had already bestowed some labour; but which, amid the many calls upon his time in connection with his lectures in London, had not advanced so rapidly as he desired. It was during the period of his residence at Glenlair that he brought the book into something like a definite shape, although it was not published till 1873. His treatise on Heat, published in 1870, was also undertaken during this season of leisure, and moreover he filled the office of examiner several times for the Cambridge Tripos, in which capacity he was mainly instrumental in introducing those changes which have since been admitted into the examination system of that University. It is probable that these few years at Glenlair were the happiest of his life. The day was occupied with correspondence, which was always voluminous, and with various scientific experiments, while in the evening he would often read aloud to his wife from Chaucer, Spenser, or Shakespeare. On Sundays he was regular in his attendance at the kirk, and on returning home he habitually devoted himself to the works of the old standard divines.

In 1870 he attended the meetings of the British Association, being elected to the presidency of the Mathematical and Physical Section, to which he delivered an address on the relation of mathematics and physics to each other. The few opening sentences of this address are worth quoting, not only because they indicate in a masterly way the nature and conditions of the problem, but also because they refer to some previous presidential addresses which dealt with important topics. He said:

"I have endeavoured to follow Mr. Spottiswoode as with far-reaching vision he distinguishes the systems of science into which phenomena, our knowledge of which is still in the nebulous stage, are growing. I have been carried by the penetrating insight and forcible expression of Dr. Tyndall into that sanctuary of minuteness and of power, where molecules obey the laws of their existence, clash together in fierce collision, or grapple in yet more fierce embrace, building up in secret the forms of visible things.

I have been guided by Professor Sylvester towards those serene heights :

‘Where never creeps a cloud or moves a wind,
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts, to mar
Their sacred everlasting calm.’

But who will lead me into that still more hidden and dimmer region where thought weds fact, where the mental operation of the mathematician and the physical action of the molecules are seen in their true relation? Does not the way to it pass through the very den of the metaphysician, strewn with the remains of former explorers and abhorred by every man of science?”

The most useful and influential period of Maxwell's career was that during which he filled the Chair of Experimental Physics at Cambridge, from 1871 till the time of his death. Here he performed the main business of his life, inspiring the enthusiastic youths by whom he was surrounded with his own passionate love for scientific research, and achieving those magnificent results in the departments of electricity and molecular physics by which he rose to the very highest fame among the leaders of science. As this chair had but just been founded by the munificence of the Duke of Devonshire, the Chancellor of the University, the principal work of the new professor for some time was necessarily that of designing and superintending the building of a laboratory. This he did with the utmost care and diligence, visiting the laboratories of Sir W. Thomson at Edinburgh, and Professor Clifton at Oxford, in order that he might have the benefit of the most recent improvements. By the spring of 1874 all was ready for the commencement of work. With such spirit and energy did he throw himself into his duties that, as Sir W. Thomson declared, there was “nothing short of a revival of physical science at Cambridge” resulting from Maxwell's influence. His great delight now was to render all needful assistance to those who were studying science, and some who have since attained to great distinction owe their success largely to the enthusiasm which the experiments of Maxwell inspired.

He was now brought into pleasant association with many of the leading spirits of Cambridge, some of whom had formed a club called the *Erānos* (*ἀνδρῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐταίρια*), differing from the “Apostles” in the graver character of the discussions. Besides Maxwell, this select

circle contained Dr. Lightfoot, and Professors Westcott and Hort.

One of the most remarkable productions of his later life, and one to which reference has often been made, owing to the intense scientific interest of the topics dealt with, is the famous "Discourse on Molecules," delivered before the British Association in 1873. Towards the end of the address he gave utterance to some weighty sentiments on the relation of physics to theology.

"In the heavens we discover by their light, and by their light alone, stars so distant from each other that no material thing can ever have passed from one to another; and yet this light, which is to us the sole evidence of the existence of these distant worlds, tells us also that each of them is built up of molecules of the same kind as those which we find on earth. A molecule of hydrogen, for example, whether in Sirius or in Arcturus, executes its vibrations in precisely the same time. . . . No theory of evolution can be formed to account for the similarity of molecules, for evolution necessarily implies continuous change, and the molecule is incapable of growth or decay, of generation or destruction. None of the processes of nature, since the time when nature began, have produced the slightest difference in the properties of any molecule. We are therefore unable to ascribe either the existence of the molecules or the identity of their properties to any of the causes which we call natural. On the other hand, the exact equality of each molecule to all others of the same kind gives it, as Sir John Herschell has well said, the essential character of a manufactured article, and precludes the idea of its being eternal and self-existent. Though in the course of ages catastrophes have occurred, and may yet occur in the heavens, though ancient systems may be dissolved and new systems evolved out of their ruins, the molecules out of which these systems are built—the foundation stones of the material universe—remain unbroken and unworn. They continue this day as they were created, perfect in number and measure and weight; and from the ineffaceable characters impressed on them we may learn that those aspirations after accuracy in measurement and justice in action, which we reckon among our noblest attributes as men, are ours because they are essential constituents of the image of Him who, in the beginning, created not only the heaven and the earth, but the materials of which heaven and earth consist" (pp. 359, 360).

No apology need be made for this lengthy extract when it is reflected how important is its bearing upon the nebular hypothesis of Laplace, which, it is to be feared, is being too readily accepted by the world without giving due

weight to the difficulties which beset it as regards the origin of matter and of force; as well as upon that extreme phase of evolutionism which some men of science prefer to the alternative belief in special and distinct creative acts by an intelligent First Cause. The greatest physicist of the present age has declared that the marks of skill and handicraft impressed upon the molecule are a fatal difficulty in the way of that theory which was dimly adumbrated by Kant and Laplace, and brought into definite expression by the labours of Darwin, Tyndall, and Huxley.

It is clear from the quotation just given that Maxwell was diametrically opposed to the views which were propounded by Professor Tyndall in his famous address which he delivered at Belfast, when President of the British Association in 1874. This was the last meeting of the association that Maxwell attended. He read a paper on "The Application of Kirchhoff's Rules for Electric Circuits to the Solution of a Geometrical Problem," but he is associated with that meeting chiefly on account of his humorous paraphrase of Tyndall's startling address, which, together with a Greek translation of it by Mr. Shilleto, was published in *Blackwood's Magazine*. The whole of this witty production would be worth quoting, but only a few representative lines can be given:

"In the very beginnings of science, the parsons who managed things then
Being handy with hammer and chisel, made gods in the likeness of men,
Till commerce arose, and at length some men of exceptional power,
Supplanted both demons and gods by the atoms, which last to this hour.

* * * * *
"So treading a path all untrod, the poet philosopher sings
Of the seeds of the mighty world in the first beginnings of things;
How freely he scatters his atoms before the beginning of years;
For he clothes them with force as a garment, those small incompressible spheres.

* * * * *
"Thus in atoms a simple collision excites a sensational thrill,
Evolved through all sorts of emotion, as sense, understanding and will.

* * * * *
Thus a pure elementary atom the unit of mass and of thought
By force of mere juxtaposition to life and sensation is brought;

So down through untold generations, transmission of structureless
germs
Enables our race to inherit the thoughts of beasts, fishes and
worms.
We honour our fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grand-
mothers too,
But how shall we honour the vista of ancestors now in our view?
First then let us honour the atom, so lively, so wise and so small,
The Atomists next let us praise, Epicurus, Lucretius and all;
Last, praise we the noble body to which for the time we belong,
Ere yet the swift whirl of the atoms has hurried us ruthless along,
The British Association."

While at Cambridge Maxwell wrote several articles for the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the most valuable and interesting of which is the one on "Atom," in which he gives a full exposition of his doctrines and researches in connection with that subject. He also wrote a small treatise on "Matter and Motion" for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge series, wherein will be found an admirably concise expression of his ordinary teaching and habitual thoughts on molecular physics, dynamics and kinematics. But the chief literary work of his later life was *An Account of the Electrical Researches of the Hon. Henry Cavendish*, which was published in 1879. It may have been that he was impelled to this great task by a sense of the obligations under which the University of Cambridge was placed to the founder of the Cavendish Laboratory, but, valuable as the book is, those precious years might have been still more fruitful had he given them to continued study along his own lines.

The last few years of Maxwell's life were clouded by his wife's serious and protracted illness, and there can be no doubt that his unremitting attention to her, combined with his other enormous labours, undermined his strength and led to the premature breaking up of his constitution. He began to be much troubled with dyspepsia in 1877, and although he rarely referred to his health and retained his old youthful buoyancy of spirits, yet by the early part of 1879 it had become painfully evident to his friends that a great change had taken place in him, and in October he was told by his physician that he had not a month to live. He then left Glenlair for Cambridge, accompanied by his wife, in order to obtain more conveniently the best medical assistance. But he was now beyond the reach of human

skill. During his last few weeks his sufferings were intense, but he bore them with the greatest fortitude and serenity. He was anxious for nothing save the welfare of his invalid wife whom he was to leave behind. His thoughts dwelt upon subjects of a moral and spiritual rather than of a scientific character. One day he repeated those lines in the *Merchant of Venice* in which occurs the noble passage :

“ Look how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold ;
There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims :
Such harmony is in immortal souls ;
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.”

He then said he had been wondering why Shakespeare had put such sublime language into the mouth of so frivolous a person as Lorenzo.

On another occasion he suddenly started up from a long reverie and repeated the verse “ Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above,” and asked, “ Do you know that that is a hexameter ? *πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δῶρημα τελειον.* I wonder who composed it ! ” He was very fond of quoting from Richard Baxter's hymn :

“ Lord it belongs not to my care,
Whether I die or live ;
To love and serve Thee is my share,
And this Thy grace must give.”

Four days before his death he received the sacrament, and while the clergyman was putting on the surplice, Maxwell repeated aloud George Herbert's touching lines on the priest's vestments entitled “ Aaron,” one of the stanzas of which runs thus :

“ Christ is my only head,
My only heart and breast,
My only music, striking me, e'en dead ;
That to the old man I may rest,
And be in Him new drest.”

The last time this clergyman saw Maxwell, he found him too weak and restless for conversation, but just as he was about to go, the dying man said to him, “ My dear

friend, you have been a true under-shepherd to me; read to me, before you leave, the beautiful prayer out of the Burial Service, 'Suffer me not at my last hour for any pains of death to fall from Thee.' "

A minute or two before he breathed his last, while being held up in bed, he said slowly and distinctly, "God help me! God help my wife!" Then to the friend who was holding him up he said, "Lay me down lower, for I am very low myself and it suits me to lie low;" after which, he fixed his eyes upon his wife, and with one long tender look at her, he breathed his last. Thus died this truly great man, meekly trusting in the mercy of God, on November 5th, 1879.

A profound sorrow was universally felt at Cambridge when his death became known, for all who had come into contact with him had been impressed with his worth. He was not only eminent in science, but he was firm and tender in friendship, moving no envy by his success, and showing none at the honours paid to others. One of the physicians who was at his bedside when he expired, and who had known him intimately for years, said of him, "He was one of the best men I have ever met, and a greater merit than his scientific attainments is his being, so far as human judgment can discern, a most perfect example of a Christian gentleman."

Although we have endeavoured in the foregoing biographical sketch to indicate the nature of Professor Maxwell's scientific work, and to show how prominent was the position he occupied among the great intellects of the time, yet in order to form anything like a true estimate of those contributions to science with which his name is most closely associated, it will be necessary to deal somewhat more fully with several matters to which a passing reference has already been made.

His earliest original investigations, which, however, were continued all through his life, were those which bear upon colour vision. While the *extent* of light vibrations determines the intensity of the light produced, it is their *rapidity* which explains the sensation of colour. An analogy may be instituted between light and sound, for loudness or intensity is caused by the extent of the sound waves, while pitch depends upon the number of vibrations required to produce a given note. It is estimated that the deep red of the spectrum corresponds to 400,000,000,000,000

vibrations per second, while the opposite end of the spectrum, the extreme violet, is produced by more than 700,000,000,000,000; the wave-lengths, which decrease as the number of vibrations increases, being respectively $\frac{1}{39000}$ and $\frac{1}{65000}$ of an inch. White light, however, may be composed not only by the commingling of all the colours of Newton's spectrum, but also by various other combinations of colours, hence the *chromatic* effects of mixing different colours are not always identical with the *optical*. Dr. Thomas Young at the beginning of this century had turned his attention to this problem. He supposed that green, red, and violet were the three primary colours, and that all other hues were compounds of these. Maxwell followed along the lines laid down by Young. He constructed a top upon which could be placed circular discs of coloured papers. By putting two or more discs on the spindle of the top, different combinations of colours could be effected, which, owing to the persistence of impressions on the retina, became blended together when the top was spinning. He also constructed an ingenious and elaborate apparatus called the "Colour Box," for similar experiments. By these means he was able to discover that an ordinary eye possesses three independent colour sensations, but that colour-blind persons have only two. The missing sensation he found to be nearer the red than to any other colour of the solar spectrum. This discovery led to the construction of a pair of spectacles having one glass red and the other green, by which a colour-blind person could distinguish between red and green, a red object appearing brighter when seen through the red glass, while a green colour would be brighter when looked at through the green glass. It was for these researches that the Rumford Medal was awarded to Maxwell in 1860. M. Frithiof Holmgren, of Upsala, has since shown by following Maxwell's methods that there are also cases of violet-blindness.

Many other optical contrivances were devised by Maxwell, among them being the Zoetrope, or "Wheel of Life," and the more important real-image Spectroscope. His most valuable contribution to optics was to show the relation between certain electrical units and the velocity of light. It is impossible here to enter fully into this intricate subject which Maxwell fully explained in a paper published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1868. He first of all showed that the ratio of the electro-magnetic to the electro-

static unit of electricity is proportional to the ratio of the square root of the elasticity of the medium to the square root of its density. Then, regarding the air as a dielectric (or insulator) he obtained, as the value of this ratio, a velocity of 179,000 miles per second. Weber and others, by similar processes, have since given other slightly increased results, the mean of which agrees with tolerable exactness with Foucault's determination of the velocity of light. It follows, then, that the medium for light is the same as that for electro-magnetic phenomena, and that the propagation of light is of similar nature to an electro-magnetic disturbance.

Maxwell's studies and experiments in relation to Saturn's rings, were an important contribution to astronomical physics. Huyghens in 1659 first announced the discovery that Saturn was girdled with a thin flat ring inclined to the ecliptic. Hadley and Sir W. Herschel threw further light on the question of the plane of Saturn's revolution, and also settled the fact of a division in the ring. It has since been established that the planet is enveloped by two bright rings, the outer of which is divided into two concentric rings by a very narrow gap, and that when seen at certain angles of vision, each ring is perceived to be broken up into a number of thin rings. Within the two bright rings there has also been observed a darker ring which is of such extreme tenuity as to be transparent, so that the edge of the planet can be seen through it. The stability of Saturn's rings was for a long time a problem of intense interest and of great difficulty. If they were solids, and at rest, the attraction of Saturn would, as Maxwell remarked, cause iron to become semi-fluid, and yet if the outer rings rotated with the velocity which the planet's revolution on its axis seemed to require, it was thought they would fly off into space, while if the velocity of the outer rings were accommodated to that of the inner, the latter would be crushed down upon the planet's surface. Laplace supposed a very large number of concentric rings each revolving independently with its own velocity around the planet. In Maxwell's essay, which gained the Adams prize, he showed that Laplace's theory was correct in principle, but that the rings were far more numerous than he had supposed. He dismissed the theory of solid rings and showed that the assumption of a liquid ring did not meet all the necessities of the case, concluding that "the only system of rings

which can exist is one composed of an indefinite number of unconnected particles revolving round the planet with different velocities according to their respective distances. These particles may be arranged in a series of narrow rings, or they may move through each other irregularly. In the first case the destruction of the system will be very slow, in the second case it will be more rapid, but there may be a tendency towards an arrangement in narrow rings which may retard the progress." The late Astronomer Royal declared that this paper was "one of the most remarkable applications of mathematics to physics" he had ever seen.

The electrical researches and experiments of Professor Maxwell have brought him a fame which has been eclipsed by none of the men of science who have made this century illustrious. After his graduation he took up Faraday's works, in which he discerned at once the connection between the Theory of Attractions as developed mathematically and the method pursued by Faraday. The science of electricity may be said to have been founded in the reign of Elizabeth, when Dr. Gilbert ascertained that many substances possessed the property which amber had been long known to have, of attracting light bodies when heated by friction. Then Coulomb devised the torsion balance, by which he determined the law that the attraction or repulsion between two small bodies charged with electricity varies with the charges and the distance. The mathematical theory of electricity was started by Cavendish a century ago, and it is to him that we are mainly indebted for the experimental evidence of electric laws. He demonstrated that attraction or repulsion between two charged bodies varies directly as the product of the charges, and inversely as the square of the distance between them. It is curious that Faraday was unacquainted with the views of Cavendish, and it is perhaps as well that the exposition of those views was left to one who possessed all Faraday's capacity for observation and experiment, as well as a mathematical skill which Faraday never claimed. Faraday thought that there must be some mode by which electric actions are conducted from point to point, and it was his great merit that he showed them to be transmitted in lines, straight or curved, and to exert pressure and tension wherever they occur. The supposition that Faraday's conception of electrical phenomena differed from that of the mathema-

ticians, was shown by Maxwell to be unwarranted, for he perceived that Faraday's method was also capable of mathematical expression. "Faraday saw lines of force traversing all space where the mathematicians saw centres of force attracting at a distance. Faraday saw a medium where they saw nothing but distance. Faraday sought the seat of the phenomena in real actions going on in the medium; they were satisfied that they had found it in a power of action at a distance impressed on the electric fluids." Such is Maxwell's explicit solution of the supposed difficulty.

Faraday in reality represents a magnetic field geometrically as a space traversed by lines which lie in the direction of the magnetic force at every point, and which are distributed in such a way that their frequency is everywhere proportional to the intensity of the field. Maxwell, in a paper read before the Cambridge Philosophical Society, showed that if at any part of the course of these lines, their number passing through a unit area of surface at right angles to the direction of the force is proportional to the magnitude of the force, the same proportion between the number of lines per unit of area crossed and the intensity will hold good in every part of the course of the lines. Faraday, moreover, pointed out that, besides the tension along each line of force, the lines exert a repulsion on one another, and Maxwell showed how equilibrium results from this tension and repulsion. When Faraday saw this paper he showed his appreciation of its value by addressing the following letter to Maxwell :

"I received your paper and thank you very much for it. I do not say I venture to thank you for what you have said about 'lines of force,' because I know you have done it for the interests of philosophical truth; but you must suppose that it is work grateful to me, and gives me much encouragement to think on. I was at first almost frightened when I saw such mathematical force made to bear upon the subject, and then I wondered to see that the subject stood it so well."

Only one other branch of study in which Maxwell was of service to science can be glanced at, and that is molecular physics. In this, as indeed in all sciences, an atomic theory of some kind plays an important part. Democritus in very early times had framed such a theory, and on it the system of Epicurus was based. Lucretius, in ancient

times, and Gassendi in the Cartesian age, embraced the doctrines of Epicurus. Descartes entered into controversy with Gassendi, and framed a material system, remarkable for its compactness and logical consistency, but it was vitiated by the fundamental error of regarding matter as being nothing more than extension. He says (*Princip.*, ii. 4), "The nature of matter or of body, considered generally, does not consist in a thing being hard, or heavy, or coloured, but only in its being extended in length, breadth, and depth." This is simply confounding the properties of matter with those of space, an error which runs through all Descartes' philosophy, and lies at the foundation of Spinoza's system.

Maxwell gives a concise account of the various older atomic theories in his article "Atom," which he wrote for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Professor Clausius and Dr. Boltzmann, but especially Clerk Maxwell, have brought the molecular theory of gases to its present complete state, and have established it on a sound dynamical basis. According to the molecular theory all material substances are made up of molecules which are in motion relatively to each other. In solids the movement is nothing more than a vibration, in liquids there is less interference of the molecules with one another, but their freedom is much impeded, while in gases each molecule is quite free, except when one collides with another. Upon these principles is based the kinetic theory of gases. The momentum of a particle varies as the product of its mass and velocity (mv) and its kinetic energy as the product of mass and the square of velocity, being equal, as Maxwell explains in *Matter and Motion*, to half mv^2 the vis viva of Leibnitz. The pressure of a gas is determined by its kinetic energy, and since this is the same for each gas at the same temperature, it follows that equal volumes of two gases at the same pressure and temperature contain the same number of molecules, and hence the density of a gas is proportional to the mass of a molecule. As the molecule is the combining weight, we have a demonstration of Gay Lussac's law of equivalent volumes.

The basis of the modern atomic theory is the union of bodies in fixed and multiple proportions, for though "atom," like the "first beginnings" of Lucretius, is a creature of the imagination, begotten for the purpose of satisfying man's intellectual need of something ultimate,

yet its dimensions are determined by necessary conditions. If water be decomposed by an electric current, the proportion in volumes is unaltered, and similarly with nitrous oxide (N_2O) as well as with all other chemical combinations.

Molecules are groups of atoms held together by what chemists call affinity. A molecule of water consists of two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen (H_2O). Steam is precisely the same, except that the molecules are further apart. They are not broken up into atoms, for atoms are only ideal. It is probable that intense vibration may wreck some molecules; indeed, Professor Tyndall remarks that a photographer dare not use blue rays, lest they should wreck his salts of silver. There is an intimate relation between the atomic theory and light and sound, for the vibrations of the ether select those atoms whose periods of vibration synchronise with their own, and deliver up their motion to those atoms. This theory also explains why elementary gases are impervious to heat, and compound gases absorb it.

The only information we can possibly acquire about molecules is what Maxwell calls "statistical," implying that the motion of the centre of gravity of the group can be determined, but not that of any one of its members for the time being; because these members are continually passing from one group to another in a manner beyond our power to observe.

There are some allied questions to this of atoms and molecules of vast importance, which are referred to in the article "Atom." Referring to the dimensions of atoms, Maxwell declares that the physiologist

"is forbidden from imagining that structural details of infinitely small dimensions can furnish an explanation of the infinite variety which exists in the properties and functions of the most minute organisms. A microscopic germ is, we know, capable of development into a highly organised animal. Another germ equally microscopic, becomes when developed an animal of a totally different kind. Do all the differences, infinite in number, which distinguish one animal from another arise each from some difference in the structure of the respective germs? Even if we admit this as possible, we shall be called upon by the advocates of Pangenesis to admit still greater marvels. For the microscopic germ, according to this theory is no mere individual but a representative body, containing members collected from

every rank of the long-drawn ramification of the ancestral tree, the number of these members being amply sufficient not only to furnish the hereditary characteristics of every organ of the body, and every habit of the animal from birth to death, but also to afford a stock of latent gemmules to be passed on in an inactive state from germ to germ, till at last the ancestral peculiarity which it represents is revived in some remote descendant.

"Some of the opponents of this theory of heredity have attempted to elude the difficulty of placing a whole world of wonders within a body so small and so devoid of visible structure as a germ, by using the phrase structureless germs. Now, one material system can differ from another only in the configuration and motion which it has at a given instant. To explain differences of function and development of a germ without assuming differences of structure is therefore to admit that the properties of a germ are not those of a purely material system" (p. 573).

The latter part of this article deals with a matter concerning which there had been much interest manifested, and which, in October, 1874, had been discussed in the pages of *Nature*, the designation of the molecule as "a manufactured article." The expression was first used by Sir J. F. Herschel in his *Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*. To Bishop Ellicott Maxwell wrote :

"What I thought of was not so much that uniformity of result which is due to uniformity in the process of formation, as a uniformity intended and accomplished by the same wisdom and power of which uniformity, accuracy, symmetry, consistency, and continuity of plan are as important attributes as the contrivance of the special utility of each individual thing" (p. 393).

As was objected in *Nature* by Mr. C. J. Monro, in some cases the uniformity among manufactured articles is evidence of want of power in the manufacturer to adapt each article to its special use, but there is also a uniformity of plan, the choice of which is the highest proof and manifestation of intelligence, and that is the uniformity by which the Divine Artificer proceeds, because it is the absolutely best. Such, in substance, is the answer which Maxwell gave to the criticisms upon his use of Herschel's comparison.

These doctrines, the profound convictions of one of the best physicists of the age, arrived at not by brilliant generalisations to meet the momentary exigencies of public appearances with the aim of exciting popular sensation, but reached by the most thorough inquiry according to

strictly scientific methods, are a distinct and sufficient rebuke of that materialistic tendency which is exhibited by some of his *confrères* in physical research. Professor Huxley has said, "Thought is the expression of molecular changes in that matter of life which is the source of our other vital phenomena." Du Bois Reymond tells us that not only our bodily but also our mental functions are performed by the motion of atoms, and the finite mind has a double aspect, on the one hand acting, yet unconscious, and on the other, conscious, but inactive; the former, as Maxwell remarks in his dry way, being nothing but the mechanics of atoms, and the latter lying outside of mechanics, and caring nothing for cause and effect.

By grave strong reasoning, as well as with the keen weapon of his subtle irony, he was ever ready to do battle with all that was brought into contradiction with his intense belief that nature bore upon it the marks of perfect wisdom, and that the universe was everywhere stamped with the vestiges of an intelligent Creator. Although he was no controversialist, and as he said, had no nose for heresy, yet he was continually bringing his powers of burlesque and satire to bear upon contemporary fallacies. Some of his writings of this kind appeared in *Nature*, and others were handed to some friend for perusal. Among his more weighty utterances on this subject was a remark he made during his last illness, "I have looked into most philosophical systems, and I have seen that none will work without a God." This is a testimony worth pondering. Some of the Divine Laws, it is true, are incomprehensible and transcendental, but, as Maxwell said, "It is an universal condition of the enjoyable, that mind must believe in the existence of a law, and yet have a mystery to move in." The belief in a personal Deity was to him a mental necessity, but it was by no means a stagnant faith. "Nothing," wrote he in a letter, "is to be *holy ground* consecrated to stationary faith, whether positive or negative." Research "is never to be willingly suspended till nothing more remains to be done; *i.e.*, till A.D. + ∞ ." Mystery there will ever be, therefore let there be unending research.

If the scientific world has reason to be grateful for Maxwell's noble labours, the Christian Church may also be thankful for such a life. Not in the spirit of a polemic, but with tender considerateness for the feelings and beliefs of others, he yet managed to convince many who would

have otherwise looked coldly on his faith, that to him it was an intense reality and a sublime inspiration to purity and philanthropy. Through all his career he never forgot the entreaty which fell from his dying mother's lips, that he would "always look up through nature to nature's God."

As might be expected from one whose mother was a pious Episcopalian and whose father was a Presbyterian elder, Maxwell was ordinarily very reticent with regard to the deeper and more sacred instincts of his nature, but in his letters, especially to his wife, all the depths of his soul were revealed, and the strong, clinging love which he cherished for Christ was spoken of with such unobtrusive naturalness as leaves no doubt concerning the reality and intensity of his spiritual life. On one occasion he wrote :

"I have been back at 1 Cor. xiii. I think the description of charity or divine love is another loadstone for our life—to show us that this is one thing which is not in parts, but perfect in its own nature, and so it shall never be done away. It is nothing negative, but a well-defined, living, almost acting, picture of goodness, that kind of it which is human, but also divine. Read along with it 1 John iv. ver. 7 to end ; or if you like, the whole Epistle, and Mark xii. 28."

Again he writes to Mrs. Maxwell :

"I am always with you in spirit, but there is One who is nearer to you and to me than we ever can be to each other, and it is only through Him and in Him that we can ever really get to know each other. Let us try to realize the great mystery in Ephes. v. and then we shall be in our right position with respect to the world outside, the men and women whom Christ came to save from their sins."

His religion was moreover of a practical kind. He gave largely and worked with much zeal and energy for the endowment of Corsock Church near his estate, and the building of the manse. He also set apart a site and got plans made out for a day-school in the neighbourhood, to be built and supported at his own expense, a purpose which was interfered with by his illness and premature death.

We have not many men to lose like Professor Maxwell, and it is pardonable if those who long to see the thinking, throbbing world of science spiritualised by a living faith in God, and sobered by a reverence for revealed truth, should feel that his departure has left a gap which cannot easily be filled. But he lived nobly, and future generations will be the richer for his life.

ART. II.—1. *Rivers Conservancy Bills, House of Lords and House of Commons.* 1879-1883.

2. *Report of the House of Lords' Committee on Conservancy Boards.* 1877.

3. *Rivers Conservation: Address and Papers read before the British Association at Dublin.* 1878.

4. *Address of James Abernethy, Esq., F.R.S.E., President of the Institution of Civil Engineers.* 1881.

5. *Conservancy of Rivers: Papers read by Messrs. Wheeler and Jacob before the Institute of Civil Engineers, Session 1881-1882.*

6. *National Water Supply: Notes on previous Inquiries in connection with the Congress of the Society of Arts.* 1878.

7. *Annual Conference on National Water Supply, Sewage, and Health, of the Society of Arts.* 1879-80.

8. *Reports of the Salmon Fishery Commissioners.* 1879 and 1881.

9. *Report of the House of Lords on Thames Floods Prevention.* 1877.

10. *Report of the Thames Traffic Committee.* 1879.

11. *Reports of the Thames Conservators.* 1857 *et seq.*

12. *Report of the Metropolitan Board of Works.* 1878-79.

LORD HALE, writing of the "office of conservancy," in his work, *De Jure Maris*,* says that it is of two kinds. The first, that relating to nuisances in rivers, was established by an Act of Henry IV.'s reign,† which instituted commissioners of sewers to provide for the protection of lands from the inroads of the sea and navigable rivers, and empowered them to charge the cost of the necessary works on the owners of property in the area benefited. The other is the conservancy relating to fishery, which is founded on the statute of Westminster the second.‡

Water conservancy has, however, of late years, acquired

* *De Jure Maris.* Harg. Tracts, p. 23.

† 1 Henry IV. c. 12, confirmed by 23 Henry VIII. c. 5, and many subsequent statutes.

‡ Statute Westminster II. c. 47, mentioned in the statute 1 Eliz. c. 17.

a wider meaning. It has been defined by the eminent engineers and authorities who have most studied the subject, to consist in the treatment and regulation of all the water that falls on these islands, from its first arrival in the form of rain or dew to its final disappearance in the ocean, and has been taken to be the regulation of rivers for the following purposes: 1. Navigation; 2. Water supply for domestic, sanitary, and industrial purposes; 3. Water power; 4. Drainage and irrigation of land; and 5. The preservation of fish. The carriage of refuse has by some been included as a sixth use. As, however, it may be shown to interfere materially with three of the above-mentioned uses, and therefore to be antagonistic to a true system of water culture, it is proposed to consider it apart.

The water system of the United Kingdom offers peculiar advantages for the development of conservancy. The rivers of England and Wales are 210 in number, and drain an area of 54,971 square miles. In tidal rivers Great Britain possesses especial advantages as compared with Continental nations. Not only have tidal rivers an immensely greater flow than those that are tideless, but they also enhance the value of maritime advantages. Thus, the Humber, which drains but one-thirtieth part of the area drained by the Danube, a tideless river flowing into a tideless sea, has an ordinary volume at the mouth more than twice as great as the occasional flood volume, and eleven times greater than the mean flow of the latter river; while the tidal coast line of Great Britain and Ireland, which is 3,900 miles, is greater than that of any other nation of Europe. Again, the average rainfall throughout England and Wales appears to be generally stated at thirty-two inches per annum, giving a total fall in the year of more than 27,000,000 gallons. In the mountainous districts of the North-West of England and Wales, however, the rainfall is greatly in excess of the average, and it has been stated that twenty-two inches per annum may be relied upon as an average in the driest districts. The sites, also, which are available for surface reservoirs, are plentifully scattered in the tributary valleys forming our various river basins. This may be seen from the map published by the Society of Arts as the result of their survey for ascertaining the means available for a national water supply, which also gives the dimensions of the subterranean water systems so extensively distributed throughout the United Kingdom. Lastly, we have 4,500

miles of canal system, which, owing to the progress of railways, have of late years been comparatively neglected.

In spite, however, of these natural advantages, the idea of treating them systematically is regarded as the utopian and costly dream of scientific theorists. Though the phenomena relating to many of our rivers have been thoroughly investigated by some of the most competent engineers, and a most valuable collection of hydrological facts has been made by those who have studied the question of a national water supply, little or no attempt has been made to reduce these materials to a system. While Holland, Italy, France, and Germany possess departments devoted to the management of all matters relating to water, and while in America engineers have not shrunk from dealing with the Mississippi, which drains an area 180 times greater than that of the Thames, England possesses only a mass of conflicting authorities to deal with the element which Isaac Walton termed the "the eldest daughter of the creation." It is proposed in the present article, by examining past and impending legislation, as well as the state of things with which it has to deal, to show how far river conservancy in England falls short of what it ought to be, and how it might be raised to a degree of efficiency commensurate with its importance.

The branch of conservancy which first received attention in England was, as is usual, that of navigation. In this, however, British enterprise did not lead the way, and indeed was far behind that of Continental nations. Though a canal joining the Trent to the Witham was constructed by Henry I., in 1134, it was not till 1614 that the New River Canal was brought to London, and not till 1624 that the Thames was made navigable to Oxford; while it was not till the middle of the last century that the great movement began for constructing canals and making rivers navigable which has resulted in the 4,500 miles of canals and waterways which we now possess.

The conservancy of fisheries was first made a subject of legislation in the reign of Edward I. In 17 Richard II. c. 9, it is enacted that "justices of the peace be conservators of the statutes touching salmons," meaning thereby 13 Edward I. c. 47, and 15 Richard II. c. 19. The Fisherman's Company, for regulating the fisheries of the Thames, was incorporated in 1710, and there were doubtless local Acts governing many of the rivers of England; but it was

not till 1861 that a national character was given to the work by the appointment of two Inspectors of Fisheries for England and Wales.

In his last Annual Report for 1880 Mr. Walpole says :

“ In 1863 the entire produce of the English and Welsh salmon fisheries was estimated by Mr. Eden, who was then inspector, at £18,000. In 1865, the late Mr. Ashworth, a competent writer, placed their value at £30,000. For some years past the produce has been worth £100,000, and, great as this increase is, it would have been much greater if the drainage of lands, and the increase of river pollutions, had not made improvement in many cases impossible, or had not actually reversed the progress which in other cases had been made.”

In 1848 the period of sanitary improvements commenced, and our rivers, already the receptacles for mining and manufacturing refuse, began to be used everywhere as sewers. In 1861 a reaction set in, when a Royal Commission declared that river pollution had become a national evil, and the Legislature began to take steps to undo the results of what may be termed the “ drainage period.” Besides several local provisions, the enactments contained in the Thames Conservancy Acts and the Rivers’ Pollution Prevention Act were passed ; all of which, however, owing to the indifference of the public, and the faulty machinery of the statutes, have proved useless. As will be shown later on, river pollution continues unabated ; and, though intimately connected with the great question of a national water supply, it is regarded by the general public as a question of mere scientific interest.

Water supply first attracted the attention of the Legislature in 1827, when a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the state of the water supplied to the metropolis. The Royal Commission of 1843 to inquire into the state of large towns and populous districts, the Royal Metropolitan Sanitary Commission of 1847, and the Royal Commission of 1865 on river pollution, all deal in a supplementary way with water supply ; but the principal commission on the subject was that of 1866, appointed to ascertain what supply of unpolluted and wholesome water can be obtained by collecting and storing water in the high grounds of England and Wales, either by the aid of natural lakes, or by artificial reservoirs, at a sufficient elevation for the supply of large towns. The subject was also under the consideration of the Royal Sanitary Com-

mission of 1869, and the Royal Society of Arts have never ceased to press its importance on the public at the series of congresses held by them since 1878. Though, however, the question of purchasing the rights of the London Water Companies was, during the past session, said to occupy the attention of the present Home Secretary, there has been no attempt to legislate on the subject since the failure of Sir R. Cross's bill, and the latest fruits of the growing interest in matters relating to water have been the series of bills brought forward to provide for the prevention of floods.

Since 1879 five measures have been framed for the purpose of dealing with this branch of conservancy, the last of which was recently announced in the Queen's Speech. The first of these was the bill introduced in the House of Lords in 1879 by the Duke of Richmond, based on the report of the House of Lords' Committee of 1877 on Conservancy Boards, which was then appointed in consequence of the alarming prevalence of river floods. It had for its objects the mitigation of floods and the enforcement of the Rivers' Pollution Prevention Act, and it appears to have aimed at placing the basin of each river as far as possible under a single authority. This measure had to be abandoned when the Conservatives went out of office, but its principles were adopted in that introduced by Lord Spencer in the House of Lords in 1881, with the addition to the purposes of the Act of the arterial drainage, warping, or irrigation of land, and the storage of water. A bill on the same subject was also introduced in the House of Commons during the same session by Mr. Magniac, which differed from its two predecessors in leaving the area to be dealt with undecided, and providing for the establishment of district and sub-district boards as well as general conservancy boards. While too both the former divided the lands to be rated for the purposes of the bill into three classes, viz.—uplands, midlands, and lowlands, it proposed to tax only two classes of lands—first and second class, nor did it contemplate dealing with arterial drainage or water supply. Neither of the measures of 1881, however, became law, and that of last year, introduced by the President of the Local Government Board, having shared the same fate, the forthcoming bill—which we are informed is based on the same lines as the latter, and which the disastrous floods of the last few months have rendered urgently necessary—will consequently shortly be submitted to Parliament.

This is more limited in scope than any of its forerunners, and proposes to deal only with the prevention of floods; and, like Mr. Magniac's bill, leaves the area to be dealt with uncertain. It empowers any twenty or more owners, or owners and occupiers of land of a rateable value in the aggregate of not less than £2,000, as well as sanitary and conservancy authorities, to apply to the Local Government Board by petition for the establishment of a Conservancy Board for the whole or any part of the river basin in which their lands are situate. After the tedious and costly processes of a local inquiry, of a draft provisional order, and, if this prove satisfactory, of a provisional order, the latter is to go before Parliament for confirmation, and the result will be a Conservancy Board. Wherever just and practicable, the land must be divided into lowlands, midlands, and uplands, which are to contribute by a conservancy rate, levied on the same basis as the poor rate, to the expenses of the conservancy fund; the highest rate payable by the uplands to be not more than one-tenth part of that payable by the lands paying the highest general rate. The board are empowered, saving the rights of existing authorities, to take such measures as they deem advisable for the prevention of floods, contracting where necessary with sanitary authorities for that purpose, and to commute and enforce the liabilities of private persons with respect to works, exempting lands from taxation, or levying special rates on them in cases where it seems expedient. The Local Government Board, to whom Conservancy Boards are to report annually, and to submit an annual statement of their accounts, are empowered to repeal local acts, and to abolish commissions of sewers and conservancy authorities interfering with Conservancy Boards under the Act, though only, it is to be presumed, with the consent of the former. They are also empowered to invest existing authorities with the powers given by the Act; and, in the case of fen lands already under the government of drainage commissioners or conservancy authorities, to make provision for defraying expenses in such a manner as shall work harmoniously with the system of taxation established by such Acts.

In order to judge fairly of this measure, it is necessary to consider the state of things it is intended to remedy, evidence of which may be gathered from the report of the House of Lords' Committee in 1877, and the other sources

of information referred to above. It will be found that the water system of the country is entrusted to various corporate bodies—River Navigation Trustees, Canal and Railway Companies, Harbour and Dock Trustees, Commissioners of Sewers,* and Fishery Boards—created by between 2,000 and 3,000 Acts, as to which Mr. Ridley, one of the Enclosure Commissioners, stated in his evidence before the House of Lords that “no man could ever ascertain properly what their contents are,” and with which no existing authority can interfere.

The systems under which these governing bodies deal with the rivers or portions of rivers under their control present every variety of management and mismanagement. There are rivers, mostly smaller ones, over which an enormous number of authorities have jurisdiction. Such are the Nene, the thirty-one miles’ tidal portion of which is entrusted to eight public bodies, whose internecine conflicts during the last half-century have cost the inhabitants of the locality £100,000 in litigation and parliamentary proceedings; and the Witham, whose length of between eighty and ninety miles is ruled by seventeen sets of commissioners, while it has been said that hardly a session passes without seeing several bills relating to the drainage of the fen land through which these two rivers flow brought before Parliamentary Committees. Such too is Kennet and Avon navigation, which for the first mile and a half of its course is under the Thames Conservancy, and for the next two miles under the Reading Local Board, after which the Great Western Railway has control over it up to Bristol, where the Bristol Dock Company take charge over it till it reaches the sea.

Then there are rivers which are entrusted to an authority for a certain distance, generally at or near the outfall, and for the upper portion of their course are entirely neglected. Such are the Severn, with a length of 178 miles, and with seventeen tributaries of a united length of 450 miles, which is under a body of commissioners for forty-two miles only,†

* *The Report of the House of Lords’ Committee, 1877* (Appendix), gives the Commissions of Sewers now in force as thirty-one under 23 Henry III., c. 5; twelve under Part I. of the Land Drainage Act, 1861; and twenty-nine “separate drainage districts” under the latter Act, giving a total of seventy-two.

† The owners on the Upper Severn complain that this Commission, by regulating the river, has *diminished* the floods on which they were dependent for navigation.

from Stourport to Gloucester; the Humber, an estuary receiving the Ouse, Derwent, Trent, and most of the drainage of the northern portion of the kingdom, which is under a conservancy commission that deals with navigation only, and has nothing to do with the care of the banks; and the Trent, which is 167 miles long, with ten tributaries of a united length of 293 miles, and is under a navigation company for 73 miles, from Gainsborough, twenty-six miles from the Humber, to a point thirteen miles above Nottingham.

Some rivers, like the Dorsetshire Stour, have never been under any conservancy authorities, but are entirely given over to the millowners, their floods being considered beneficial; while others have fallen into a state of decay through the neglect of their conservators. Examples of the latter class are the Upper Warwickshire Avon, which was supposed to belong to the Great Western Railway Company, till the latter were threatened at suit of the landowners with proceedings for neglect before the Railway Commissioners, when they promptly repudiated their ownership; and the Wye and the Lugg rivers, the trustees of which practically surrendered their powers to a horse-towing company, whose establishment was broken up on the completion of the railway from Hereford to Gloucester, so that while both bodies have a full legal existence, neither performs any of the duties of conservancy.

Again, there are navigations that have been extinguished by railway competition, as in the case of the Ivel, a tributary of the Ouse, the commissioners of which, finding themselves utterly destitute of funds, were obliged to apply to Parliament for an Act to wind themselves up; there are rivers like the Parret, Carey, Brew and Axe, in Somersetshire, which after a series of severe floods have been placed under one authority by a comprehensive measure, based on the lines of the Enclosure Acts; and lastly there are rivers like the Wear, the Tyne, and the Tees, which have been brought to a high state of conservancy under their respective authorities, so that flooding is unknown.

Such being the state of conservancy generally, Government was asked to find a remedy for the evils consequent on perpetually recurring floods. It was pointed out by Mr. Bailey Denton, and others examined before the House of Lords' Committee, that land drainage hastens floods, owing to the fact that the improved outfalls discharge the

water of the subsoil drains as well as the surface water, it having been calculated that the water so drained amounts in the year to 500 tons per acre on clay soils, in which half the rainfall penetrates to the under drains in twenty-four hours, and to 1,000 tons per acre on free soils, which retain the surface water up to the point of saturation. It was shown that a flood passing over the surface of meadow lands quickly does good; but if retained for days great injury results. It was also proved that mill-dams and weirs have the effect of raising the beds of rivers, the result being that rivers seldom occupy the lowest places of valleys, these being the side streams formed by waste water channels for mills, and by washes of canals, &c., which might be used for storage purposes. "My own opinion is," says Mr. Bailey Denton, "that, with the increase of water due to land drainage, unless you look to storage to regulate the flow of rivers—that is, to supply the water in times of drought which has been saved in times of plenty—you can never accomplish any great improvement." The same authority calculated that the water drained annually from the land is equal to two and a half times the whole water supply required by the population, thus demonstrating the close relationship with land drainage to the question of water supply, which necessitates on the face of it the prevention of pollution. Additional evidence on this point can be gathered from the Reports of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries. Thus Mr. Buckland, in the report for the year 1879,* remarks, that the drainage of land causes the *sudden* running off of water. "There are vast tracts of sheep walks and boggy ground which a few years ago were saturated with water and acted as sponges, keeping up a constant flow of water down a river in dry seasons; these are now riddled with drain pipes, and in a few hours sent down a spate into a river, which runs away into the sea in much less time than formerly." Mr. Walpole, in the same report,† bears testimony to the same fact, and similar statements will be found in the Report of the Salmon Disease Commission for 1880.‡ The subject has also been fully discussed by the Institution of Civil Engineers of late years, and the main points at issue may be summed up in the words of Mr.

* *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. XIV. pp. 395, *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, pp. 461, *et seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, Notes of Evidence, p. 254.

Wheeler at their proceedings (session 1881-2). "In all improvements," he remarks, "the fact should be kept steadily in view that the rainfall is only to be got rid of after making due provision for water supply, irrigation, water power, and navigation. These are none of them incompatible with good drainage."

If we now examine how Parliament proposes to deal with these problems, we find that it is by the creation of a set of entirely new authorities dependent on voluntary action. Beyond the provisions that Conservancy Boards may, if they please, surrender their powers, and that an existing Conservancy Board may, on application to the Local Government Board, be invested with fresh conservancy powers, no attempt seems to be made to diminish the present bewildering number of authorities. In addition to this it would seem that the bill almost provides for a conflict by empowering the new Conservancy Boards, which deal only with the prevention of floods, to obtain the restriction of the powers of the old ones, which for the most part regulate navigation or fishery, and the former of which, since their duties are undertaken generally for profit, may be expected to view with jealousy any attempt to limit their authority. An undue importance seems thus to have been assigned to the duty of the prevention of floods over that of regulating navigation, and though it must not be forgotten that there are many non-navigable rivers, under no conservancy authority, which would derive benefit from the new boards, it would seem to have been wiser, as respects rivers already navigable, to attempt to consolidate the old navigation conservancy authorities, and to entrust them with powers for checking inundation. It appears to be admitted by authorities on the subject, that not only is navigation beneficial to the purity of water, by the fact that it requires a depth incompatible with the growth of weeds, but also that a river, when once made efficient for navigation, will probably more than maintain itself as a main channel, so that the subsidiary river channels alone would have to be maintained for drainage works. It appears to be the universal opinion of all engineers who have had to deal with rivers, that the best remedy for the prevention of floods is the deepening of the outfall, and that embanking alone has a prejudicial effect. The requirements of navigation necessitate this measure, and we find that the rivers that have been most successfully improved are those that

have been deepened to provide harbour and dock accommodation, as for instance the Tyne, the Clyde, and the Avon.

We have mentioned these facts to show that the use of navigation would seem to be, strictly speaking, paramount to that of flood prevention. In the case of rivers that are non-navigable, it has been pointed out by Mr. John Lloyd, of Huntington Court, Herefordshire, as supplementing his evidence before the House of Lords' Committee, that the Salmon Fishery Conservancy Boards have usually entire jurisdiction over the watershed of their river, and therefore would constitute the nucleus of a Conservancy Board where such does not exist. Here then arises a fresh element of possible conflict on the creation of any new board under the Act.* A more serious defect, however, in the bill than either of those already mentioned is the fact that, supposing a certain number of these Conservancy Boards to have been created, with powers of restricting other authorities on the river, they would be all isolated units carrying on their own system of conservancy, without that power of utilising facts common to all, which the control of a central department of government would enable them so beneficially to do. It is, moreover, deeply to be regretted that a most important branch of river conservancy, that of the prevention of pollution, with which each of the three bills already mentioned proposed to deal, has been altogether omitted from the present measure. After the numerous reports of Royal Commissioners and enactments on the subject, it would be superfluous to enlarge on the frightful evils of river pollution from a sanitary point of view. As to its interference with navigation, evidence will be given later on in the case of the Thames; while the extent of its existence in rivers presumably purer than any others is proved by the remarks of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries in their latest Report:

“ In the first place it is our duty to point out that the multiplication of salmon is seriously affected by the increase of pollution. Into the particulars of these pollutions it is not necessary for us to enter. A reference to the appendix will show the many cases in which new pollutions have arisen, or old sources of pollution have done fresh damage, during the last twelve months,

* A table, showing the limits of the various salmon fishery districts of England and Wales, will be found in Appendix IX. of the *Report of the Inspectors of Fisheries for 1881.*

and the few cases in which steps have been taken to render pollution harmless. We may say generally that the multiplication of fish is made more difficult in this way, and that some of the rivers which have hitherto been most productive are in perhaps the greatest danger from this cause. It is for Her Majesty's Government, rather than ourselves, to consider whether under these circumstances any steps are desirable for the purpose of remedying these pollutions. It is merely our duty to point out the danger that arises from them."

Hitherto we have been considering the defective condition of river conservancy generally. In order to illustrate what we believe to be a remedy, we will proceed to examine in detail the case of the Thames, both because it affords the only example of an English river possessing anything like a complete system of conservancy administered by one authority, and also because it is excluded from the operation of the bill now before Parliament.

The conservancy of the Thames, which tradition states was given to the City of London by William the Conqueror, and which was certainly conferred by charter in the reign of Richard I., A.D. 1196, was transferred to the Thames Conservators by the Thames Conservancy Act of 1857, on the conclusion of a Chancery suit, which lasted twelve years, between the Crown and the Mayor and Corporation as to the ownership of the soil of the bed of the river. They were thus made, in the words of Lord Cairns, "guardians, as it were, of the navigation of the Thames, and the protectors of the bed and soil of the Thames for the purposes of navigation."* The jurisdiction of the conservators, both as to powers and extent, has been developed by a series of subsequent Acts. Thus, the original limits from Staines to Yantlett Creek were, by the Act of 1864, extended to the whole river from Cricklade to the Nore, the old governing body, the Upper Thames Commissioners, being given a representation on the Board. So, too, the jurisdiction given to them as to pollution, which was first confined to the actual river by the Acts of 1857 and 1864, was extended to three miles on each side of it by the Act of 1867, to five miles by the Act of 1870, and to ten miles by the Act of 1878. Again, while by the Act of 1866 the six water companies supplying the metropolis were brought into communication with the conservators, and power was

* *Lyons v. Fishmongers' Company*, 1 App. Cas. 662.

given to them to complain of works likely to injure the purity of their intake, they on their part paying a contribution to the Conservancy Fund, the Act of 1878 increased this contribution to enable the conservators better to meet additional expenses thrown on them by their increased jurisdiction with regard to pollution. Lastly, their powers under the same Act of making bye-laws to regulate the fishery, which were inherited from the City of London, were extended so as to enable them to vary the close seasons by the Salmon Fisheries Act, 1876.

The duties of the conservators may be summarised as comprising the care and control of the river in all that relates to navigation, as well as of all professional persons navigating it; the maintenance of its waters, and the waters of its tributaries within ten miles, in a pure state, and the regulation of its fisheries. They have no jurisdiction as to the prevention of floods, and apparently no control over the actual volume of the river, since they are bound to maintain a sufficient head of water for the mills on the upper river, and to permit the millowners, of whom there are some 360 on the banks of the Thames and its tributaries, to draw down water for their reasonable repair; nor do they seem to have any authority to limit the amount taken from the river by the water companies.

Imperfect, however, as the authority of the conservators must still be admitted to be, the history of the Board shows that it has been steadily developed and consolidated, and a glance at the work which it has accomplished since the river was first entrusted to it some twenty-two years ago, affords a good proof of what can be done by means of one governing body.*

In 1857 the Upper Thames, once, it is said, navigable up to Ashton Keynes, some half a dozen miles above Cricklade, was a nearly abandoned navigation. For 152 miles, between Cricklade and Staines, the locks were in such a perilously dilapidated condition that the destruction at any moment of most of them seemed inevitable. As almost all of these were attached to weirs holding up the water for driving mills, the use of any one involved not only risk to vessels and the stoppage of traffic on that part of the river where it happened to be, but the failure of the water power

* The writer is indebted for the following facts to the courtesy of the Thames Conservators.

of the miller. As a still further hindrance to navigation, charges, appropriately termed "old lock tolls," were made for locks that had ceased to exist for many years, while the weeds, formerly kept in check by the barge traffic, had, on its decay, attained such a luxuriant and rank growth as to cover the whole bed and surface of the river, and to threaten the silting up of the channels on which the country depended for drainage.

On the lower river, navigation was not only hindered by the non-removal of wrecks and obstructions, and by shoals increased by the removal of old London Bridge, and continually added to by the practice, notably followed at the Docks, of throwing mud and other refuse into the river, but also suffered from an urgent want of embankments, steam-boat landings, and other accommodation for vessels. Lastly, from about 1850, the Thames began to be used as a sewage channel by nearly all the towns on its banks.

Such were the results of the rule of the City of London and the Upper Navigation Commissioners, the evil effects of which have been now almost entirely removed by the conservators. As respects the upper river, on which £5,000 was expended in 1876, of the thirty-six locks and weirs nineteen have been almost entirely rebuilt, and *all* have been placed in good working order, to the great increase of the waterway. The ownership of the mills has been transferred to the conservators, and a fixed toll is payable at all the locks, while the weeds and obstructions which interfered both with the flow and purity of the river have been removed.

As respects the lower navigation, while the work of deepening and dredging the channels and the berths occupied by ships has proceeded continuously since 1857, between 700 and 800 wrecks* have been removed and restored to the owners, and by means of inspections and prosecutions, the casting into the river of mud and refuse is being gradually put a stop to. The granting of embankments, which under the Corporation brought in only £1,000 a year, now yields a revenue of £6,000 per annum, one-third of which is paid to the Crown, while the remainder goes to meet the general expenses of management for the

* In their last Report for the year ending 1881, the conservators state that thirty-four sunken vessels have been raised, of which seven are steam vessels measuring 6,342 tons, nine are sailing vessels measuring 1,628 tons, and eighteen are barges measuring 699 tons.

river. Mooring chains and buoys are provided for ships, and steamboat landings have been established in spite of the vigorous opposition of adjoining owners and occupiers, who involved the conservators in a chancery suit on the building of the very first, and in no less than five before the completion of the third at Old Swan Pier. Lastly, the conservators have been a valuable instrument in the hands of Parliament for the purpose of restraining that pollution which was the first fruits of sanitary legislation. How far, however, their energetic efforts have been successful will be considered further on.

A consideration of the Board thus established by the six Acts from 1857 to 1878 will show that it may fairly be taken to represent most, though not all, of the authorities having an interest in the river. It consists of twenty-three members, of whom the Lord Mayor and Deputy Master of the Trinity House have their seats *ex-officio*; while the Privy Council and the Board of Trade each nominate one, and the Admiralty two representatives. The City of London is represented by two Aldermen and four Common Councilmen; and the Corporation of the Trinity House by one member. Owners of certificated passenger steamers plying on the Thames not seaward of Gravesend send one member, and dock owners and wharfingers send another. The owners of lighters and steam tugs are represented by two members, and lastly, the old Upper Navigation Commissioners by four.

There are, however, still *ten* other bodies having a jurisdiction over the river, of whom the rights of three at least are brought into conflict with those of the conservators.* These are the Watermen's Company, the Thames Valley Drainage Commissioners, and the Metropolitan Board of Works.

The first of these may be disposed of very briefly. The Watermen and Lightermen's Company, which was first founded in 1556, and confirmed in its privileges by several subsequent Acts, was entrusted with the management of the watermen, bargemen, wherrymen, and lightermen on the river, its freemen being empowered to employ apprentices, and the company regulating the qualifications of watermen's

* The seven non-conflicting bodies are, the Trinity House, the Admiralty, the Board of Trade, the Chartered Dock Companies, the Conservators of the Medway, the Trustees of the Lea, and the Commissioners of Sewers. The Metropolitan police too have a jurisdiction over the Thames from Staines to the Nore.

licenses. A certain control over the watermen was given to the conservators by the Watermen's and Lightermen's Amendment Act, 1859, which provided that no bye-laws of the company should be valid till approved by them, and was further extended by the Act of 1864.

Of the remaining two conflicting authorities we will first consider the Thames Valley Drainage Commissioners, a body called into being by the want of any authority to deal with the floods in the Upper Thames Valley, and the powers of which much resemble those to be given to the new Conservancy Boards, reserving for later consideration the other, which is calculated to interfere with the existing powers of the conservancy as to water supply, fishery, and navigation.

In 1869 the conservators brought in a bill to enable them to tax riparian lands from Long Wittenham to Cirencester, in order to lower the water level round Oxford. This bill, which was opposed by the riparian owners and occupiers, had to be abandoned, and led to an application to Parliament by the latter for powers of land drainage on a comprehensive scale. The result of this was the Thames Valley Act of 1871, which incorporated the commissioners, giving them rating powers over the Thames Valley above Clifton Hampden, an extent of 55,472 acres, and a jurisdiction for executing works for the drainage, embankment, and irrigation of lands, and the control and regulation of floods over that area. The consent of the Thames Conservators was, however, required to the execution of any works in the bed and soil of the Thames, provision being made, if they objected, for an appeal to the Board of Trade. While, therefore, the Thames Valley Drainage Commissioners are confined to works of land drainage, irrigation, and flood prevention, the powers of the conservators are limited to navigation, the prevention of pollution, and the preservation of fish.

The first commissioners, as a preliminary, obtained plans and levels for ascertaining the limit of their jurisdiction, divided their areas into districts, fixed the number of the district boards, and elected their members. By means of the Ordnance Survey Department they had surveys taken of the Upper Thames at a cost of £5,000, thus making their preliminary expenses, including the cost of their two Acts, nearly £8,000. Two of the districts have undertaken works for drainage on tributaries, but in 1877 no general plan had

been laid down, and, in the evidence before the House of Lords' Committee on Floods for that year, Mr. Hawkins, Town Clerk of Oxford and Secretary to the Commission, stated that he represented its *whole staff*. The House of Lords' Committee recommended cordial co-operation between the conservators and the Thames Valley Commissioners, and it is believed that some plan may be ultimately arrived at which may admit of these two conflicting authorities acting in concert for the better conservancy of the river.* For the present, however, no authority exists with special powers for the prevention of floods or arterial drainage between Long Wittenham and the metropolis; and it is probable, as was pointed out by Mr. Hawkins in his evidence above referred to, that landowners below Long Wittenham will complain of the too rapid discharge of water and consequent flooding as soon as the drainage work of the commissioners has commenced.†

We will now proceed to consider the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works, which, as is well known, was established in 1855, by 18 and 19 Vict., cap. 120, to provide for the better management of the metropolis in respect of sewerage, drainage, paving, cleansing, lighting, &c. By the Metropolis Water Act, 1871, it was also constituted the water authority for the metropolis, exclusive of the City of London; while by the Toll Bridges Act of 1877 it was empowered to acquire, by purchase, all the bridges over the Thames, and to open them free to the public. The Act of 1855 vested the main sewers of London in the Board, and all other sewers in the Vestry and District Boards, giving power to prevent all or any part of the sewage within the metropolis from flowing or passing into the Thames in or near it. It also required the Board and Vestries to strengthen, alter, and repair all banks, defences, &c., abutting on all watercourses within their district, in order

* It should be stated that in their last Report the conservators state that they have been in communication with the Thames Valley Drainage Commissioners "as to carrying out a scheme for the improvement of the river in the district of the commissioners, and it is hoped that the works required for this improvement will shortly be commenced and carried out conjointly by the two Boards."

† Since this article was written, the greater part of the Thames Valley between Reading and the metropolis has been inundated by floods to an extent greater than has been known for many years. The writer, however, is unable to say how far these are to be attributed to any works, or neglect to carry out works, on the upper river.

to prevent floods, whilst it at the same time abolished all such powers of the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers.

Eight Acts were passed relating to the main drainage of the metropolis. Of these, the Main Drainage Act of 1858 enacts that—"Whereas it is necessary, with a view to the health of the metropolis, that works should be speedily undertaken and completed for the purification of the Thames and the improvement of the drainage of the metropolis," the powers of the board should be extended; and they were empowered to borrow £3,000,000 for the purpose, works executed by them on the bed, bank, or shore of the river being required to be approved by the Lord High Admiral and the Thames Conservators. Subsequent Acts empowered them to borrow a further sum of £1,200,000, and sanctioned the incorporation of a company for utilising the sewage of the metropolis north of the Thames, and, after much discussion, the works at Barking were decided on, and the Government then in power introduced an Act which left the Metropolitan Board free scope to carry out their plans, with the result that 120,000,000 gallons of diluted filth are poured daily into the river in the vicinity of Woolwich. This, it is hardly necessary to remind our readers, has led to a conflict between the Corporation of London and the Metropolitan Board of Works, which has necessitated the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the pollution of the River Thames.

There is, however, another aspect of the case besides the sanitary. According to the evidence of Mr. Bailey Denton, before the House of Lords' Flood Committee, 1877, the road *detritus* or *débris* discharged into the Thames at the entry of the Port of London is being deposited in very large quantities: and, while a bar is being formed at Barking, under drainage and the improvement of land are throwing down water in the upper part of the river. One consequence of this was pointed out by the President of the Institute of Civil Engineers, in his address on his election on the 11th January, 1881, when he stated that while minor navigable rivers, such as the Clyde, the Avon (Bath), the Tyne, and others have been deepened so as to admit of the passage of large vessels at low water, there is only an available depth of about 15 feet at that period of the tide between Gravesend and Woolwich, and for a considerable distance below London Bridge it is practically restricted to 12 feet by the crown of the Thames Tunnel. Improvements

to a limited extent are being effected by the conservators out of the funds at their disposal, by dredging the navigable channel, but their laudable attempt to compel the Metropolitan Board of Works to remove the obstruction caused by their outfalls has, it is to be regretted, hitherto failed; it having been decided, at an inquiry held under the Conservancy Act of 1870, that no obstruction to the navigation sufficient to render the Metropolitan Board liable for its removal had been caused.

The jurisdiction of the Board with regard to the prevention of floods is another point in which their action has been, though perhaps unjustly, challenged by the public. "It is often better," says Greville, "to have a great deal of harm happen to one than a little: a great deal may arouse you to remove what a little will only accustom you to endure." It is perhaps fortunate for the poorer classes of London that the misery to which they have been subjected by floods was such as to rouse general sympathy so strong as to lead the Board to submit a bill for the enlargement of their powers to the House in 1877. This, however, had to be withdrawn, in consequence of the resolution of a Select Committee which recommended a different course. A second bill, prepared by them previous to the session of 1878, was abandoned owing to unavoidable delays, and it was not till 1879 that the Metropolis Management Amendment Act gave them the powers they require, but which, owing to the non-completion of the works, were totally insufficient to prevent the disastrous overflows which have of late years carried misery into so many homes.

This statute abolishes the provisions of the principal Act so far as they relate to the execution and maintenance of flood works and banks, and places the supervision of these under the Board, authorising them to make plans of the necessary works, and submit them to the vestries and owners affected, who, if they do not execute them within twenty-eight days after receiving a copy of the plan, may be compelled by the Board to do so. The Board may also, when necessary, erect flood works of a temporary nature, and are empowered to give compensation for damages, when satisfied of the equity of the claim; while all expenses are to met by rates levied by the districts and vestries.

It will be evident from a consideration of the above facts that the functions of the Metropolitan Board, as what may be termed *Ædiles* of London, are, efficiently as they are

performed, of a nature which must almost inevitably bring them into conflict with any authority entrusted with the guardianship of the river for the purposes of true conservancy. Their uses of the Thames are what may be termed purely *hostile*,—defensive in so far as they build bulwarks to keep out its inundations, and offensive from their use of it as a sewer into which they discharge their refuse. In both cases, however, they are of course only performing to the best of their power the duties cast upon them by the Legislature, which, with a somewhat startling incongruity, passed the Main Drainage Act of 1858, the very year after it had created the Thames Conservancy Board, and thereby expressly enjoined the latter body to “dredge, cleanse, scour the river Thames, . . . and to abate and remove all *impediments, obstructions, and annoyances*, and all *nuisances and abuses* whatsoever in the river Thames or on the banks and shores thereof which may now, or at any time hereafter, be *injurious* to the river Thames, or *obstruct* or lead to obstruct the free navigation thereof.”

The evil effects to conservancy of this practice of legislating for particular cases instead of in pursuance of a broad general principle, is to be found in the Thames above London as well as below it. It was in order to deal with the sewage of the metropolis that Parliament sanctioned the pollution of the river at Crossness and Barking. In order chiefly to insure a pure water supply to the metropolis, it gave the conservators their present large powers for checking pollution, and, after encouraging river-side towns to drain into the Thames, threatened them with heavy fines for doing so.

As a source of water-supply, the importance of the Thames rests principally on the fact that no less than six of the companies that supply the metropolis have their works on its banks, and abstract daily about one hundred million gallons from it. The water-supply of the metropolis is regulated by 15 and 16 Vict., cap. 84, amended by the Metropolis Water Act, 1852, Amendment Act of 1871. These statutes prohibit companies undertaking a supply from taking water from any part of the Thames below Teddington Lock, or any part of its tributaries within the range of the tide; and also require all water supplied for domestic use to be effectually filtered unless pumped from wells direct into covered reservoirs, providing for the appointment of a water-examiner by the Board of Trade to ascertain whether these requirements have been complied

with.* By the Thames Navigation Act of 1866, the companies, as has been stated, are empowered to complain of works likely to injure the purity and flow of the water above their sources of supply, and are made liable to contribute to the expenses of the conservators, nearly the whole burden of enforcing the partial purification of the Thames thus being laid on London through the rates it pays to the companies.

The conservators have done all in their power, by the serving of notices and the institution of legal proceedings, to check the pollution of the river and its tributaries throughout the area under their jurisdiction. As evidence of the results of their labours, we may quote their latest report for the year ending December, 1881 :

“The river above the intakes of the water companies is now practically free from sewage contamination ; the sewage works at Oxford, Abingdon, Reading, Windsor, and other places are working in a satisfactory manner. Some cases of sewage pollution, chiefly on the tributaries, have been reported to the conservators by their inspectors, and in five instances convictions have been obtained and penalties inflicted. In the district between the intakes of the water companies near Kingston, and the western boundary of the metropolis near Chiswick, the sewage still passes into the river, the penalties against this pollution of the river being suspended for the present by an Act of Parliament confirming a provisional order granted by the Local Government Board at the instance of the local authorities. The conservators hope that before September, 1883, the date when this Act expires, some scheme may be devised for diverting from the river the sewage of Kingston, Richmond, and other places in the Lower Thames Valley district.”

We have endeavoured to show that the defects in the system of the Thames conservancy may be considered as attributable to the conflict of authorities. Before, however, attempting to apply the lessons it teaches to the principles of the proposed legislation for other rivers, it must be pointed out that the *general* tendency of legislation as to the Thames has hitherto been, on the whole, satisfactory. It cannot be doubted that in this, as in other matters, it has been in the direction of centralisation, and of gradually consolidating, in a strong and far-reaching authority, all the

* By 35 and 36 Vict., cap. 69, the Local Government Board took the place of the Board of Trade.

functions of conservancy hitherto exercised by various and conflicting bodies.

"A general desire has been expressed," say the commissioners appointed to report on Thames traffic in 1879, "that the jurisdiction on the river should be simplified and rendered more efficient; but no desire has been expressed to abridge the present powers of the conservators. On the contrary, it is generally admitted that the principal function for which the conservators were appointed, viz., the maintenance and improvement of the physical condition of the river, has been well and efficiently performed; and the various suggestions that have been made point to an extension of the jurisdiction of the conservators, and the consolidation in their hands of various duties and powers now exercised by other bodies. . . . On the Thames, as in other harbours of the United Kingdom, the tendency of modern legislation has been to place the whole authority over matters connected with navigation in the hands of one body, representing more or less completely the different interests concerned in it. Such a body, in the case of the Thames, is to be found in the Thames Conservancy Board, and your committee are of opinion that it is to this Board that the public must ultimately look for the efficient supervision of the navigation, and the performance of duties hitherto entrusted to various bodies. Your committee have accordingly in their recommendations on the specific subjects referred to them suggested a considerable extension of their powers and duties."

A consideration of the facts that have been adduced with respect to the Thames proves what can be done with regard to conservancy, the comparative completeness of the system being in this case probably due to the circumstance of its being the metropolitan river, and thus enjoying exceptional advantages in being more readily brought before the tribunal of public opinion. It might, therefore, be argued that were a similar principle to be applied to each of our rivers—as appears to have been contemplated both in Lord Spencer's and the Duke of Richmond's bills, and to a certain extent in that now before the House—it would meet all the requirements of the case. Setting aside, however, the fact that the present measure deals only with the prevention of floods to the exclusion of the other uses of conservancy, there would still remain a number of separate bodies, each perhaps efficient in itself, but working in isolation and on inexpansive principles. As has been shown, each branch of conservancy has hitherto been treated

without regard to the others. Though the Salmon Fishery Commissioners have control over districts each of which comprises two or three rivers and a considerable seaboard, and though, as regards water-supply, schemes have been elaborated which map out the kingdom into distinct watersheds and catchment basins, no machinery exists for dealing with conservancy generally on a similarly broad basis. In Prussia, Italy, France, and, we might almost say, over the greater part of the Continent,* main and navigable rivers at least are under State control, and are managed by departments expressly constituted to deal with agriculture. Though English institutions and vested interests might present some difficulties, they are not such as would be likely to stand in the way of a matured Government scheme of centralisation. The proper constitution for the separate boards appears to have been already decided upon, and with regard to the principle of rating, it seems to be generally admitted that all who have the use of a waterway should contribute to its maintenance. The arguments in favour of the plan proposed both in Lord Spencer's and the last Conservancy Bill, are very clearly stated in a paper read by Mr. Wheeler before the British Association at Dublin in 1878. He contends that since every acre of land within the watershed of a river receives and contributes its quota of rainfall, so it should provide also its share towards the maintenance of the means by which that rainfall is disposed of. The expenses of police, sanitation, poor relief, compulsory education, are alike now shared by urban and rural populations. A river basin bears the same relation to the lands within its area as a highway does to a highway district, and the further lands are removed from the outfall of a river, the greater the distance the rainfall will have to traverse to reach it. It is therefore only just that all should contribute to its maintenance; and when it is considered that works hitherto maintained by owners on the lowlands have now been rendered useless by the drainage of the uplands, it is only fair that the latter, as well as the towns that derive benefit from good drainage, should contribute their share of the

* As to river conservancy in Italy, Hungary, and France, see an able article in the *Edinburgh Review* for May, 1881, on "River Floods." See too as to conservancy in Germany and other countries on the Continent the remarks of Mr. Jacob in an interesting paper read before the Institution of Civil Engineers, (session 1881-82), and the observations at its discussion of Messrs. Hagen, de Lagréné, and other foreign engineers, *Minutes of Proceedings*, T.C.E., Vol. LXVII. Part 1.

cost. Nor need such contribution be excessive. Mr. Clarke Hawkshaw has calculated that, taking the area of the Thames Basin at about three and three-quarter million acres, and assuming the average annual value to be £2 per acre, a rate of one penny in the pound would produce £31,000 per annum; and taking the total amount of land drained by rivers in England to be 54,971 square miles, a similar rate at the same average annual value would yield £293,178.

All the facts that we have been considering, taken in conjunction with the exceptional advantages of our water system, and the amount of scientific knowledge that exists regarding it, point to the establishment of a water department, "one," to quote Mr. Easton, President of Section G. of the British Association, at their meeting in Dublin, 1878, "not only endowed with powers analogous to those of the Local Government Board, but charged with the duty of collecting and digesting for use all the facts and knowledge necessary for a due comprehension and satisfactory dealing with every river basin or watershed area in the United Kingdom—a department that should be presided over, if not by a Cabinet Minister, at all events by a member of the Government who can be appealed to in Parliament."

ART. III.—*Lettres de Synésius, traduites pour la première fois, et suivies d'Études sur les Derniers Moments de l'Hellenisme.* Par F. LAPATZ. Paris : Librairie Académique. Didier et C^{ie}.

"A BISHOP, being a man of God, should be like God. He should be collected, solemn, should never forget himself and trifle. A thousand eyes are fastened on him, watching over his gravity; he can only please by being severe; it is derogatory if he laughs. Even when his mind is occupied with Divine mysteries, he cannot be alone; the multitude has a right to know what he thinks and what he speaks, for he is their master, it is his duty to teach them. Add to this that he must attend to every one's business; he belongs to every one; if one petitioner only fails to catch his eye, every one talks. What a superhuman task! What a life! What a hell! He no longer belongs to himself; he is the prey of his people. A bishop! this is what I think he should be; a divine man, without spot or reproach, pure enough to purify others."

Such was the ideal bishop of the fifth century. From the overseer of souls at that period very real work was expected. Not only was he to guide a wayward people aright in things spiritual, but he was to settle disputes, to protect the oppressed, to convert the oppressor to repentance and restitution, and to defend against wrongs of all sorts the flock that had chosen him for its shepherd. Abundant work of this kind lay ready to the bishop's hand in those decaying days of Imperial Rome, splendid and base beyond all others in history. The description we have quoted of the man who ought to fill this position of terrible responsibility is from the charming pen of Synesius, elected against his own will to be Bishop of Cyrene, a province in the diocese of Egypt, in the year of grace 410. His name cannot fail of its place in any history of the African Church, but is most familiar to the English reader through its introduction in Charles Kingsley's greatest work, *Hypatia*. The type of Christianity presented by Synesius was evidently dear to

the heart of the English Churchman, whose own tastes and views were not very unlike those so frankly revealed in the hundred and fifty-five letters, from the busy pen of the African bishop, which still survive. From these letters Kingsley drew much of his material, and to them he referred such of his readers as desired a more intimate acquaintance with fifth-century Christianity. The recommendation remained of necessity fruitless in most instances, so long as the letters continued hidden in their original Greek; but a spirited translation of them into French, with ample notes, now permits such readers as must take their classical literature at second hand to judge for themselves of the merits of that brilliant sketch by which the patriot Bishop of Cyrene has hitherto been known to the general public.

The letters by numberless hints reveal the profound corruption of Roman Africa, and the miseries of its helpless people, but are, nevertheless, pervaded by an atmosphere of purity and light. Their writer was a true Greek, and a spirit of serene cheerfulness remained with him till accumulated woes crushed it. He began life under happy auspices. He was the younger of two brothers, children of a noble and wealthy house; a tender friendship subsisted between them. Evoptius, the elder, preferred city life, fixing his abode sometimes at Alexandria, and sometimes at Phycus, a marshy and feverish seaport of Cyrenaica. But though Synesius knew well and enjoyed the brilliant Greek society of Alexandria, he made his home in the country parts of Cyrene. This choice of residence would seem to have been determined by a sincere love of natural beauty and of rustic pleasures, displayed with charming grace and a little ostentation in a hundred passages of his correspondence.

Young, wealthy, gifted, a patrician by birth and by conviction, happily married to a wife who had borne him three sons, it was not surprising that Synesius should shrink from the summons which bade him exchange home and happiness, learned leisure and country joys, for the hard task of ruling a stormy diocese, and defending an ignorant populace against itself and its enemies. His eloquent description of the ideal *Episkopos* was not a sketch from life: no actual bishop could have sat for the portrait, although the painter says: "I know there exist rare and sublime souls, unsoiled by the dust of worldly things: I admire them: their ethereal natures are found equal to the work

both of man and God." He exaggerates the saintliness of this visionary image in order to contrast with it an unflattered picture of himself, and to show how unfit he was for the charge men sought to impose upon him. He paints himself gay, easy-tempered, fond of pleasure, a lover of books, of philosophising, of hunting, "heavy in faults and light in merits, weak within and weaker without, foolish shepherd of one soul," and—most serious objection of all—a married man with no idea of separating from his wife, and a Christian of imperfect orthodoxy. On these two last points the bishop-elect showed himself obstinate. The ascetic spirit, whose influence in the Church was great and growing, had set aside the word of St. Paul, that a bishop should be the husband of one wife, and had ruled that he must be husband of none but of the widowed church that called him to govern it. Synesius declared that nothing should make him put away the bride who had been given to him by God, by the law, and by Theophilus the Patriarch himself. He was a highly cultivated Hellenist, proud of his Spartan descent, delighting in the writings of Plato and his commentators, in the immortal poems of Homer, and in all the magnificent literature of Pagan Greece. With these last his acquaintance was far more intimate than with the sacred writings whose authority he acknowledged, but from which he could never quote with any fluency. His Christianity was more of the heart than of the head, and his theology could only express itself in Platonic phrases. Nothing could have induced him to disguise his opinions, and to avoid the episcopate he set them forth with eagerness. "My creed," he wrote, "is shorter or longer than that of the vulgar. For example, I will never believe that our body is the elder of our souls; never, that the world will perish; never, that man will rise from the dead; let the populace believe these marvels. But I am a philosopher, and if I worship truth alone, I tolerate error, the wise man compassionates it, dissimulates seasonably, adapts himself to every one. Truth is to the ignorant multitude what daylight is to the diseased eye; that splendour is unbearable to it; falsehood soothes and charms it. I can make use of prudence, and, thanks be to God, I honour the souls of men. If that will suffice, I can be a bishop, a philosopher in private and a believer in public, teaching neither one thing nor another, letting every one take his own way. . . . But if I must think and act like the people, be one of them in fact,

I cannot so far constrain myself ; look to it ; I should betray myself quickly. The populace would have me preach and talk about God to them ; I hold that such themes are fit only for elect souls, they are not meat for the vulgar. . . . Shall I, when a bishop, set forth as true what I esteem absurd ? Never ; it would be nothing less than monstrous. God is Truth ; he who lies offends Him ; hypocrisy is the basest of vices." The pride of the ancient world of thought, its contempt for the unlettered multitude, in which it was at such variance with the teaching of Christianity, was surely never more conspicuous. The letter containing this thoroughly honest "*nolo episcopari*," though addressed to the brother of Synesius, was designed for Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, the powerful metropolitan. With him it rested to confirm or annul the vote of the people of Ptolemais, who had chosen Synesius for their bishop in the hope that he would prove a powerful champion of their rights against their tyrannical and murderous prefect, Andronicus. The protest failed in its object: no lack of orthodoxy or of austere saintliness could be set against the wealth, rank, and character of the people's candidate, while his martial spirit was but another recommendation.

After a struggle of seven months Synesius gave way, and was duly consecrated and enthroned. He had reason to dread the perilous height to which he was borne by this gust of popular favour, and his subsequent lot was too clearly foreshadowed in the following remonstrance: "I know myself well: if I am to be always on foot, always breathless, passed from hand to hand as a consecrated tool, I shall perish without fail; my body will soon lose its strength and my soul its wings." The letters which remain to us from his hand cover a space of twenty years: nothing can be gayer, more sparkling, more full of cheery gossip and benevolent activity, than those of earlier date; nothing sadder than some of the later ones, written during the stormier years of his episcopate. His domestic sorrows, the woes of his country, crushed under a pitiless prefect and assailed by endless hordes of barbarians, together with the burdensome honours from which he had shrunk with well-grounded apprehensions, were at last too much for the light heart and ardent spirit; and in 414 Synesius died, at the too early age of forty, having ruled as bishop for four years only; happy yet in that he did not live to see the year which was disgraced by the brutal murder of his friend

Hypatia. His children were all cut off in the bloom of early youth. "I ought not to outlive my happiness," wrote the childless father; and he did not outlive it. "A flood of woe desolates my last days and strips me of all joy. May God take away my life, or else my recollections of the dead! Farewell." Was the wife, whom Synesius had refused to put away on his elevation to the bishopric, among the dead whose remembrance tortured him? There is no word which asserts it: yet, on the other hand, there is no hint of her living presence, which would surely have comforted the heart of the dying bishop.

It is a touching plaint that comes to us across the fourteen intervening centuries; but we will turn awhile from it and listen to the gayer stories of his early years, spent under the transparent sky of Egypt, in the pure air of Athens, and amid the splendid courts of Byzantium. For dearly though Synesius loved his own country, the fruitful Cyrenaica, and boldly as he praised his climate, its soil, its produce, preferring them to all others, yet he was often a wanderer. One of the earliest letters, addressed to his brother, recounts the motives which had induced him to undertake the pilgrimage to Athens. The first reason assigned is curious enough: his friends in Alexandria, both priest and laymen, had been dreaming dreams, and warned him of something very serious ready to befall him if he did not undertake the "pilgrimage" in question. Whether the young, wealthy, imperfectly orthodox noble was in some real danger of which a veiled warning was thus given, or whether we have here a sample of ancient superstition, is not clear. The effect on the mind of Synesius, however, is plainly indicated, and startles us a little, appearing as it does in a correspondence that is often quite modern in tone. Synesius cheerfully yielded to his friend's entreaties, having a motive of his own for undertaking the voyage, which he sets forth with a spice of malice. "I shall no longer," says he, "be obliged to hear with reverence the teachings of the Greek pilgrims." The Greek colony in Egypt seems to have entertained a profound respect for the noblest city of the famous mother country, and such Alexandrians as had visited Athens were prone to give themselves airs of superior wisdom—as though, Synesius hints, they could better understand Aristotle and Plato for having seen the land once honoured by their presence. When at last he beheld it, Athens disappointed its new votary. He

was but a fragment of sail-cloth, tattered beyond all patching. The crew was worthy of the ship. More than half of the twelve sailors were Jews—"a treacherous generation, who would think it a pious deed to despatch Hellenes into the other world;" and all the twelve were more or less deformed, for such poor creatures were cheaper bargains to a half-ruined captain. The ship resounded with their shameless jests. The passengers, fifty in number, showed themselves true Greeks, passing quickly from childish mirth to childish terror; now joining in the coarse laughter of the sailors, now denouncing them as ill-starred beings to whom the bad weather they met might be attributed; and now, alarmed at the reckless steering of the captain, assailing him with cries of terror. Their clamour grew wildest at the setting of the sun. It was the eve of the Sabbath, and Amaranth, the devoutest of Jews, as soon as the last sparkle of light vanished from the waves, dropped the rudder, and prostrating himself on the deck, began his evening reading of the Scriptures. In this engagement he suffered nothing to disturb him; he seemed deaf alike to the tumult of the sea and the wrath of his passengers. Suddenly the pilot ceased his devotions and resumed the helm. "The Law permits it now," he said; "our lives are in danger;" ominous words, at which his passengers, both men and women, broke forth into groans and tears, while the grim pilot steered tranquilly with a sardonic smile. Meanwhile, the young Synesius was calmly meditating on the ancient horror of death by drowning, which he supposed due to a belief that those who perished thus perished entirely, both body and soul—a strange opinion, which he thought could be plainly traced in Homer; and he watched the passengers decking themselves in golden ornaments—the women who had a good stock of precious trinkets lending them freely to such men as had none. This sort of funeral toilet was quite usual in cases of impending shipwreck; the golden spoil found on a drowned corpse it was supposed would induce the finder to bury it. Happily this precaution proved needless.

After several days, some of them spent on a desert shore, near which the galley cast anchor, and some in a helpless struggle with stormy seas, the vessel was rescued from a position of great peril. A handsome old man in peasant's garb put off from the rocky shore in a little skiff, assumed the management of the galley, and piloted it to a safe

harbour—"a pretty and convenient little port, called, as I think, Azarios." The new pilot was a Christian hermit, a true Roman, who had fixed his lonely abode on a point of special peril, in order to guide endangered sailors into safety. Many other weather-beaten ships, directed by him, entered the harbour of refuge; and after some weary days, beguiled by the toil of fishing, the voyagers were able to resume their journey, and conclude it in peace. The voyage of Synesius is related in a style of the gayest banter, and its incidents are more grotesque than pathetic; yet its general colouring recalls the narrative of St. Paul's shipwreck, different though that is in its majestic simplicity of tone, and shows plainly how little progress the science of navigation had made since the first Christian century. As on the rocky shores of Melita, so now, the "barbarous people," Libyans in this case, showed the distressed voyagers "no little kindness;" yet even here is a ludicrous touch. The Libyan women, corpulent, like the Turkish beauties of to-day, were astonished at the slender grace of the Alexandrian ladies, and showed their fond admiration by loading them with dainties. Especially were they bewitched with a slave girl from Pontus—a miracle of slenderness, who became quite rich with the gifts of the Libyan dames. A more pleasing and noble figure is that of the heroic hermit, who sought to serve God by rescuing tempest-tossed seamen. His unwonted self-sacrifice shows that the "enthusiasm of humanity," so totally unknown before the Christian era, was already leavening the mass of pagan society. The proud philosophy of which Synesius thought so highly could never inspire such devotion; the lowly religion, dear to the common people, in which the Bishop of Cyrene believed with his heart unto righteousness, was alone capable of producing such effects.

The voyage so gaily related was one of small importance; but Synesius was not long returned from a serious and momentous journey, with regard to which we get no details, and only scattered hints of its results. Synesius was a member of the Senate of Cyrene—a senate of small influence, and having more affinity with the town council of a modern borough than with the great Senate of Rome. The honour of being a senator was burdensome, costly, and supremely disagreeable, but hardly to be avoided by any free citizen who was born to rank and wealth. Synesius

was full of genuine patriotism, and though he would willingly have aided his brother to escape this oppressive dignity, he never sought to evade it for himself, even when his election as bishop offered him the fairest occasion of doing so. His countrymen, ground down by taxes and other political burdens—in this resembling most provincial subjects of the emperors, whether these ruled from Rome or from Byzantium—at last summoned courage to complain aloud, and chose him ambassador to plead their cause in the imperial city. Synesius was but twenty-two when he departed on this mission. It occupied three years. He was received with distinction, and lodged in an imperial palace; he made many friends among high-placed Byzantine literati; but month after month passed, and the ambassador from the Pentapolis could not obtain a hearing. At length, by favour of one friend more powerful than the rest, he was admitted to a solemn audience in presence of the Senate.

The Emperor of the East was then Arcadius, the imbecile son and successor of Theodosius the Great. He had long been a mere tool in the hands of the eunuch Eutropius; and though that astute and unprincipled minister, the worthy forerunner of future Turkish grand vizirs, had at last fallen, and though Synesius owed the long-coveted audience to his overthrow, the evils in which his power originated, and which his power had increased, were not removed by his downfall. Synesius had the privilege of pronouncing before emperor and senate an elaborate oration full of appeals to glorious antiquity—a thoroughly juvenile performance. But had it been a masterpiece of political sagacity instead of a display of unpractical eloquence, it could not have enlisted the sympathies of his hearers on behalf of the distant and obscure Pentapolis. Nor were its grievances so extraordinary as to call for special redress. Unjust officials, oppressive taxes, force and fraud in high places, was it of such every-day matters that the Libyans complained? What Roman province could not have drawn up a similar catalogue of afflictions? Some trifling remission of taxes was all that the eloquent deputy obtained to reward three years of waiting, spent in all the sickness of hope deferred. At the end of that time he left suddenly—so suddenly, that he bade farewell to no one. “You are sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances that determined my flight,” he writes to Pylemenes, a friend left behind at Constantinople, “the earth was trembling, the people

were in despair: nothing was heard but clamour, tears and prayers. I thought the sea safer than the land, and hurried to the port. Farewell I bade to no one, except to Photius, but how? calling to him from afar, and waving my hand to him."

Synesius had come to Constantinople well furnished, not only with high hopes and ready eloquence, but with abundant material defences against the cold winters of Thrace, which inspired him with amusing dread. Among his store of warm garments and wraps was an Egyptian carpet, handsome and ample, capable of serving as a mattress, were it needful. A friend made at Constantinople, "the stenographer Aster," one of a great army of imperial clerks, fell in love with this carpet, and it was promised to him, whenever the African deputy should return to his own warm skies and escape from "the snows of Thrace." But Synesius had fled so hastily from the trembling city that his promise remained unfulfilled. Hence a charming letter to Pylemenes, relating the numerous efforts made to find a ship that would convey the promised gift, and begging his friend to see that it was duly delivered to Aster, who is carefully described—a dark, thin Syrian, of medium height, dwelling opposite the imperial palace of Placidia, "the august sister of our august masters." This is by no means the only indication offered in our Letters of the difficulties besetting communication in ancient times. Messengers, though not abundant, were more numerous than trustworthy. When a faithful and speedy letter-carrier could be found, Synesius made haste to describe and recommend him—"Our friend Peter—your friend, my friend, and the friend of Hypatia—happy man, from what hands he will receive the letter I send!" Sometimes all the letters written during a year to some distant friend were returned to the writer: sometimes their fate remained unknown, and unhappily the gifts which they should have heralded shared that fate. "You may weep for my ostriches, yours rather," Synesius writes; "you will not have the chance of admiring these desert birds in your poultry-yard." The chase of the ostrich was in early life one of the favourite sports of Synesius, and it was with a double pride in his own skill and in his country's wealth of strange game that he had despatched the rare birds to Constantinople. Hunting was one of the joys which he dreaded to sacrifice in becoming a bishop. "I love noise, horses, weapons," says he; "when a child I used to get scolded for my tastes; how grieved I should be

to see my hounds idle, my bows worm-eaten ! But if God wills it, I renounce hunting."

The period spent in Constantinople remained as a dark shadow in the memory of the Libyan deputy, and he continued to refer to it with bitterness until heavier and more personal sorrows rendered this grief insignificant. But he corresponded carefully with the friends he had made in the imperial city, and strove to utilise such influence as they possessed for the good of his country and of those about him. Favours for himself he did not solicit. To one powerful friend, Nicander, he recommended the interests of Theodosius, who had wedded Stratonice, the beloved and beautiful sister of Synesius. Theodosius was enrolled in the Imperial Guard, a highly ornamental corps, composed of tall, handsome, golden-haired warriors, whose lances and shields also were golden. But the husband of Stratonice lacked advancement, which could only be obtained by interest, not by merit; and the plea in his favour is the single approach to self-interest in all the correspondence under our notice. The letters to Byzantine friends, though written with invariable grace, are much less charming than those in which Synesius amused his brother with home gossip. It is in these that we find the mocking sketch of a recent bride whose uncle was so inconsiderate as to die during her honeymoon, and who went to pay the customary visit to the tomb of the departed arrayed not in mourning garb, but in all her bridal glory—clad in a purple robe, decked with jewels—while she frankly abused the deceased for the awkward time he had chosen to die in. This free-spoken lady was a kinswoman of Synesius, but her folly is not spared on that account, and the more than suspicious pedigree of her bridegroom is set forth with equal malice. Here, too, we get glimpses of sacred family joys. The son of Evoptius pursued his boyish studies with his uncle at Cyrene, and his progress is related with pride. "How many lines do you think Dioscuros will learn in one day? Fifty. He never hesitates; never stops to recollect." The daughter of Stratonice, charming as her mother, was so beloved by her two uncles, that they disputed with each other the delight of entertaining her, Synesius reproaching Evoptius with his cruelty in depriving him of the lovely child in order himself to engross her society. One letter gives hasty intelligence of a travelling merchant coming from Athens, laden with such sandals, such mantles, such

head-gear, as the brothers could never procure, even in Alexandria; another is full of inquiries as to a precious plant, almost extinct, the silphium, which Eyoptius had succeeded in cultivating; it was owing to "the Barbarians" that this plant, equally valued in medicine and in cookery, and selling for its weight in gold, had nearly disappeared.

Other letters, in sharp contrast and in rapid succession, relate an invasion of these same "Barbarians," and the means adopted to repel them. Synesius pours all his vials of witty scorn on certain warriors of Cyrene, full of proud and boastful valour, who could not stoop to the indignity of fighting on foot, but were very glad to beat the hastiest retreat on horseback, or who, "thrifty of their heroic souls, were prudently crouched in the hollow of the mountains," while the valiant deacon Faustus, coming forth from the celebration of mass at the head of the priests and the peasants, fell on the rascally plunderers, laid them prostrate with blows of huge stones, and proved conclusively to all cowards "that the barbarians were neither gods nor sons of gods any more than ourselves, but mere men of flesh and bone." Now the young senator, not yet a bishop, is depicted riding across country at peep of day in pursuit of the marauders, whom he will not dignify with so lofty a title as *the enemy*; now he deplores his want of two-edged swords, which are not manufactured in Cyrene, and for which he must substitute scimitars and lances, and good maces, which are certainly attainable, for "there are here plenty of the finest wild olive trees." Apparently the weapons, such as they were, proved in the hands of Synesius not less efficacious than the primitive war-tools of the deacon Faustus, for soon he has nothing more serious to write about than the indifferent health of his brother, or the bad qualities of an Athenian slave, a drunken buffoon—"a true slave, that is to say, a rascal"—whom Synesius meant to punish for his incurable vices, by setting him free and restoring him to the land which had reared him. Synesius inherited many slaves and bequeathed few; a bad slave, he considered, was not worth keeping; it was a providential blessing when such an one ran away; a good one deserved his freedom.

The note of battle is sounded clearly in letters addressed to Olympius, a friend from Alexandria; he, wishing to send an acceptable gift to his correspondent at Cyrene, then in much peril from the irrepressible barbarians, is bidden to

send such presents as befit a time of war ; “ good bows and good arrows of good styrax wood—especially arrows ; for the Egyptian arrow, made of knotty wood and ill-smoothed, flies feebly, like a racer who stumbles at the outset ; your arrows, round, smooth, well-turned, fly as a shaft should. Send me then arrows, and plenty of reins, which I shall surely want for the Italian steed you describe so well.” The barbarians having been driven off for a season—alas, only for a season, for how could the vultures be kept from gathering round that portentous body of death, the Roman empire ?—Synesius could write at greater length, though hardly with greater glee, and entertained his friend Olympius with very different themes, setting forth the joys of his rustic life in Cyrenaica, a blissful country according to him, and peopled by simple honest folks, who had never beheld the sea or tasted its salt, being, however, well supplied with “ excellent fossil salt.” These shepherds and hunters declined to believe that the ocean could supply food ; they shuddered at the sight of fish-bones, which they deemed the remains of serpents, and as such very venomous ; and their wisest elders pertinently asked how it could be that salt water should produce eatable food when the fresh sweet waters of their own well-springs bred only leeches and frogs ? “ Who could be surprised at their ignorance ? ‘ Never did the sea break in on their slumbers.’ They are waked by the rustic sounds of their stables, horses, goats, sheep, cattle, all neighing, bleating, lowing—delightful harmony to the master’s ear. The sun rises ; new music ; the industrious bee begins its toil and its song. Innocent and secret life, far from towns and highways, far from trade and fraud ! the fields are the Olympus of the wise man, and I wish for no other ; here I philosophise at peace and at ease. As for thinking of evil, have I leisure for it ? Our toils, our sports, are all in common. Work precedes pleasure ; neither man nor beast eats till he has earned it by his labour.”

Then the “ philosopher ” dwells upon the wealth of a country whose fruit, honey, milk and oil he maintains to be the best and most abundant in the world : “ we are the spoilt children of nature,” says he with simple pride ; and above all, how rich is this country in game, what a heaven for the sportsman ! and the hunter himself is the noblest being in the world ; what a fault in the divine Homer, not to have sung his praise ! Even the rural music of Cyrene

has its characteristic excellence, it is racy of the soil: "we have our own lyre, a true shepherd's lyre, simple, sonorous, masculine; Plato would have deemed it fit for the education of children in his ideal state:" it is unsuited for languishing love-songs; the shepherds sing to it the praises of the kingly ram, the heroic hound, the daring hunter; the flock and the vineyard have their share in the song; and the same instrument is found well adapted to the simple praise and prayer of this pastoral people. As for the emperor and his favourites, no one concerns himself about them, nor about the court, that playground of faithless fortune: it is known that there is an emperor, the tax-gatherer keeps that fact in remembrance; but many suppose that we are still governed by Agamemnon, who is a great warrior, and a good fellow, take him altogether. Agamemnon is with them the generic name of all emperors; it is a dim remembrance of childish years. Others tell the tale of Polyphemus and Ulysses as a thing that happened last year; Ulysses, they say, is a clever bald-headed little fellow, a friend of the Emperor Agamemnon's. "Adorable rusticity! What good old days were the days of Noah!"

Such is the picture which Synesius draws of his life as a country gentleman, and of the good neighbours among whom he reigned as a shepherd king, before the grievous burden of the episcopate was bound on his unwilling shoulders. The sombre pages of later years are not lightened by such joyous descriptions. Oddly enough, the most humorous passages are to be found in the official letters addressed to Theophilus, the formidable patriarch, giving circumstantial accounts of the experiences of Synesius as Metropolitan of Ptolemais. The churches of Cyrenaica still retained the primitive liberty of electing their own bishops, subject to the approval of the Alexandrian Patriarch; the Bishop Metropolitan who ruled in Ptolemais could not give preferment to whom he would. The churches of Palaebisca-Hydrax, which formed but one bishopric, had, however, so far exceeded their privileges as to be deemed guilty of alarming irregularities. Their late bishop, Siderios, a valiant soldier, a friend of Athanasius, had been chosen and installed in very uncanonical fashion. The people, weary of the age and helplessness of Orion, the legal shepherd of their souls, had simply set him aside, and put a vigorous young member of the church militant in his place. At the death of Siderios, his flock elected

and enthroned a certain well-beloved Paul, and in his election showed themselves equally reckless of ecclesiastical law. Synesius, acting under the orders of Theophilus, convoked a meeting of the erring churches and bade them proceed to a new and legal election. They would do nothing of the kind; they were well pleased with Paul. In two successive meetings they clamoured and wept with true African impetuosity—men, women, and children falling prostrate at the feet of the bewildered bishop, sobbing and shrieking: “Leave us our father, our son, our brother!” while the mothers held up their babes to add their wailings to the general tumult, and with shut eyes and averted heads declined to look on the vacant episcopal throne. Synesius, gentle and soft-hearted, and thoroughly perplexed, yielded to their pleadings, and undertook to transmit to the patriarch their petition, that their beloved pastor might be confirmed in his power. “This youth,” he says, “must be skilful, or else God shows him grace; for ’tis a marvel how he rules their souls, how he has enchanted them, how none can live without him. Listen then; God made you gentle; a word from you will satisfy this people.” Whether the petition was accepted we know not: Synesius, as a faithful witness, had to relate some things not entirely favourable to Paul. Dioscoros and Paul, both bishops, are engaged in a painfully absurd dispute; yet they are not worse than their predecessors, who began the contest. The question is to whom belongs the right of ownership in a half-ruined fort near Hydrax. Dioscoros, believing himself the lawful proprietor, had wished to utilise the old fortification as a defence against the rising tide of barbarian invasion. Paul forbade him, claiming the ruin as sacred ground, as a church, as *his* church—consecrated by secret devotions during the Arian persecutions, doubly consecrated by himself who had traversed its whole length, bearing a portable altar which he erected at the extremity with suitable ceremonies; and he claimed as church property all the ground he had thus trodden. Synesius made vigorous protest against this claim, which he described as superstitious and unjust, only worthy of a sacrilegious madman. “Nothing,” says he, “is sacred for me which is unjust; thus I have no fear of their pretended consecration. What! shall the God of the Christians obey our ceremonies, our signs and prayers, as a puppet obeys the string? . . . But you blaspheme Him!” Evidence

was given by the elders which plainly showed that the usurpation lay with Paul; and the absurd contention was ended by the Christian self-denial of Dioscoros, overcoming by mere generosity the petulance of the young bishop, who became possessed of the fortress and its site in equitable fashion; for refusing them as a gift, he was allowed to buy them at his own price. "What he wished, that he had; the hill and everything else, rich vineyards and rich oliveyards. What remained to Dioscoros? His greatness of soul, and the honour of the peace, adorable relics; charity is the Gospel." So ends the story of this singular quarrel between two brothers in Christ, so curious for the glimpse it affords of the duties and temptations, the heroisms and superstitions of the great bygone African Church, whose errors, such as they were, had to endure the punishment of a great destruction; the Christianity of Northern Africa is almost as if it had never been. It would seem that Synesius was by no means the only bishop who could act as general in times of peril to his flock. Few letters dating from his episcopate are so cheerful in tone as this report of the affairs of Palaebisca-Hydrax. The shadow of his fate can already be discerned falling on him even in the year 409, while he was striving to avoid the bishop's robe.

In that year we find him expending all his eloquence in the attempt to bring a suspected murderer to confession. John, a former friend, who had often profited by the good offices of Synesius, was accused of having procured the murder of a certain Æmylius. We are told little of the criminal but his crime, nothing of the victim but his fate. It is evident that Synesius had not much doubt of his friend's complicity in the murder. He urges him either to vindicate his good name if innocent, or, if guilty, to purify his own soul, to appease the wrathful ghost of Æmylius, and to forestall the vengeance of God, by surrendering himself to justice. "They say," he writes, "and my simplicity believes it, that in the invisible world criminals are at the mercy of their victims, and that at *their* will the sufferings of the guilty are shortened or prolonged"—a singular belief, telling plainly that the idea of an expiatory state was already forming. "Do you wish that the soul of Æmylius may be mild and merciful to you? Anticipate him; do justice on yourself. . . . I pity the criminal who takes root and flourishes in crime; unhappy man! he has no friends, not even an adviser; God and

man have forsaken him. Think of it; if impunity is the worst of evils, expiation is the best of blessings. . . . You may escape the 'justice' of men; you will not escape the justice of God. His all-seeing eye shone over Libya, over the deadly gorge, over the murderers and the victim; what was done, what was said then, he knows. Are your hands and your soul clean? that is enough for God; not for men; you are suspected, and will be held guilty if you do not clear yourself. No, I should not dare to press your hand, to sit at your table; I should fear the spirit of Æmylius; perhaps I should be stained by your contact. Alas! am I so pure that I have need of further stains?" Wretched indeed was the state of society when the friend of a Synesius could give orders for an assassination, and when the ministers of justice were helpless to punish a lordly criminal; but in the pleader who deploras the fate of an unpunished sinner, how easy it is to recognise a brother soul to that of the English Kingsley, who regarded the being let alone in iniquity as the heaviest doom which the wrath of God could inflict on mortal man. The offender in this case chose a middle course: neither owning his guilt nor proving his innocence, he withdrew into a monastery, there to fast and pray out the remnant of his ruined life; and his soiled name disappears from the correspondence.

Darker than the pages which tell this tale of blood are those blackened by the sinister shadow of Andronicus of Berenice, Prefect of Libya. This man, a Libyan himself, was therefore by Roman law ineligible to govern Libya; he was already hated heartily by his countrymen; yet he succeeded in obtaining the office of prefect, A.D. 409, and at once made use of his illegal power to punish his private enemies. "Send us," Synesius pleaded to a powerful Byzantine friend, "send us prefects according to law, men we don't know from Adam, absolute strangers; but let them be men of sense and integrity, without passion or prejudice. It is piteous to see how things go on. . . . What evils have come on us! meals suspected, spied on; the lives of citizens at the mercy of women; informers encouraged; he who abstains from denouncing others is sometimes accused himself, is condemned always." The personal foes of the new governor had thus good cause to lament his accession to power, but they did not suffer alone. Andronicus showed great powers of invention in devising instruments of torture. The innocent Pentapolis

had no workmen skilled in such manufactures; but the prefect himself trained and instructed the smiths who executed his designs, and his array of monstrous engines was employed to extract money from the hapless rich; the possession of wealth became as criminal in Libya as it had ever been in the worst days of Rome. Synesius had been plunged in grief by the death of his best-beloved son, which happened on the very day that the father assumed the priestly office; this calamity, he says, had been predicted to him, but the fulfilment of the prophecy overwhelmed him, and he longed for death to reunite him with his lost child. But these sorrowful dreams were dispelled, and the stricken man sprang up again, an eager combatant, when he learned in what "cold blooded orgies of slaughter" the new prefect was revelling. His own rank as bishop placed in his hands spiritual weapons which were then truly formidable; and when his patience was exhausted by the insolent demeanour of his enemy, he did not scruple to launch against him the thunders of the Church.

Not the least singular document before us is the formal excommunication which Synesius levelled against Andronicus. This letter, addressed to the bishops of Cyrenaica, after reciting with eloquent wrath the iniquities of the offender, who is the last plague of the Pentapolis—"worse than the earthquakes, worse than the locusts, worse than famine, fire, and slaughter"—sets forth as the climax of his sins a strange offence indeed, which is deemed equivalent to a new crucifixion of the Saviour. The prefect had issued an edict denying the right of sanctuary to those whom he pursued, threatening the priesthood if they should admit his foes to seek refuge at "the inviolable altars;" and this edict was nailed openly on the church doors. Therefore the bishop declared that no temple of God, no holy place whatever, should be opened to such a blasphemer or to his supporters; "there is no place," says he, "for the devil in paradise; if he slips in, let him be driven forth." It is a noteworthy sign of the temper of the times that this breach of ecclesiastical privilege appeared as the one unpardonable sin to so liberal-minded a priest, and one so newly invested, as the philosopher Synesius. With satisfaction we find, however, that the single-minded prelate, the champion of the oppressed, was the victor in what might have seemed so unequal a war; and we can forgive the early Church its possession of

terrible and perilous power, when we see it so righteously wielded as to form the best refuge for the victims of a corrupt and cruel government. Synesius conquered; and, merciful in victory, we find him in the following year extending his hand to rescue Andronicus from an otherwise certain destruction, and pleading with the patriarch on his behalf. "If it pleases your piety to take care of him," he writes to Theophilus, "I shall believe that God does not hate him." The fallen prefect is not the only foe of our bishop that disappears from the pages of his correspondence in this fashion—ruined by his own crimes, and owing his safety to the man who had withstood him to his face in his days of insolent prosperity.

A valiant and merciful soul was that of this noble man, who lived and toiled and went to his reward fourteen hundred years ago, in days when the Church and the State seemed both struggling hard for existence, and both seemed almost equal heirs of guilt and glory. But the Divinely-founded system alone had strength to overlive its sins and sorrows, and to prevail. The life we have now been considering, so greatly ennobled by its real though imperfect Christianity, might itself be quoted in triumphant proof of the redeeming power of the Gospel. The four years covered by the career of Synesius as priest and bishop are not only the saddest, but the noblest portion of his earthly existence. Always eager to serve others, always ardent and daring, his courage becomes heroism, his zeal attains sublimity, when enlisted in the defence of the poor and suffering flock of Christ. Admired by his own circle as a graceful versifier and as an accomplished adept in that mystical philosophy which Hypatia expounded in her lecture-rooms, and which a select group of favoured devotees drank from the lips of their beautiful priestess in the sacred privacy of her own saloons, it was doubtless by his poems and his purely literary work that Synesius hoped to win his own modest share of deathless fame. That he would be known and loved in distant ages and under alien skies, not for his well-elaborated verses, not for his ornate discourses, but for the careless letters addressed to friends and kinsfolk; that the poet, the philosopher, the orator, would have passed into oblivion, were it not for the sweet and sunny character of the man, who, such is mortal blindness, was half ashamed of his warm humanity, and would fain have hidden it under the icy mask of stoicism; this irony

of fate, we may be sure, had no place in his young dreams. His heart was too tender for those iron days. As we read his eloquent wailings over his lost children, we can almost see some reason in the stern teaching which ruled that the leaders of the Church ought to be men untrammelled with domestic ties. The gentle bishop, on the death of his third and last son, talked stoicism, but felt despair. He built a monastery, and perhaps dreamed of himself retiring into it. But the heartsick fancy, if entertained, was not realised; for the hand of death, restoring him to his vanished joys, also took him away from the evil to come, and hid from his eyes the monstrous crime which was to disgrace Alexandrian Christianity in the unpunished, unrepented murder of his friend Hypatia. Such was the pity of Heaven to one who had himself abounded in pity.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Modern Review*, Vol. III., Nos. 11 and 12 (Article: "Justin's Use of the Fourth Gospel," by DR. EDWIN A. ABBOTT). London: James Clarke and Co. 1882.
2. *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel: External Evidences*. By EZRA ABBOT, D.D., LL.D. London: Trübner and Co. 1882.
3. *The Encyclopædia Britannica*. Ninth Edition. Volume X. (Article: "Gospels.") Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.
4. *S. Justinii Philosophi et Martyris Opera*. Recensuit Joann. Carol. Theod. Otto. Jenae. 1876.
5. *Philonis Judæi Opera Omnia*. Ed. M. Car. Em. Richter. Lipsiæ. 1828—1830.

EVER since the writings of the Fathers have been searched to gather the evidence derivable from them to the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels, one of the most difficult and controverted points has been the relation of Justin Martyr to our present Gospel according to St. John. The position of Justin, where the trickling rill of uninspired Christian literature begins to assume the proportions of a full stream, the frequency and certainty of his quotations from the Synoptists, his ample opportunities of investigation, his personal character and culture, all lend an importance to his evidence not easy to over-estimate. On the other hand, his references to *St. John* are at best comparatively few; with one disputed exception, they are allusions rather than quotations; and it is alleged that the Fourth is not cited in the same manner as the other three Gospels. Usually, the issue raised has been the direct one, whether or no Justin was acquainted with and used the Fourth Gospel. The literature of the subject, in monograph or otherwise, is by no means scanty, nor is it deficient in scholarship and ability. It is perhaps safe to say that the general conclusion is favourable to Justin's knowledge of *St. John*, although considerable allowance must be made for insoluble perplexities. Still, the Christian apologist had not, on the whole, reason to be dissatisfied with the discussion.

Very recently, however, Dr. Abbott has issued a fresh challenge to "theologians" on this matter. In his article

"Gospels" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* he contends, as we have noticed before,* that if Justin "knew of the existence of the Fourth Gospel as a document he did not believe it to be the work of the Apostle John." That contention we should have traversed in its natural place in the article mentioned in our footnote, but at the date of writing Dr. Abbott had not completed his restatement of his case in the *Modern Review*.† This rather lengthy essay now lies before us. Practically, it maintains the ground taken up in the *Encyclopædia*, though with a slight but perceptible difference of tone that seems to indicate increased doubt as to the tenability of the notion that Justin was ignorant of "the spiritual gospel."‡ Probably it would not have been written but for the publication of Dr. Ezra Abbot's *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*. It formally examines the passages adduced by Dr. Abbot "and the inferences derived from them." With the help of Credner and others, the American theologian has collected every adducible reference to the "Fourth Gospel" in the admittedly genuine works of Justin Martyr. We may accept the passages agreed upon by the two doctors, especially as after a somewhat careful examination, we believe they are all that can fairly be produced, unless, indeed, we bring into the argument Justin's doctrine of the Resurrection.

Dr. Abbott endeavours to substantiate the alternative proposition that "he [Justin] either did not know it [the Fourth Gospel], or did not accept it as authoritative." No objection can lie against the maintenance of a double hypothesis provided that both its branches are kept in mind throughout the argumentation, that an agile debater does not leap nimbly from arm to arm in order to avoid meeting the reasonings of his adversaries. It would be palpably unjust to accuse Dr. Abbott of performing this feat of intellectual gymnastics; but he does seem sometimes to be less than fully conscious of the temptation to

* See this REVIEW for October, 1882: Article, "The Latest Assault on the Fourth Gospel."

† Complaint has been made of our characterising the *Modern Review* as "an avowedly Unitarian organ." Most of its contributors are Unitarians, but it claims to be "not sectarian." We intended to indicate its doctrinal, not its denominational, position.

‡ The case might be put more strongly. In his final summary Dr. Abbott states that Justin "knew of the existence of the Gospel, or parts of the Gospel, in some form" (*Modern Review*, Vol. III. p. 754). Portions of his argument, however, do not agree precisely with this finding, as we shall see in due course.

which his bi-frontal contention exposes him. In all fairness the twin hypotheses should mean and should be held rigorously to mean—the evidence of Justin's use of the Fourth Gospel is insufficient, but if it is deemed sufficient it shows he did not ascribe the same authority to this Gospel that he did to the other three. We presume that it is exactly this that Dr. Abbott seeks to demonstrate, but unfortunately he permits himself to incline now to one side of his hypothesis, now to the other, as though the two were not mutually exclusive. Possibly this licence affects only the form of the argument; nevertheless it irritates the reader and makes clear certainty as to the designed bearing of some of the author's pleas rather difficult to obtain. Perhaps the explanation of the phenomenon may be sought in the growing conviction of Justin's indebtedness to Johannine traditions now embodied in the Fourth Gospel.

These "Ephesian" traditions play a very prominent part in both the *Encyclopædia* and the *Review* discussions of Justin Martyr's relation to our present Gospel according to St. John. They account for one moiety of Justin's apparent references to the Fourth Gospel. The other moiety Philo is made responsible for. Their writer evidently considers that the peculiar strength of his *Review* papers inheres in their exposition of these Philonian resemblances.*

Before weighing the evidence in favour of Justin's knowledge of the last Gospel as a written document, it is necessary to look at a preliminary objection urged with confidence and curtness: "How comes it that Justin quotes Matthew about fifty times and the Fourth Gospel once or not at all?" Certainly, this question has at first an awkward sound, especially when asked without allusion to possible answers. Replies at any rate worthy of notice have been often offered: for example, that the scope and character of Justin's acknowledged works explain, to a great extent, his preference for quotations from the Synoptic Gospels. To show that the apologist treated of subjects concerning which passages from the Fourth

* He regards the great defect of Professor Drummond's able articles on "Justin Martyr and the Fourth Gospel" to be, that they do not take into account sufficiently the correspondences between Justin Martyr and Philo. We shall have frequent occasion to refer to Mr. Drummond. His articles appeared in the *Theological Review*, now "out of print," and not easily procurable. We are indebted for the sight of them to the kindness of Mr. E. S. Williams, senior partner in the firm of Williams and Norgate.

Gospel would have been exceedingly apposite, is quite an insufficient retort. Appealing to the heathen, he may have thought it wise to employ only those "Memoirs of the Apostles" which were easiest for them to consult; and the Synoptists, from their very age, possessed this quality. Arguing with a Jew, he might well avoid that Gospel which represented his opponent's fellow-countrymen in the most unfavourable light. There is nothing unreasonable in supposing—indeed there is much to recommend the conjecture—that for some time St. John's Gospel was confined within the limits of the Church. We may pass by other methods of accounting for Justin's comparative disuse of *St. John*, but there is one for which we must spare a little space, as we submit that, in its entirety, due weight is not always allowed it.

Justin Martyr's quotation and non-quotation of the Gospels present perplexities which baffle the most patient and skilful investigators. If all his works were extant, the difficulties would probably be lessened, might even disappear; at least the argument from silence loses force, *pro tanto*, because we can listen to but a portion of his utterances.* That portion abounds in references to the Synoptists, and to the fulfilment of prophecy, yet our Lord's predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem are not mentioned—a perfectly inexplicable omission. Beyond all dispute Justin had read and acknowledged the authority of the Pauline Epistles; yet he never mentions St. Paul's name, and his references to the Epistles are mere passing allusions of much the same character as some of those to the Fourth Gospel. He, *totidem verbis*, mentions the Apocalypse as the work of John, but makes no other use of the book, not even of Rev. xix. 13. His very citations from the Synoptists proceed upon no ascertainable principle: they are frequently complicated and inaccurate, and obviously from memory. Some scholars have adopted the

* On the other hand, if we could claim as his all the extant writings which bear his name, we could adduce more conclusive evidence of his acquaintance with St. John's Gospel. We may cede the *Epistle to Diognetus* without the most gentle protest; but it is far from certain that the *Horatory Address to the Greeks* and the *Fragment on the Resurrection* are wrongly attributed to him. We must confine ourselves strictly to our subject, the relation of Justin to the Fourth Gospel, else we might point out that these possibly spurious works of Justin furnish evidence of the reception of that Gospel by orthodox Christians, at a date contemporaneous with or prior to Justin. Dr. Abbott refers to the *Cohortatio* when he thinks it favourable to his positions.

hypothesis that he used a *Harmony*, now lost, to account for their puzzling phenomena; others reject it as improbable and unhelpful; but almost all admit that every theory yet advanced fails to meet some essential element in the problem. Let us accept, for a moment, the hypothesis of a *Synoptical Harmony*,* and it is at once likely, particularly in view of the physical difficulty of frequent consultation of cumbersome manuscripts, the shape of which precluded the easy finding of individual passages, that Justin would, by preference, employ a handbook familiar to him. If, however, the hypothesis of a *Harmony* be deemed unsound, there are still features in Justin's quotations which make the rough-and-ready comparison of his *fifty* from St. Matthew to his *one* from St. John, not merely unfair, but positively misleading. Of course this does not go to show that the Apologist did use the Fourth Gospel, but only to reduce to its natural proportions a hugely exaggerated preliminary difficulty.

Justin's doctrine of the Logos constitutes one of the principal grounds on which his employment of *St. John* is asserted. The argument divides itself into two distinct though kindred pleas—Justin represents a later stage in the development of the doctrine than St. John; general and verbal resemblances on this subject exist between Justin and St. John. On the first head, and the inferences to be drawn from it, Professor Drummond says:

“When we remember that Justin's doctrine of the Logos is a developed form of the Johannine, that it harmonises the Johannine doctrine with that of the Synoptics, that this harmonising is the only feature which it adds to the Johannine, that it probably rested upon the authority of some evangelical source, and that this source probably did not contain an account of the miraculous birth, and further that we have no reason to believe that such a source ever existed except the fourth Gospel, we can hardly help concluding that Justin must have been acquainted with that Gospel, and relied upon it as a basis for Christian doctrines.”†

* The notion of a *Harmony* would seem to solve more internal difficulties than any other, at least this is the conviction that grows upon us the more closely we scrutinise Justin's quotations from the Synoptists. But the external objections are serious, *e.g.*, no trace of such a *Harmony* remains, and Justin's purpose would have been defeated if he had employed a private compilation of his own. He must have used books acknowledged by the Church, and accessible to the heathen.

† *Theological Review*, Vol. XIV. p. 183.

Dr. Abbott roundly declares, "it can be demonstrated that Justin's whole theory of the Logos is not so developed as that of the Gospel."* He does not notice Professor Drummond's point about the miraculous conception, though the occupant of his critical position cannot deny its force. Indeed, from our own standpoint, we may avail ourselves of the plea with a slight alteration in the putting of it. At a date posterior to Justin, the Church could not have accepted a Gospel which spoke of the Logos becoming flesh, and omitted all reference to the miraculous conception, unless its apostolic authority were well guaranteed; or, which is much the same in the circumstances, an impostor's first care would have been to guard his forgery from the possibility of the charge that it fell short of the received theology. The question whether Justin Martyr or St. John presents the later stage in the history of the doctrine of the Logos, has been very fully discussed, principally by German scholars.† The decision depends so largely upon the individual critical faculty, that every upholder of an opinion upon the subject inclines to pronounce those who disagree with him destitute of that prized commodity. Confident appeals to the true critical spirit bear an unfortunate resemblance to dogmatic assertions, but in this matter no superior judge sits to whom appeal can be made. No candid student of the phenomena set forth by Dr. Abbott, for example, can doubt that Justin Martyr wrote under strong Alexandrine influence. Speaking generally, so far as this influence operated, his doctrine of the Logos was less true than St. John's, and historically earlier. It would seem to be forgotten by both parties to the controversy that this can be admitted without involving Justin's priority in time before St. John's Gospel. There is nothing intrinsically improbable in the idea that the philosopher deliberately attempted to reconcile Christian with philosophic teaching, and therefore added to St. John's doctrine principles derived from Philo, and even clothed Johannine thoughts in Philonian words. Indisputably the two Apologies and the Dialogue with Tryphon contain doc-

* *Modern Review*, Vol. III. p. 567.

† It is a pity that most of the works referred to remain untranslated into English, so far as we know. A not quite satisfactory translation of Semisch appeared in the *Biblical Cabinet*, the forerunner of Clark's *Foreign Theological Library*. But Credner (who is indispensable), Hilgenfeld, Engelhardt, &c., possess, we believe, no English version.

trines which, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is natural to trace to the Fourth Gospel. But we cannot conceive that any sensitive, unprejudiced reader can help feeling that Justin presents them after the fashion of uninspired theology. His Logos-doctrine is more complex, more systematised, fuller of subtle distinctions, more openly metaphysical; in one word, more *Hellenistic* than St. John's. It is St. John's doctrine, with additions, after it has passed through the crucible of a philosophic, speculative mind. The philosopher's cloak, which Justin continued to wear after his conversion, symbolises his mental attitude. If this is accepted, we can appropriate the truth common to both theories of his doctrine in its relation to Philo Judæus and to St. John.

To this statement the reply, in effect, would be that Justin's doctrine of the Logos contains Philonian elements irreconcilable with his indebtedness to St. John. A formidable array of proofs is drawn up, but we may greatly reduce the test by the application of a single principle. Terms common to Philo and Justin count for nothing if they are derived from the Old Testament, or can be fairly understood in a Christian sense. The justice of this principle is obvious. If we maintained, as Dorner seems half inclined to do,* that between Justin and Philo little or no direct connection existed, these expressions would constitute a pertinent answer. The case is altogether different when we maintain only that no *such* connection existed as is incompatible with a closer connection with the Fourth Gospel. We may dismiss then from our present consideration appellations like Beginning, Angel, Eldest, Name of God, the Rock, Israel, &c. Nor need we now concern ourselves with the fact that Philo applies to the Logos, and Justin to Christ† the Septuagint version of Zechariah vi. 12, "Behold a Man, the East is His name."‡ More weight may be allowed to other "strikingly

* "Justin may have been acquainted with Philo's system."—*Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, Div. I. Vol. I. p. 459 (Clark's Translation). The italics are ours.

† It is worthy of notice that in each case Justin quotes this saying along with a number of other prophecies (*Dial.* CVI., CXXI., CXXVI.), and in connections in which no thought of the special Logos-doctrine could occur. It is applied to Jesus as Christ, not as Logos. The form of the quotation differs from Philo's—Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ᾧ ὄνομα ἀνατολή (*De Confus. Ling.*, 14): Ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ, ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (Justin.)

‡ Dr. Abbott (*M. R.* III. 570) italicises the correspondence between Philo (*De Confus. Ling.*, 28), "he is called . . . the Man according to the

similar" passages or phrases. To hear our Lord spoken of as a "Power," and "the First Power after God" (Dr. Abbott omits the two last words), grates upon modern sensibilities, and irresistibly reminds one of Gnostic heresies. But in the Dialogue with Tryphon (c. cxxviii.), the term is plainly an accommodation to what "some wish to say," is chosen as setting forth their views, and is guarded by the clear assertion of the distinct personality of the Logos. In the First Apology (c. xxxii.), the words "after God" might well appear to have been added so as to include God among the Powers; at least they bring the Logos, "who is also the Son," into more intimate relation with God than the naked phrase "First Power" would; and, writing to the heathen, Justin would avail himself of terms intelligible and familiar to them. If, again, Justin accounts for the wisdom and goodness that were in the world before the coming of Jesus by the assertion that the philosophic and pious had part of the Logos, but that Christ is "the entire Logos," we can, as Professor Drummond points out, scarcely help recalling John i. 9, 10; but we may excusably fail to see that the contrast and the phrase warrant the dictum, "Christ is, with him [Justin], the sum of all the Logos-Power that has been from the creation," and imagine that the sentence would be less incorrect if the words "the sum of" were left out. Nor does the position find more than a shadowy support in the application to the Incarnate Son of the term "the entire Logos-element," particularly, as Justin immediately subjoins "both body, and reason, and soul."* These instances must serve as specimens of a rather numerous class; but there are two or three passages which demand a more detailed consideration.

image," and Justin (*Ad Græcos*, 38) "who . . . took upon Himself *the Man according to the likeness and image of God.*" To say nothing of the doubtful authorship of the *Hortatory Address*, the translation might read "assuming (or 'having taken upon Himself') man, who had been made after the image and likeness of God," which certainly harmonises better with the context. The reference to the original constitution of man is natural, that to the ideal man forced. Besides, Dr. Abbott's rendering omits a word, which makes the reference to the ideal man almost impossible, "having been made" (*τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν θεοῦ πλασθέντα ἀναλαβὼν ἐνθροῶν*).

* *Διὰ τὸ λογικὸν τὸ ὅλον τὸν φανέντα δι' ἡμᾶς Χριστὸν γεγονέναι, καὶ σῶμα καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχὴν* (2 *Apol.* x.). We do not care to dispute Dr. Abbott's translation, but the Greek is obviously capable of two or three renderings. Manuscripts, innocent of ordinary capitals, do not mark too clearly the distinction between word and Word, reason and Logos.

The much-tormented sentence in which Justin seems to inculcate the worshipping of angels (1 *Apol.* vi.), may be put in this category, though little of value can be gathered from it. Dr. Abbott translates, "Both Him (God) and the Son who came from Him and taught us these things, and the host of other good angels that follow Him and are conformed to Him, and the Prophetic Spirit, we revere and worship;" and adds in a note, "No other translation seems reasonable, unless the text is to be altered." With this opinion we quite coincide, but the suggestion of an emended text indicates that the apparent meaning of the sentence cannot be the real one. The passage as it now stands contradicts too blankly other utterances of our apologist concerning the sole objects of Christian worship. We are thus left to choose the least of three evils, a violent rendering of the Greek, a conjecturally corrupt text, or a *lapsus pennæ* on the part of Justin. In any case, the passage disappears from the field of our inquiry; otherwise, we might argue that the conjunction of the Son with "other good angels," though unguarded, is not irreconcilable with Biblical doctrine and the full acknowledgment of His proper Divinity.

Another passage is alleged to speak of the Logos as "in the act of being generated at the time when God made all things." It will be necessary to have the whole passage before us: "But His Son, who alone is rightly called Son, the Logos, who before the works was both with [God] and begotten, when in the beginning through Him He [God] created and arranged all things is called Christ, because of His being anointed and God having arranged all things through Him" (2 *Apol.* vi.).* Justin held the personal pre-existence of the Logos, unless, indeed, it is contradicted here (*cf.* also *Dial.* c. lxii), on which supposition he is guilty of gross inconsistency. Common fairness, therefore, entitles any reasonable interpretation to the preference that places this sentence *en rapport* with Justin's known convictions. Dorner proposes the change of a single letter, to read *ὅτι* for *ὅτε* ("because in the beginning, &c."). The alteration is simple and ingenious, but it is arbitrary and unnecessary. Moreover it renders the words tautological to the verge of inanity. Dr. Donaldson disjoins the disputed

* Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱὸς, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνῶν καὶ γεννώμενος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐκτίσσει καὶ ἐκόσμησεν, Χριστὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ κεχρίσθαι καὶ κοσμηῆσαι τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν λέγεται.

clause from the words before it, and attaches it to those that succeed it ("when in the beginning through Him God created and arranged all things [He] is called Christ"), so as to declare the time not of the begetting but of the designating the Logos Christ. Professor Drummond adopts this solution, adding "the only objection that occurs to me lies in the use of the present λέγεται after the aorists ἔκτισε and ἐκόσμησε; but this may perhaps be sufficiently explained by the permanence of the title, and by the want of literary finish in Justin's style." A more serious, but not a fatal objection, is the lack of authority for dating the conferring the name *Christ* upon the Son at the creation, though the apologist may have been influenced unconsciously by Rev. xiii. 8, "the Lamb that hath been slain from the foundation of the world." We venture to submit a fresh exegesis. Semisch sees an intentional contrast in "was with," and "was begotten" (συνὸν καὶ γεννώμενος); may they not rather be in intentional parallelism? The thought of the eternal generation of the Son could not be strange to Justin. The Son *was conversing with God before the works*, and *was (still) in the act of being generated when God through Him in the beginning created all that is*. Understood in this way, the temporal clause ("when, &c.") has a reason for its existence. To assert that the Son was with God *before* the works, that He was being begotten *when* the works were made, and that God created the works *through* Him, constitutes a triple contradiction. To say that the Son pre-existed only as an attribute of God, removes one element of the contradiction, but raises new difficulties, e.g., that συνὸν cannot apply to an attribute, that the Logos did not become Son until after He was begotten, &c. Everything becomes clear if Justin meant to indicate that Christ existed before the creation as Logos and Son, that by Him God made the worlds, that He was not begotten immediately prior to the creation and for its purpose (a doctrine closely related to Philo), but was in the act of being generated even while He (the Son) was the agent of the creation; the irresistible inference from the three propositions being that being generated is His eternal mode of existence. Thus interpreted, the passage harmonises precisely with Johannine teaching.*

* "From Thee, through an eternal now,
The Son, thine offspring, flowed;
An everlasting Father Thou,
An everlasting God."—SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNR.

Another small set of passages, supposed to militate against Justin's acquaintance with *St. John*, are those in which the instrumental dative is employed of Christ, Bishop Lightfoot having shown that the New Testament substitutes a preposition with the genitive (δι' οὗ for ᾧ), in order to mark that Christ's agency in creation was not that of a passive tool. Three quotations from Justin are given in which he uses the avoided mode of speech. The first comes from the Epistle to Diognetus, and is therefore irrelevant. The second reads, "If, then, we know that God has been revealed by Him" (ἐκεῖνον) (*Dial.*, c. lxxv.). Critical editors of the highest authority translate "God has revealed Himself" (ἐκεῖνον for ἐκεῖνον). We confess to a dislike of the emendation, though it does accord better with Justin's line of thought than the untouched text. The dative may be accepted without danger; for, firstly, Bishop Lightfoot's canon refers merely to "the mediatorial function of the Word in creation;" and, secondly, the context so imperatively binds the pronoun to its personal signification, that the apologist might deem the customary construction unnecessary, and prefer the shorter and simpler. The third instance (1 *Apol.*, lix.) says that "by the word of God (λόγῳ θεοῦ) was the whole world made." Dr. Abbott endorses Professor Drummond's opinion, that here "Λόγῳ is most probably used in its special sense," but draws an exactly opposite inference to the authority to whom he appeals. At any rate, however, it is admissible to write "word" without the initial capital; for doing this there are other than dogmatic reasons. Justin has just described creation as the result of the command of God, and quoted the first three verses of Genesis. He continues, "So . . . you also may perceive that by the word of God was the whole world made." If he had wished "word" to denote the Logos, would he not, to prevent misconception, as he frequently does, have added some qualifying epithet? At least it appears natural to understand word of the first quoted fiat, "Let there be light." This interpretation is the more likely when we call to mind Psalm xxxiii. 6 ("By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, &c.") which Justin very probably had in his memory.

Having rid ourselves of these preliminary difficulties, we may turn to the positive evidence of the dependence of Justin's doctrine of the Logos upon the Fourth Gospel.

We must content ourselves with a brief summary; our limits will not permit the discussion of Justin's Christology.

Fortunately a pretty general agreement exists as to the main features which differentiate Justin's doctrine of the Logos from Philo, and approximate it to St. John's. The principal matter in dispute relates solely to Philo's opinion, Justin's views on this point being abundantly clear. We do not propose to examine the knotty question, whether the Logos of Philo is a person or no. Any number of citations might be copied on either side of the question, each set of extracts decisive, if it were not for the counter-evidence of the other.* The strongest advocates of the hypostatic conception of Philo's Logos allow that the philosopher is "not always self-consistent." The importance of this admission cannot easily be over-estimated. An author may personify an attribute till he forgets that he is dealing with an intellectual creation; he can never etherealise a person till substantial existence is merged in the accident of another's being. At best, the Logos of Philo is, on the one hand, emanatistic, and, on the other, not easily distinguishable from the Divinely-ideal world. The Alexandrine Logos issued from the attempt to fuse into one idea the Hebrew wisdom, the Greek reason, and the wild imaginings of Oriental angelology. Certainly the New-Testament Word, if really present in the concept at all, occupied a very subordinate place. Out of this many-sided, heterogeneous, metaphysical idea, Justin has selected a single, simple thought. He divests it of all self-contradiction, he gives to it concrete form, he brings it from the cloud-land of dreamy, incoherent, philosophic speculation, and endues it with life and active force. Before the man who accomplished this Philo sinks into an intellectual dwarf; yet who can doubt that, measured by mental power, the relative position of the two writers is exactly the reverse of this? The inference may be left to the reader; but whatever that inference may be, he can scarcely fail to acknowledge that Justin's Logos differs from Philo's by that which it rejects, as well as by that which it contains.

Justin's doctrine of the Logos approaches to St. John's and recedes from Philo's in three chief particulars, besides

* The question, however, must not be settled by piles of isolated passages and expressions. Philo's tone and general treatment can be caught only by consecutive reading.

the important set of distinctions we have just adverted to. Dr. Abbott states these candidly, although he does not perceive their full force as regards our present question. According to Philo, God's manifestations through the Logos were inferior to His revelations of Himself to the philosophic and contemplative; Justin believes that the highest revelations of God come to us through Christ. This divergence can be explained without direct recourse to the Fourth Gospel, though it is in closest harmony with it. Philo looked upon God as a pure, passionless being, to whom love would be as unworthy and impossible as malignant hate; Justin teaches God's infinite compassion towards, and deep and persistent interest in, the children of men; this compassion and interest he discovers most strongly in the gift of Jesus Christ, the Logos, to live and die on man's behalf. So diametrical an opposition of sentiment goes to show Justin's independence of Philo—*i.e.*, that he accepted only such of Philo's doctrines as he believed to be true, and that he had another test of truth than philosophic elegance or correctness. The Christian student, awake to finer shades of feeling, will probably find in Justin's entire treatment of the relation of God and Christ—God *in* Christ—to men evidence of the spiritual influence of the beloved disciple; but the controversial value of the argument is very small, as identical ideas are contained in the Synoptists. Thirdly and principally, the doctrine of the Incarnation separates between Justin and Philo. That the Word should become flesh would be, from the latter's standpoint, simply inconceivable, the mere notion could not, and did not dawn upon the Alexandrine Jew, who regarded all contact with matter as degradation; to him the embodiment of the supreme Deity, if he had heard of such a thought, would have been a speculation too absurd to be discussed, and too blasphemous to be entertained. Undoubtedly, Justin acknowledged the proper Divinity of Jesus Christ. Undoubtedly, he taught that the Logos became man. Upon the first point we may shelter ourselves behind the authority of Professor Drummond, whose "broad" and "liberal" principles free him from all suspicion of prejudice in favour of ancient orthodoxy, who declares "it is evident that *θεός* is applied to Christ, not as a title of dignity, but as a description of His nature;" "it is abundantly proved that the Logos is regarded as a super-angelic, and, in the strictest sense, a

divine being.”* The second point no one has ever disputed.† Justin, therefore, held the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation in its entirety. Here the gulf between him and Philo can be neither leaped nor bridged. And, to do them justice, those who deny Justin’s acquaintance with St. John and magnify his debt to the Alexandrine philosopher do not attempt so perilous, so obviously impracticable a feat.

Nevertheless, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* endeavours to prove that the Logos-doctrine, as a whole, was borrowed from Philo. To the vast differences between the Alexandrine and the Christian teaching the answer is, “It was inevitable that when the Christians borrowed, they would adopt what was consistent, and discard what was inconsistent, with belief in the incarnation of Christ.” This explanation, though not unreasonable in itself, accounts for but a part of the phenomena. *Given the identification of Jesus Christ with the Logos of Philo*, and the rest, for argument’s sake, may be allowed to follow; but it is precisely this identification that, on the hypothesis that Justin’s works preceded St. John’s, requires an adequate cause of origin. Blot out the Fourth Gospel, and we must credit Justin Martyr with the identification, for he is the first uninspired author by whom the appellation Logos is assigned to Jesus of Nazareth. It is assumed by Dr. Abbott, and the school to which he belongs, that the identification was so palpable that it was made instinctively, and commended itself to the conscience of the Church by the bare declaration of the discovery. Compare the Christ of the Synoptists and the Logos of Philo, with its emanatistic conception, its doubtful personality, its metaphysical connotation, its host of incongruous designations, its distinct inferiority to God, the degradation of its contact with matter. Would not a Christian theologian

* An example or two may be quoted. “He is called God, and He is and shall be God :” “who, as being Logos and firstborn of God, is also God :” “is God in that He is the first-begotten of all created things” (*Dial.* c. lviii. ; 1 *Apol.*, c. lxiii. ; *Dial.*, c. cxxv.).

† Justin’s phraseology is his own, though the doctrine is Johannean. Dr. Abbott lays stress upon the variety of Justin’s terms to express the Incarnation, and his non-employment of the phrase in John i. 14. Yet are not complex and numerous forms *later* than simple and single? Like many Christian preachers and writers nowadays, Justin delights in new words to clothe an old truth. Were the framers of the clause in the Nicene Creed ignorant of John i. 14 and Luke ii. 15, because they expressed the mystery in the non-Scriptural words, “And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary”?

—always supposing the Fourth Gospel not to exist—naturally incline to reject the notion altogether as a heathen corruption or a speculative invention of the philosopher? Would he dare to link Jesus Christ with the Logos of whom Philo had written? The man who could take this step must have been strongly convinced of the truth and importance of philosophy; nevertheless, without the faintest approach to an apology he cuts off from the Logos notion all (or, if you will, nearly all) that does not harmonise with the Christian creed. We will not press these considerations farther than to maintain that the transmuting of the Philonian into the Christian Logos demanded intellectual qualifications of a high order on the part of the originator and accomplisher of the process, and conscious mental effort on the part of those who accepted his results; and, further, that the Church, which, be it remembered, did not graft Gnosticism upon the stock of its doctrines, but condemned it as heresy, was not likely to receive the mysticism of Philo with open arms.

Here a fresh draft upon our credulity arrests us. The doctrine of the Logos was, *ex hypothesi*, the ingenious invention of a man or men who possessed no authority to impose it upon the Church, and claimed no inspiration to guarantee its verity. Not a trace of it appeared in the Gospels the Church acknowledged as authentic, nor in any considered apocryphal, yet this addition to the creed provoked no opposition, evoked no protests; nay, more marvellous still, it roused no chorus of acclamatory welcome, it was received as quietly and implicitly as though it had been found in one of the much cherished and carefully guarded memoirs of the apostles. In view of these facts, if no Fourth Gospel had been preserved, historical criticism might, in its soberest mood, postulate one containing something analogous to the preface to *St. John*, in order to account for the otherwise puzzling phenomena. The difficulty grows heavier as we ponder it. The internal evidence of Justin's style and method seems conclusive that he did not originate, or did not even make the first public announcement of the manifestation of the Logos in Jesus Christ. He assumes that the connection between the Logos and the Incarnate Saviour is indisputable and undisputed; he does not treat it as a fresh discovery, or even a truth to be supported by argument. He declares it as a universally recognised Christian tenet; from first to

last he treats it as established dogma. His manner is utterly inconsistent with any claim to originality in this particular, altogether inexplicable unless he based his statements upon unquestionable authority. There is no direction in which we can look for such an authority except to a Gospel or other apostolic source. If St. John had already applied the title *Logos* to Jesus Christ, we can understand a Christian philosopher availing himself of Philo's "felicitous language," and trying in this way to recommend his religion to the learned world. But if Justin did not employ the Fourth Gospel, not only did he make an unauthorised and groundless addition to the Christian creed with consummate show of innocence and right, he allied that creed to Alexandrine theosophy, obtrusively parading his obligations to Philo, yet professing exclusive adherence to the apostolic doctrine; and the Church either was deceived by or connived at his audacity. Volkmar's grotesque and exploded theory that the pseudo-John borrowed from Justin, exposes itself to these difficulties to no greater extent than the less courageous theory we are discussing.

Dr. Abbott does not deny the existence of some slight and vague connection between Justin Martyr and our present *St. John*. Both, he allows, embody kindred traditions; but Justin, he contends, clings more closely to Philo than the Fourth Gospel does. After exhibiting in his own fashion the apologist's doctrine of the incarnation, he continues:

"This is the full Christian development of Philo's doctrine, as applied to the 'First-born' becoming 'flesh:' but there is not only no evidence that Justin quotes from any written document exhibiting this development, but rather evidence to the contrary, that his doctrine of the *Logos*, though affected by the teaching of the Ephesian school, had not yet been imbued with it. For in speaking of baptism, he calls attention to the fact that, in that rite, God is mentioned only by the name of 'God the Father and Lord of the universe;' for, he continues, 'no man can utter the name of the ineffable God; and if any one dare to say that there is a name he is incurably mad' (*First Apology*, lxi.). Looked at in the light of the context, this word, ἀρρητος, 'ineffable' implies a conception of the revelation of God through Christ hardly reaching the level of the Ephesian doctrine, which teaches that though God had never been seen He had been *declared* by the only-begotten Son, so that whoso had seen Him had seen the

Father. But it is in harmony with what Justin says soon afterwards (*ib.* lxiii.), that Jesus is also called 'Angel and Apostle' (compare also Heb. iii. 1); and it harmonises well too with the doctrine of Philo, that 'no mortal thing could have been framed in the similitude of the supreme Father of the universe, but only after the pattern of the second Deity, who is the Word of the Supreme Being'" (*Solutions*, lxii.).

Perhaps it scarcely consists with literary courtesy to speak of the egregious unfairness of this paragraph from the *Encyclopædia*, but we may animadvert upon its imperfect apprehension of the conditions of the problem it seeks to solve, and its inattention to cogent evidence. In the first place, there is a superficial appearance of impartiality in scrutinising Justin's works for evidence of his use of a "written document exhibiting this development" and meanwhile obliterating the fact that a written document now exists which claims to have set forth the doctrine prior to the composition of Justin's earliest work. The paragraph confesses that Justin's doctrine was "affected by the Ephesian school," *i.e.*, that the same doctrine that Justin drew from a Christian source is enshrined in the document professing to have preceded him. Surely this is circumstantial evidence of the truth of the claim. "The teaching of the Ephesian school" affords but little help in explaining the immediate and widespread acknowledgment of the identification of the Logos with the historical Jesus, unless it were authoritative and recorded in a generally accessible form. Verbal and local instructions fail to meet the case, as we have already seen. And it is preposterously below the fact to say that Justin's doctrine of the doctrine of the Logos was *affected* by Johannean—for "Ephesian" is only a mild synonym for Johannean—teaching; it is permeated through and through with it, in substance if not in phrase. Let the amount of Johannean influence, however, remain undecided. We have nevertheless gained the important admission that Justin's Logos-doctrine manifests elements which cannot be ascribed to Philo or to the Synoptists, which can have issued only from the same quarter as that whence proceeded the last Gospel. But if the two Apologies and the Dialogue with Tryphon dated earlier than our present *St. John*, and if the Christian doctrine of the Logos were the peculiar property of "the Ephesian school," it is incredible that any writer of that school, who must have been acquainted with Justin's

works, should have said so little about the Logos, and that little so simply and plainly. Instead of confining the term *Logos* to a prologue of eighteen verses, he would have lost no opportunity of inculcating his doctrine, and would have been specially careful to employ the designation as frequently and as fully as Justin did. Again, the hypothesis of an unauthenticated unwritten tradition fails to satisfy imperative requirements.

The two objections brought in the paragraph on which we are commenting against the Johannine character of Justin's Logos-doctrine, furnish a specimen of the mischiefs arising from reliance upon isolated passages. Very probably Justin's use of the adjective "ineffable" may have come from Philo, but it is perfectly susceptible of a Christian sense, and reconcilable with St. John's statements. It is true that man cannot comprehend God, nor find Him out by searching. Justin means merely that God has no name perfectly descriptive of His Infinite Self. Writing to the heathen, he gives as the reason why the neophyte is baptised in the name of the Father rather than in a name analogous to Jupiter, Mercury, &c., that the true God must be immeasurably greater than any name which could be assigned to Him. The thought underlying his application of "ineffable" is set forth by Justin himself in a passage so remarkable that it is strange it has not attracted more notice. "But no name is assigned to the Father of all, since He is unbegotten. For he who is called by any name whatever has as his elder the person assigning the name. But Father and God and Creator and Lord and Master are not names, but appellations, derived from His good deeds and His works. But His Son . . . is called Christ, . . . this name itself possessing an unknown significance; as also the title God is not a name, but an opinion of a thing implanted in the nature of men that can scarcely be explained. But Jesus, His name as man and Saviour, has also significance" (2 *Apol.*, vi.) The opening contrast is between the Supreme God and the angels or demons who had beguiled men into worshipping them. Justin in effect apologises for affixing no name like "Neptune and Pluto" to the Deity he adored. As He was unbegotten, there was no one to name Him. The terms Father, &c., express His relations to men rather than His essential nature. In all this, if Justin errs, it is the philosophy that is in fault, not the theology. There is nothing inconsistent

with St. John's representation of the revelation of God through Christ. But the conclusive proof that Justin did not intend to place the Father at a vaster distance from men than the Fourth Gospel does is found in his allusion to the "unknown significance" of the name Christ, and his criticism of "the title God," which he repeatedly applies to Christ, and refers to Him even when he declares it is not a name.* And if Jesus is called Apostle, Heb. iii. 1 shows that that is no designation of inferiority. And as to the term angel, Dr. Abbott forgets Justin's words, "Who is called angel and is God."† The distinction could not be drawn more clearly or scripturally. We need not, therefore, point out that both epithets have their sanction in the Old Testament.

We submit that Justin's doctrine of the Logos not only harmonises with the Fourth Gospel, but implies the existence of that document and the apologist's knowledge of and deference to it.

From considerations of the doctrinal purport of Justin's writings, we must turn to the scrutiny of certain words, phrases, and thoughts declared and denied to have been educed from St. John's Gospel. The primary place belongs to Justin's citation of John iii. 3-5: "For Christ also said, Except ye be born again, ye shall certainly not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Now that it is impossible for those who have once been born to re-enter the wombs of them that bare them is manifest to all" (1 *Apol.*, 61).‡

* That "the title God" refers to Christ follows not only from the immediate connection of it with Him, but from the inclusion of the term in the appellations of the Father of all, at the beginning of the passage. If it did not refer to Christ there would be no reason for its second mention.

† "ἄγγελος καλούμενος καὶ Θεὸς ὑπάρχων" (*Dial.*, c. lx. Cf. also *Dial.*, ci. 56, 57.)

‡ So much depends upon careful comparison of the originals that we subjoin them:

JUSTIN.

"Αν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσελθῆτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἀπαξ γεννωμένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερὸν πᾶσιν ἐστὶ.

ST. JOHN.

Ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἕνωθεν, οὐ δύναται εἶδέν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Νικόδημος. Πῶς ὁ ὕναται ἄνθρωπος γεννηθῆναι γέρων ὢν; μὴ δύναται εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ δεύτερον εἰσελθεῖν καὶ γεννηθῆναι; . . . ἔὰν μὴ τις μενηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . δεῖ ὑμᾶς γεννηθῆναι ἕνωθεν.

The connection of this passage with the corresponding one in the Fourth Gospel is indisputable. Dr. Abbott confesses, "the similarity is obvious, and the hypothesis of accidental coincidence absurd." This admission is followed by an elaborate attempt to show that the first part of the apparent quotation is "borrowed from a tradition embodied differently in the Fourth Gospel;" and that the second is Justin's own comment upon his text. The pleas assigned for the traditional origin amount to these: the preface "Christ said," which is not Justin's ordinary form of reference to the Gospels; the omission of the words "of water and spirit," the insertion of which would have vastly improved Justin's reasoning; the large number of different forms in which the text is found in the Fathers, &c.; and a theory of the development and manipulation of this and similar supposed sayings of our Lord. The questions raised by the occurrence of this celebrated passage in the First Apology have been discussed frequently and fully; we shall dwell therefore very cursorily upon them, except as more or less novel points have been raised by Dr. Abbott.

The introduction "Christ said" or "Jesus Christ said" is used admittedly of both apocryphal and apostolic utterances. No inference can be drawn from its employment in this case, not even the precarious one that the saying was derived from tradition, if not from the Fourth Gospel, if by "tradition" verbal tradition is meant; it may have come from a written non-canonical evangel. The numerous variations with which the Fathers cite these words are supposed to indicate that they did not exist in any fixed, authoritative form, but only in a floating, easily modified tradition. Dr. Ezra Abbot* has put the validity of this argument to a searching test. He shows that each of the variations occurs repeatedly in writers who acknowledged the authority of all four Gospels, and points out that one of the most striking—"Except *ye*" for "except *a man* be born anew"—"is made by the speaker himself in the Gospel, in professedly repeating in the seventh verse the words used in the third . . . 'Marvel not that I *said* unto thee, *ye* must be born anew.'" He adds, "I have noted nine quotations of the passage by Jeremy Taylor, who is not generally sup-

* *Authorship*, pp. 31-34. To some extent Professor Drummond, we believe, anticipated Dr. Ezra Abbot's method and facts, but we have not been able to procure Mr. Drummond's Essay on the passage as quoted by Justin.

posed to have used many apocryphal gospels. All these differ from the common English Version, and only two of them are alike. They exemplify *all* the peculiarities of variation from the common text upon which writers of the Tübingen School and others have laid such stress, as proving that Justin cannot have here quoted John.* The examples adduced fully bear out his position.* The patristic citations of the text prove nothing whatever against Justin's knowledge of *St. John*. The non-quotation of the words "of water and spirit" is sufficiently surprising. They are the very words a modern controversialist would have been most careful to cite. To readers of our own day this insertion would constitute a manifest improvement. To this extent Dr. Abbott's exposition of Justin's line of thought seems unanswerable. Nevertheless, in his eagerness to make the most of it, he overstates his case. He says, "the passage in John iii. 5, *if quoted without any omission*, as it now stands in our version, would have been exactly to the point." But John iii. 5 is not quoted at all, only John iii. 3. The difficulty is not that the apologist has adduced a text and left out the most pertinent part of it, but that of two texts he has preferred the less relevant. It is impossible to conceive him quoting John iii. 5 with the hypothetical omission: it is by no means impossible to imagine him selecting an earlier verse and forgetting to copy a later, or assuming that the first contained the second. A curious fact, however, is that Justin does not cite an even more relevant text than John iii. 5, viz., Matthew xxviii. 19 ("baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"). He has just spoken of baptism in the name of the Trinity, and could not have alleged a more conclusive scriptural proof of its rightfulness than the original command of institution. This striking omission altogether neutralises the argument from the non-quotation of John iii. 5, and suggests that we

* More homely illustrations might be given of the ease with which familiar texts, quoted from memory, become corrupt: e.g., "I am trying to work out my own salvation *if it be but* with fear and trembling;" "Wherever two or three are gathered together in Thy name there art Thou in the midst of them, *and that to bless them*;" "Whatsoever any two shall agree to ask *as touching My kingdom*." The Fathers, who would naturally refer to their clumsy manuscripts comparatively seldom, were liable to reproduce popular inaccuracies. As one means of testing the phenomena of quoting Scripture from memory, the present writer has attended Friends' meetings at every convenient opportunity. Accuracy is certainly the exception, to say the very least.

should trace Justin's thought along a rather different course from that which we fancied it pursued. Dr. Abbott indeed cuts the knot he cannot untie. Justin's ignorance of John iii. 5 was equalled by his ignorance of Matthew xxviii. 19. Reminded that St. Matthew is one of the Synoptists, and that Justin quotes Matthew more often than any other evangelist, he replies that the closing verses of the First Gospel probably stand upon the same level of doubtful genuineness with the closing verses of the second. Reference to the numerous historical difficulties thus involved would be out of place; it is enough to state that this notion is absolutely destitute of critical support, is an *a priori* hypothesis, devised to meet immediate necessities, themselves created by a foregone conclusion.

The omission of both texts may be explained without recourse to any such violent suppositions. Justin asserts: "As many as are persuaded and believe that the things taught and said by us are true . . . are led by us where there is water, and are born anew by the same method of new birth as that by which we were born anew. . . . For Christ also said, 'Except ye be born anew,' &c." Plainly the most prominent thought in Justin's mind was that of the new birth; he so thoroughly blended the sign with the thing signified that to mention one was to mention the other. The symbolic use of lustration was familiar to the heathen. He had connected water with regeneration; he then proves the necessity of the new birth. He might well think that further testimony was needless. He did not pretend to give a full exposition of Christian doctrine, but only the reason of certain Christian observances. For this the cited words of Christ amply sufficed.* The reference to the objection by Nicodemus accords with our view of Justin's meaning. The thought of the moral change implied dominated over that of ceremonial purification. There would be no need to guard birth by water against so gross a misconception, but it became Justin to assert the spiritual nature of true regeneration. Dr. Abbott considers the words about the impossibility of a

* Justin subsequently quotes the exhortation of Esaias, "Wash you, make you clean, &c." (Is. i. 16-20), and Dr. Abbott thinks for lack of other biblical support and from sense of the impertinence of his allusion to Christ's direction. The real reason of the extract from Esaias is that part of Justin's contention is that the dæmons pre-imitated the Christian sacraments (*cf.* 1 *Apol.*, c. lxii). It behoved him, therefore, to show whence the dæmons obtained the notion before Jesus Christ had ordained the rites.

second physical birth to be a comment of Justin's own, accidentally coincident with a verse from the Fourth Gospel. Dr. Ezra Abbot pronounces them "an unmeaning platitude" unless they are merely an unconscious reminiscence of *St. John*. The coincidence is too close, the verbal expression too peculiar, too Hebraistic for the first supposition; it is too big with spiritual significance for the second.

We doubt the desirability of following Dr. Abbott's imaginary history of the development and combination of our Lord's sayings relative to the new birth. Both the *Encyclopædia* and the *Review* insist upon it so strongly and lengthily that we cannot pass it over in silence. The former publication summarises the theory thus:

"The probability is that Justin's quotation represents one stage, and the Fourth Gospel another stage, of the Christian doctrine of the new birth, and the Ephesian 'usus ecclesiasticus' had not yet come to his knowledge, or, if it had, had not yet superseded the less developed tradition. The stages may be classified as follows: (1) Synoptists, 'Except ye become as little children;' (2) Justin, 'Except ye be born again;' (3) a third stage is implied in 1 Peter i. 3, 23 and iii. 21, and it would run thus, 'Except a man be born of the Spirit as well as water' (a protest against the Essene overvaluing of ablutions; see also *Sibylline Books*, iv. 164-174); (4) the inevitable transition hence was to the form in the Fourth Gospel, 'Except a man be of water and of the Spirit.' Here the authority of the Ephesian apostolic school arrested the development which would else have issued in (5) the Clementine stage, 'Except ye be regenerated by living water in the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.' If (6) 'living' had subsequently been omitted, the development would have been completed in a sixth and last stage."

Who would wish to withhold his meed of admiration from the consummate cleverness and minute investigation revealed by this paragraph? Nevertheless, it betrays the same faults that mar the beauty and usefulness of its author's fictions, *Philochristus* and *Onesimus*. It presupposes that the Primitive Church dealt with its sacred documents and with the words of its Lord after an incredibly negligent, daring, and dishonest fashion. It is historical criticism based upon unhistorical, nay, anti-historical principles. We need not recapitulate the observations of our former articles upon Dr. Abbott's

treatment of the Gospels and the Church to whom they were entrusted. Until the Synoptic Gospels are reduced to an agglomeration of myths around a centre of Original Tradition, fantastic schemes of the formation of particular passages have no *locus standi*. The theory now before us has its appropriate *internal* weaknesses:—Justin asserts that *Christ said* "Except ye be born anew," without other authority than a misconception of words from the Synoptists: the saying was derived from a distinct tradition a few lines before, now it becomes a stage in the development of another utterance: St. Peter does not give his "stage" as a saying of Christ's, and there is no other trace that such a stage existed: between Justin, St. John, and the Clementines, there is not sufficient space to allow of the indicated development: the growth was arrested at St. John's stage and yet went on to the Clementine: but perhaps we are arguing too seriously with a mere flight of fancy.

If Justin extracted the passage about the new birth from the Fourth Gospel, there is no hint in his manner of doing it that he placed that Gospel upon a lower ground than the other three. That we may fairly presume that he derived it from St. John may be inferred from the absence of all other authority whence he could have drawn it—if traditional, why was not that tradition preserved in some apocryphal gospel?—from the reference to Nicodemus's question about physical birth, and from the fact that only in *St. John* is the new birth correlated with baptism. On this last point much might be written. The doctrinal connection of the Sacrament with the experience can be explained satisfactorily only on the acknowledgment of the apostolic authority of the third chapter of the Gospel according to St. John.

When a reasonable presumption of Justin's use of the Fourth Gospel is established, allusions, turns of thought, resemblances of expression in themselves quite indecisive become confirmatory. This evidence is essentially cumulative, and to examine it piecemeal does it injustice, unless afterwards it is studied as a whole. There are certain correspondences in Justin common to both Philo and St. John, as undeniably Dr. Abbott has demonstrated. These are not altogether lost to us; they may have come from St. John, and the only question is whether Justin was more familiar with the philosopher or the Apostle. The notion

that the Evangelist and the apologist both borrowed from Philo labours under the disadvantage that it postulates a remarkable coincidence of thought and taste, while it allows no communication between the inspired and the uninspired Christian writer. The class of passages just referred to we must leave practically unnoticed, confining our remarks to those which we think Dr. Abbott has failed to trace to Philo, or which seem to indicate clearly acquaintance with St. John. The fairness of this procedure is manifest, for no one attempts to prove directly that Justin was not acquainted with the Fourth Gospel, but only that the affirmative evidence is not strong and cogent.

Both Justin and St. John apply to Jesus Christ the type of the brazen serpent. Professor Drummond is doubtless right in holding that this bare parallel does not count for much, as Justin "seized with avidity every type which a torturing exegesis could extract from the Old Testament." A somewhat stronger point is that both writers connect faith with the sign, and Justin even represents Moses as saying, "If ye look on this image and believe, ye shall be saved thereby," the insertion of "and believe" manifesting not the obviousness of the thought, but familiarity with it, probably grounded on John iii. 14, 15. Dr. Abbott quotes from Philo, "If the mind, when bitten by pleasure, *Eve's Serpent*, is able to discern with the soul the beauty of temperance, the Serpent of Moses, and through this, God Himself, he will live" (*Allegories*, ii. 20). The extract is taken from a discussion the very kernel of which is the contrast between the good and the evil serpent, and the limitation of the benefit of the good serpent to the lover of God ("for God enjoins him, 'make to thyself,' that you may know that temperance is the possession not of every one, but only of the lover of God"—*Allegories*, ii. 20). Dr. Abbott compares with his quotation from Philo the following from Justin: "God thereby proclaimed" "that he would break the power of the serpent which occasioned the transgression of Adam, and to those that believe on . . . him that was destined to be crucified, deliverance from the bites of the serpent, which are wicked deeds and other unrighteous acts:" and "the Logos became incarnate by the Virgin," "in order that the disobedience which proceeded from the serpent might receive its destruction in the same manner in which it derived its origin. For Eve, who was a virgin and undefiled, having conceived the word of the serpent,

brought forth disobedience and death" (*Dial.*, cc. 94, 100). He argues that "Justin much more closely imitates the original in Philo by retaining the contrast between the two serpents, and in one passage expressly mentions the evil serpent in connection with Eve" (*M. R.*, p. 575).

The cool assumption that St. John as well as Justin imitated Philo, deserves a word of rebuke. And Justin does not say the Word "became incarnate by the Virgin," but "became man through" her (*διὰ τῆς παρθένου ἀνθρώπων γεγενέσθαι*), a difference not without its importance. "Became incarnate" is precisely what he would have said if he had desired to preserve the parallelism between the two serpents. But the remarkable fact is that not a solitary syllable about the good serpent can be found throughout Justin's works. He studiously avoids the comparison between the brazen serpent itself and Christ. "The contrast between the evil Serpent and the good Serpent being once originated [? the contrast occurs in Rabbinical literature] by Philo, how natural for Christians sprung from the Alexandrine Jewish school to say that the good Serpent who destroyed the power of the evil Serpent was a type of Christ!" The observation is just, and the Fathers did employ the comparison largely. But Justin never countenances the identification of the good serpent with Jesus Christ. He alludes to the incident of the brazen serpent in the First Apology (c. 60), but he limits the analogy to the instrument—a cross—on which both Christ and the figure of brass were "lifted up." In the Dialogue (c. 94) the same comparison holds, and prominence is given to the method of Christ's death ("him that was destined to be crucified"); and in c. 100, the contrast is drawn carefully that "He became *man*," and that "the Holy Thing begotten of her was called *the Son of God*." And Justin adds that by Christ "God destroys both the serpent and those angels and men who are like him," as though but one serpent could possibly be thought of. If Justin was indebted to Philo's allegories for the suggestion of the brazen serpent, how comes it that he deviates so widely and so uniformly from his model? We cannot but suspect the influence of the Fourth Gospel, and that Justin saw the essence of the comparison of John iii. 14 in the double "lifted up;" and this suspicion is strengthened when we mark his disregard of Philo's limitation, and his representation of Christ crucified as the healer of all sin and

unrighteousness. We seem to hear an echo of the "who-soever" of John iii. 15, and the "all men" of John xii. 32.

A much controverted passage reads, "For that he was the only-begotten of the Father of all, having been begotten by Him in a peculiar manner as His Logos and Power, and having afterwards become man through the Virgin, as we have learned from the Memoirs, I showed before" (*Dial.* c. 105). The clause "as we have learned from the Memoirs" appears to include the entire statement, though it has been restricted arbitrarily to the statement about the birth through the Virgin. In the former case, the epithet "only-begotten" is traced to the Memoirs, and therefore to St. John, as it is not used by the Synoptists. But there is no need to contend for the reference, as Professor Drummond has pointed out. Justin comments upon Ps. xxii. 20, 21: "Deliver my (or Thy) Only-begotten from the hand of the dog." Justin applies these words to Christ, and reminds Tryphon of a former argument. We cannot be certain as to the chapter to which Justin alludes, whether the sixty-first or the one hundredth. Dr. Abbott takes no notice of the possibility of the former reference, because in the latter chapter Justin appeals for proof of the pre-existence of Christ only to the Synoptists. With either reference the cogency of Professor Drummond's reasoning remains:

"There is here no ground of comparison whatever except in the word *μονογενής* ['only-begotten']. . . . It is evident that Justin understood this as referring to Christ; and accordingly he places the same word emphatically at the beginning of the sentence in which he proves the reference of this part of the Psalm to Jesus. For the same reason he refers not only to events, but to τὰ ὄντα αὐτῷ ["the things that belonged to Him"]. These are taken up first in the nature and title of *μονογενής*, which immediately suggests λόγος and δύναμις ["Logos" and "power"], while the events are introduced and discussed afterwards. The allusion here to the birth through the virgin has nothing to do with the quotation from the Old Testament, and is probably introduced simply to show how Christ, although the only-begotten Logos, was nevertheless a man. If the argument were—These words allude to Christ, because the Memoirs tell us that He was born from a virgin—it would be utterly incoherent. If it were—These words allude to Christ, because the Memoirs say that He was the only-begotten—it would be perfectly valid from Justin's point of view. It would not, however, be suitable for a Jew, for whom the fact

that Christ was *μονογενής*, not being an historical event, had to rest upon other authority; and therefore Justin, changing his usual form, says that he had already explained to him a doctrine which the Christians learned from the Memoirs. It appears to me, then, most probable that the peculiar Johannine title, *μονογενής*, existed in the gospels used by Justin.*

There is, however, another objection: if Justin had acknowledged the Fourth Gospel, he would have pleaded: "But that Jesus taught his disciples that he was the only-begotten, we know from the Memoirs, wherein it is written that he himself said, speaking of himself, God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whoso believeth in him should not perish." It is not a little curious that expositors of the greatest weight do not recognise these words as Christ's own utterances, but believe them to be the addition of the Evangelist. No one will accuse Canon Westcott and Dr. Moulton of ignorance of St. John, yet neither would quote the words which Justin is condemned for not quoting.

Evidence of Justin's dependence upon St. John has been usually discovered in his statement that the Baptist declared "I am not the Christ," and in his connecting with the Baptist Isaiah's prophecy of the Voice crying in the wilderness (John i. 20, 23). The sole extant authority for these statements is the Fourth Gospel. Dr. Abbott relegates the account to an imaginary common tradition; though he betrays an uneasy feeling that the reference to *St. John* is the more likely, he adds, "if Justin is borrowing from the Fourth Gospel he probably regarded that Gospel as unauthoritative, and on a level with tradition rather than with the Memoirs." The reason given for this judgment is, that the section (*Dial.*, c. 88) in which the Johannine citation occurs contains statements not found in our present Gospels: that Jesus made ploughs and yokes, that at His baptism a fire was kindled on the Jordan, that the Voice from heaven declared "Thou art My Son; this day have I begotten Thee." But, on the other hand, the chapter relates the visit of the Magi, the entry into Jerusalem, the age at which our Lord began His ministry, and the descent of the Spirit upon Him like a dove. In view of these two sets of facts, one would fancy the legitimate

* *Theological Review*, pp. 179, 180. The whole argument, pp. 178-182, is well worth perusal.

deduction to be that Justin used the Fourth Gospel, but that so far as this section is concerned, we cannot decide whether he ranked it as apostolic or traditional. It should not be forgotten that early manuscript authority exists for both the fire on the river and the voice from heaven.

Five times Justin cites Zechariah xii. 10, as "They shall look on whom they pierced,"* in exact correspondence with John xix. 37. That the same form is implied in Rev. i. 7, is an obviously insufficient solution of the coincidence. Justin's preference of the Hebrew to the Septuagint requires accounting for. Even if the reading were already found in some copies of the LXX., and were not a later correction by Christian hands, it would be difficult to avoid recognising the influence of St. John. Dr. Abbott classes this passage as "one among many proofs that Justin used the same traditions as the Fourth Gospel." But surely it is more reasonable to refer the peculiar form and special application of an Old-Testament text to a document than to "tradition."

Two other palpable resemblances are deemed due to "Ephesian traditions." Justin twice speaks of Jesus as "sent" from God into the world (*Dial.*, cc. 17, 91). The application of this verb (*πέμπευ*) to Christ is a marked and frequent peculiarity of the Fourth Gospel. The coincidence of spirit and letter between Justin and our present *St. John* cannot be doubted; but the agreement must exist not with the Fourth Gospel, but with "the doctrine of the Fourth Gospel." The credit of indicating the second resemblance belongs to Dr. Ezra Abbot. Justin (*Dial.*, c. 123) remarks that Christians "are both called, and are the true children of God." The First Epistle of John (iii. 1, *cf.* Westcott and Hort, and Revised Version) exclaims, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called children of God: and such we are" (*καὶ ἐσμὲν*). Dr. Abbott first traces the wording—scarcely the thought—to Philo, then adds "Nevertheless—when combined with the use of the Johanneine *ἀληθινὸς* ('true') and the phrase 'keep the commandments of Christ'—it may be accepted as one among many indications that the author of this Ephesian dialogue was not ignorant of the Ephesian traditions, many of which are now incorporated in our Fourth Gospel, and also in the

* Reading *ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν* for *ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*.

First Epistle, which is a kind of postscript to the Gospel." The device of attributing to "doctrine" or "tradition" these verbal and substantive correspondences really signifies no more than the necessity of explaining away awkward facts. Minute similarities of language and delicate shades of thought are precisely the least likely matters to be preserved by oral teaching. They imply documents of some sort, and St. John's writings constitute the only documents available. Moreover, these "traditions" are occupied in no small part with the discourses of Jesus, which, *ex hypothesi*, must have been composed long prior to Justin's use of them. They are thus brought into dangerous proximity to the lifetime of Christ, and into actual contact with the lifetime of the beloved disciple and the residence of his later years. By this path we approach very closely to a guarantee of the genuineness of the discourses, which "the newer criticism" attacks with so great fury and confidence. The notion of an Ephesian school, under the supreme influence of the still living or but recently deceased Apostle, engaged in fabricating the details of our Lord's life and formulating doctrine different and divergent from the opinions of the rest of the Christian Church, is so intrinsically improbable that we may spare the pains of showing further that it does not satisfy the phenomena involved.

Two other passages in which Dr. Abbott recognises the impress of the Fourth Gospel, but where Justin appeals to the earlier Memoirs, deserve fuller consideration than our limits allow us to bestow on them. In 1 *Apol.*, c. 63, Justin asserts that Jesus accused the Jews of not knowing the Father; the accusation as directly addressed to the Jews is recorded only in the last Gospel. But Justin quotes *Matthew* and *Luke* ("No man knoweth the Father, &c.") where the charge is universal; he might have cited John viii. 19, xvi. 3, &c. In *Dial.*, c. 100, Justin refers to the resurrection "which (thing, fact, &c.) he (Jesus) has, having received it from the Father" (ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς λαβὼν ἔχει). Plainly Justin "has in his mind" John x. 18; but he adduces *Matthew* xi. 17, xvi. 21. Dr. Abbott's commentary upon the second instance, practically identical with that on the first, reads: "Why should Justin thus have substituted a comparatively inappropriate quotation for the passage which he had in his mind, and which was perfectly to the point, except because he felt that it did not

possess the same authority as the Memoirs which contained the written words of the Lord?" An *argumentum ad hominem* suggests itself instantaneously. If Justin did not believe the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, why did he repeat its statements? Rejection of the Gospel would have necessitated denunciation of, or absolute silence about, it. The sensitiveness of conscience which hindered Justin from *quoting* a Gospel the apostolic authority of which he did not hold would have debarred him altogether from the use of it. We must seek a reason for its influence upon Justin and his abstinence from mentioning it to his opponents elsewhere. We have, on p. 77, suggested motives which prompted Justin's restraint in the *Apologies* and in the *Dialogue*. But more than this, Tryphon claims to have read the Gospels, and to be acquainted with their contents; what more likely than that he had read only the Synoptists? If Tryphon be an imaginary character, yet it might well be prudent to assume that the Jews were acquainted with the first three Gospels alone. And besides the unfavourable light in which St. John represents the Jews, its un-Jewish theology might prevent Justin's calling a Jew's attention to this Gospel.

The quiet preterition by the *Encyclopædia* of the evidence from the use of St. John's Gospel by the heretics is broken in the *Modern Review*: "The Gnostic Valentinians and the Gnostic Encratite Tatian took one view of the Fourth Gospel; Justin Martyr (who was not a Gnostic) took another." The Essay states and replies to the overwhelming difficulty this theory raises in words we are compelled to extract entire:

"How, then, did the Fourth Gospel, patronised by Gnostics and regarded with suspicion by the comparatively orthodox Justin, win its way so rapidly in the Church that, by the end of the second century, it was not only universally recognised, but even all traces of hesitation have been obliterated, except such as may be detected in the works of this single author? Those who regard this question as unanswerable, except on the hypothesis of apostolic authorship, not only make too little allowance for the non-critical and receptive spirit of the Church in the earliest ages, but also do a great injustice to the intrinsic power of this most spiritual treatise. It succeeded because it deserved to succeed; because it was, spiritually speaking, in accordance with the truth; because it truthfully protested against the thaumaturgic tendencies of the Church by exhibiting Jesus principally

as a worker of spiritual and not material marvels ; because it truthfully represented Him as a Leader who was not, and who could not be, understood till His physical presence had been succeeded by His spiritual presence ; because it finally and definitely rescued Christianity from the danger of becoming a narrow sect of Ebionites ; and lastly, because, in answer to the cavils of heathen cynics who scoffed at the notion that the Father of men could have awaked from ages of neglect to send His Son at last as a Saviour into a corner of Syria, it raised and established for Christ's religion the claim that it was not an afterthought or extemporised epilogue, but a preordained and continuous drama, co-extensive with the history of the Universe, wherein the Protagonist was none other than the Eternal Word or Wisdom, who from the beginning was with God, and was God" (*Modern Review*, pp. 755, 756).

And all this was accomplished by a fiction ! In *Through Nature to Christ* Dr. Abbott announces that he believes St. John's picture of Jesus Christ to be essentially correct, really truer than that which we gain from the other three Gospels. The anonymous, unknown author has composed a more accurate and sympathetic *life* of Jesus of Nazareth than those that walked and talked with Him three years in daily communion ! He has not reset their narratives in the burnished gold of his marvellous genius, he has written another history, the events as well as the spirit of which differ from those of the preceding biographers. The uncritical, spiritually sensitive Church cordially accepted his production ; they could perceive its beauty but not its falsehood, its inner truthfulness but not its outward contradiction of their cherished records. This Church of "thaumaturgic tendencies" cast away its appetite for wonders without struggle, without protest, without hesitation, in obedience to a phantom raised at the bidding of a secret conjuror. And the very individuals who were attracted by the superior power and beauty of this latest Gospel failed to see its variance with the Gospels they had. Total blindness was conjoined with abnormal quickness of vision. The wonders have not yet ceased. The Christ of history, *i.e.*, of the Original Tradition, belongs to "a corner of Syria ;" the world-wide Saviour and Enlightener springs forth from the pages of Philo and his undiscoverable disciple. If this be so, not Jesus the Son of Mary, but Philo and the pseudo-John deserve the world's homage, gratitude, and love.

But Dr. Abbott cannot content himself with these inconsistencies and incredibilities ; he must reduce the theory to an absurdity himself. The Fourth Gospel issues from the Ephesian school, yet it is acceptable to the Gnostics and viewed with suspicion (at first) by the orthodox. It is the Gnostics who manifest this fine spiritual perception ; and by these hated and dreaded heretics the Church condescends to be taught, and from their hands it receives "the spiritual Gospel" it had rejected as the gift of Ephesus. The theory outrages history no less than probability.

The design of this article is chiefly to prove Justin's alleged disregard of the Fourth Gospel need not constitute a stumbling-block to those who are prepared on other grounds to receive it. But incidentally we have endeavoured to make manifest that Justin indeed witnesses to the existence of the Gospel at the date of his writing, and to his acceptance of it as authentic and apostolic.

- ART. V.—1. *The Remote Antiquity of Man Not Proven. Primeval Man Not a Savage.* By B. C. Y. Elliot Stock. 1883.
2. *The Recent Origin of Man as Illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Pre-historic Archæology.* By J. C. SOUTHALL. Philadelphia: Lippincott. London: Trübner. 1875.
3. *The Epoch of the Mammoth and the Apparition of Man upon the Earth.* By JAMES C. SOUTHALL, M.A., LL.D., Author of "The Recent Origin of Man." Trübner. 1878.
4. *A Scientific Symposium: Subject, The Antiquity of Man. Papers selected chiefly from the Transactions of the Victoria Institute.* By THOMAS K. CALLARD, F.G.S. With a Preface by Percy Strutt, Author of "The Inductive Method of Christian Inquiry." For Private Circulation. 1880.
5. *The International Scientific Series.* Vol. XLIV. *Man Before Metals.* By N. JOLY, Professor of Science at Toulouse. Kegan Paul and Co. 1882.
6. *Cave Hunting: Researches on the Evidence of Caves respecting the Early Inhabitants of Europe.* By W. BOYD DAWKINS, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A., Curator of the Museum, and Lecturer in Geology in the Owens College, Manchester. Macmillan. 1874.
7. *Early Man in Britain.* By W. BOYD DAWKINS, &c., &c. Macmillan. 1879.

IN *La Terre Avant le Déluge*, a book by Figuier, who half a generation back did for geology and physical geography what Flammarion in France and Proctor in England have been doing for astronomy—popularised them without eliminating from his books the scientific "back-bone"—there are a number of sensational plates depicting a storm in the carboniferous period and so on. Figuier was a catastrophist. Sir C. Lyell on the contrary was an uniformitarian, and, just about the time when Figuier was writing, he, presiding at Bath at the British Association meeting in 1861, said, "We are gluttons of time. Time, time is what we want; with plenty of time we can do anything."

It was a strange place for the remark; for surely no amount of time would account for the thermal springs

which make that little basin of the old Ake-Mannes-Ceaster like an ever-steaming cauldron, or for the sudden bend (due doubtless to the same cause which brought and brings them to the surface) that makes the Avon valley turn at right angles on itself. But, just then, English geologists were nearly all of them bent on explaining everything by the action of existing forces. Volcanoes were admitted because they are still going on, and their effect in raising and depressing coast-lines is a measurable quantity. But the disposition was to throw even them into the background. They did something, but not so much as had been asserted. The great work in shaping the earth had always been those same atmospheric changes—rain, frost, heat, and that tidal action which are doing the same thing before our eyes, *and at the same rate*, for there was the great postulate. It is hard, of course, to prove a negative; but what reason is there for imagining that these forces acted in early ages with more intensity than they do now? They are now doing a vast work; why should the “cyclic storms” of which “the random forms” that nature first grew were the random prey, be anything more than a poet’s dream? It was a natural reaction from over-catastrophism. The earlier geologists had taught that each epoch ended in a cataclysm. One of them, finding a saurian with a half-devoured brother reptile in its mouth, talks of the monster overtaken by chaos while in the midst of his unnatural meal. Later discoveries showed that one epoch passes by insensible degrees into another, that most cataclysms have been only partial; and later geologists were too wise to base catastrophism on what happens every time a number of wild animals are drowned in a river flood. Orthodoxy, too, had unwisely displayed its not unnatural alarm at the temper of much geological writing. It had given up the Word, and had bound itself to Archbishop Ussher with his six thousand years, or to Hales with his seven thousand some hundreds. To fit everything into those limits needed indeed an accumulation of cataclysms. Hence the feeling in favour of uniform causes acting at the same rate as now; and hence the demand for time, since erosion, and the deposit of silt, and the formation of peat, &c., go on in most places very slowly at the present day.

It was in America that the first note for retreat from what was clearly an untenable position was sounded. There men saw before their eyes the workings of the Mis-

Mississippi, not only in its delta, but near its head-waters, where the watershed is so uncertain that affluents which one year flow to the great river another year make their way into Hudson's Bay. They could watch in the primeval forest, in the swamps of Carolina, the deposits of peat and silt, and found the rates vastly different from those according to which the dates of flint implements, &c., had been calculated. They were face to face with men, as fully men in every sense as themselves, who were still living in the stone age. No wonder that Mr. Southall should have taken exception to the enormous antiquity claimed for man by our French and English geologists on the faith of the uniform action of causes which in the New World are at this very day acting at quite a different rate from the European.

The next protest also comes from America. Professor Dawson, of Montreal, is another stickler for the modern date of "palæolithic" implements. Some of us may remember his account of how, during excavations at Montreal, bones, pottery, &c., were found, which were seen, from Jacques Cartier's description, to have belonged to the Indian town of Hochalaga, but which, had that description not been at hand, would certainly have been claimed as pre-glacial. There is great force in this; the American red man is still in the neolithic age. It is Sir J. Lubbock's argument turned the other way, and much more convincing than in its original form. You have a man living this stone-age life in one part of the world; why must you go back countless ages before you can say that he was living the same life in another part? We may fairly push Professor Dawson's argument yet further. In Australia man is found living with marsupials, and (till the white man brought in other creatures), with no other kind of mammalia. Now, suppose Australia had been submerged and lifted up again shortly before its discovery, as long stretches of the South American coast have been since the days of European colonisation, then, human remains would have been found, in beds of silt or drift, along with marsupials only—clear proof, the believers in man's very early appearance on the globe would have said, that the human race was in existence earlier than any other placental animal. We do not think Professor Dawson an unerring guide. He is quite right when, in common with Mr. Boyd Dawkins, he adopts the argument "that an evolutionist at least must not believe there was any *meiocene* man, for in the vast ages between *meiocene*

and pleistocene, the man would necessarily have developed into something else." To this the only possible reply is the weak one: "No, not necessarily. Creatures only develop when their surroundings are not modified up to their requirements. The lingula, having found a *milieu* that suited it, has remained unchanged from almost the dawn of animated life." But man is not a lingula; he is highly specialised; and the *milieu* has so far changed as to destroy all the meiocene fauna which would have been his contemporaries. There is much more in Mr. Dawson's book on *Fossil Men* besides the account of this Montreal "find" which seems to us unanswerable. Indeed, we wholly fail to comprehend the strange bitterness with which it was attacked in *Nature*, the dilemma in the reviewer's mind being that "either Professor Dawson is a scientific malcontent, or he is an instance of superstitions surviving in the colonies after they have died out at home."

Mr. Southall's books, above all, should be read by those who wish to hear both sides of this question. He comes to it as a man who believes his Bible, protesting, and justly, against the disingenuousness of men of science. Of this Sir C. Lyell's *Antiquity of Man* is a notable instance. It is clearly all, from beginning to end, directed against the record in Genesis, yet the Bible is never once mentioned or even hinted at. We note a very few of the points which Mr. Southall makes. Several of these are connected with the premature announcements of science. Thus "the fossil man of Florida," supposed to be in a coralline formation, deceived Lyell. It was afterwards proved by Agassiz to be imbedded in freshwater sandstone, full of shells of living species, which cannot be more than ten thousand years old. The skeleton from Guadaloupe, in the British Museum, is still more certainly of quite modern date. The calcareous deposit in which it lies is just what is formed at Matlock and elsewhere over birds' nests and all kinds of objects. The erosion of the Somme valley Mr. Southall is able to illustrate by what is now going on in the Mississippi. The banks of the French river are parallel, the floor level; there can, therefore, be none of the irregularities of a fluctuating stream, but a strong river a mile and a half wide, and at least twenty feet deep, must have been at work, and must have worked much more quickly than any modern agency. Another point which he notes is the probability that till quite recent times

Siberia was submerged. A great sea there would have tempered the climate of Northern Europe and Asia; and the change to cold must have come suddenly, because it caught the mammoths and encased them in ice. One more thing to be remembered is that in Egypt, the home of old culture, there seemingly never was a stone age. There is nothing behind the civilisation of the Pharaohs. You find stone knives and other "palæolithic" things, but they are associated with the ordinary contents of mummy-cases. Many of the very earliest statues are the most beautiful. It seems as if perfection started into life at once. This cannot be explained away. The persistence of the types, human and animal, on the monuments has been met by the hackneyed phrase: "They've not changed because they had found their suitable environment." Man in Egypt, very soon after the date given by Dr. Hales for the creation (7286 years), was highly civilised; and nothing has been found in the Nile Valley to indicate any less civilised being from whom he might have been developed. Contemporaneously with him man was living in the outlying parts of the world in a more or less savage state. The man of the Solutré caves, who was by some hasty observers relegated to the miocene beds, is proved to be between six and ten thousand years old; he was a savage, in the sense in which the word is sometimes used. But he was not devoid of *savoir faire*. The Solutré remains prove him to have been a horse-killer, and his horse was tamed, for a drawing on a reindeer bone shows it with a hogged mane. Moreover, the horses were not killed at a distance and carried to the caves, because every skeleton is found complete, and the animal must have been put to death close to where it is now discovered. As Pruner Bey says of this very Solutré man: "Cet homme quaternaire est constitué homme dans toute la force du terme. Rien dans sa physique indique un rapprochement avec les Simiens."* Whatever may be the significance of an abnormal skull here and there, his works prove him to have been no mere savage. He was at least as civilised as the Greenlander, whom he resembled, amongst other things, in the habit of burying his dead under the floor of his hut.

* Compare Boyd Dawkins (*Early Man in Britain*, p. 168): "The few fragments of human bones of undoubted pleistocene age prove that at this remote period man was present in Europe as man, and not as an intermediate form connecting the human race with the lower animals."

The general method of all these reactionists against the cry for vast periods of time, is to bring the mammoth forward, instead of carrying man backward. And the fact that the gelatine is not perished from the mammoth-bones found in our Cresswell caves is very important; though we cannot turn the argument, and say that a bone out of which the gelatine has perished is necessarily very old, seeing that this perishing is a variable process, sometimes accomplished with great rapidity. In like manner they all bring the ice age near, instead of pushing it back into the very remote past. Mr. Southall's *Recent Date of the Glacial Age Demonstrated* is a good summary of what is to be said on this side. The cause of that ice age is wrapped in mystery, a mystery which Professor Geikie and Mr. Croll try in vain to penetrate. One thing is certain, some of the astronomical causes on which it has been made to depend would carry it infinitely too far back for the time to which the remains clearly prove it to belong. This probably recent date of the ice age must be borne in mind along with the cautious summing up of that very acute observer, Professor Boyd Dawkins: "Man is probably interglacial and preglacial in Europe; certainly post-glacial in that part of it which lies north of the Thames valley." No one will accuse Professor Dawkins of temerity. He often reproves the rashness that seizes on faulty evidence, and has a laugh at those who built so much on the "human fibula" in a Yorkshire cave, afterwards discovered to be ursine. Hence, when he looks on the time required for the accretion of stalagmite, and for the erosion of the Somme and Thames valleys as "the real bone of contention," agreeing herein with Professor Birks (*Modern Geogonies Examined in their Bearing on the Antiquity of Man*), we feel the vast importance of the facts adduced by B. C. Y., in reply to the insatiable time-demands of Mr. Pengelly and others. If the growth of stalagmite is so irregular that no time-argument can be based on it; and if, further, the flints found in the lowest beds of Kent's Hole and the Brixham Cave are (as Mr. Whitley says) just what are found every day to result from the accidental fracture of flint nodules, Mr. Pengelly's reasoning falls to the ground, and we are left (as Mr. Callard says), "with our feet on the boulder clay, which we are sure was the bed of the icy ocean, safe there, and waiting for more light."

Mr. Boyd Dawkins's summary is: "Man lived in Ger-

many and Britain, after the maximum glacial cold had passed away; and we may also infer, with a high degree of probability, that he emigrated from Europe along with the pleistocene mammalia in the pre-glacial age.”*

The cautiousness of Mr. Dawkins's remarks throughout is in striking contrast with Sir C. Lyell's continual cry for vast spaces of time. To the *origines* of man (which he agrees with Dr. Falconer are to be sought, not in Europe, but in tropical Asia) he at once confesses his cave hunting gives no clue. “The higher apes are represented in the European meiocene and pleiocene strata by extinct forms uniting in some cases the characteristics of different living species, *but they do not show any tendency to assume human characteristics*. Indeed, the study of fossil remains throws as little light as do the documents of history on the relation of man to the lower animals. The historian begins with Assyria and Egypt, and can only guess at the steps by which those civilisations were achieved. The palæontologist meets with the traces of man in the pleistocene strata, and he too can merely guess at the antecedent steps by which man arrived even at that culture which is implied in the implements. *The latter has proved that the antiquity of man is greater than the former had supposed. Neither has contributed anything towards the solution of the problem of his origin.*” Further than this, it is important to note, Mr. Dawkins does not go. He mentions that modern bones, under certain conditions of calcification, lose their gelatine very soon and become chemically identical with older bones in the same matrix.†

This question of time it is well to keep distinct from others which have been mixed up with it. In forgotten

* *Cave Hunting*, p. 410.

† “The condition of a bone is a very fallacious guide to its antiquity, and though the fragments of the older contents of the cave are in a different mineral state, it is improbable that the ossiferous contents of so large a cave should have been mineralised exactly in the same way. Nor is an appeal to its perfect state conclusive, since several teeth of bears which I have examined from the breccia are equally perfect.” This is Mr. Boyd Dawkins's verdict in answer to Mr. Pengelly and Sir C. Lyell, who thought that the discovery, *in the uppermost part of the cave earth at Kent's Hole*, of another incisor of the *machaerodus latidens*, associated with bones of horse, bear, hyæna, &c., *proved* that this creature lived in the later pleistocene age, when the later cave earth was deposited (*Cave Hunting*, p. 323). The passage is valuable as showing the cautious way in which the evidence from bones is estimated by him who has had the most to do with them.

books of speculative unorthodoxy used to be discussed the difference between "the man," the Adam, who was made in the image of God, and the ordinary human creatures who had no such distinction. It made little difference whether these non-Adamites were pre-Adamites or not. In those days nothing was said about Elohist and Jehovist; but many fancied the two accounts in Gen. i. and ii. referred to distinct races. Just so, there are polygenists among the Darwinians, men who hold that the Australian, for instance, is developed from a different monkey from him who was the ancestor of the white man.

Such speculations as we have hinted at are, we think, closed by the word, "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." With any other race than that of Adam the New Testament certainly has no connection. Now the Adamite was undoubtedly not a savage, and Mr. Callard is justified in saying that "if Scripture language is only parabolic, yet not misleading but foreshadowing the truth, there can have been no such creature as palæolithic man, a half-beast for whom there was no room to fall lower. How can it be said that such a creature was made in the image of God? And how can restitution, the encouraging note of Scripture promises, mean anything if man's course has been progress without fall?" This is very cogent, and, for those who hold to the Word, it answers the glowing unrealities of Dean Stanley's funeral sermon on Sir C. Lyell, when he exults in the idea that men are "the heirs of the unremembered ages and of the worlds that perished in the making of us."

Mr. Callard's tracts may be profitably looked through by those who have not the time to read Mr. Southall.* He remarks that, while Professor Geikie asserts man to have been interglacial, Sir C. Lyell (*Geological Evidence of Man's Antiquity*, last edition) is content to believe him post-glacial. He points out the weakness of the uniformitarian argument. "It will not do for gravels;" Professor Prestwich confessed "that the formation of the higher gravels can be owing to the action of the present rivers is clearly impossible under present conditions." It certainly will not do for the peat, which now grows at the rate of two inches in the century; whereas, since alder and beech stumps are found *standing* a yard high in peat,

* Canon Rawlinson's tract, "Present Day Series" (Religious Tract Society), is also an excellent summary.

this must have accumulated so fast as to have risen that height before the trees could rot, *i.e.* (as is judged by what is actually going on in American swamps) in about sixty years. The rate, therefore, must have been about five feet in a century, and this is found to be the usual American rate. Neither will it do for the rainfall; the Somme as it now is, if spread over the valley, would give only half an inch of water, while the old Somme rolled down gravels as big as a man's head and boulders of a ton weight. The rainfall must have been at least 125 times its present amount.

Again, the argument from the caves is based on the supposition of uniformity in the deposit of stalagmite. Because names cut in a Yorkshire cave in 1615 are still legible, the deposit having been less than the eighth of an inch in more than two centuries, therefore endless ages are claimed for the formation of the beds of stalagmite below which are found the so-called "palæolithic" implements. There are two answers: first, when the surface, on which now in the case of Kent's Hole there is nothing but a little brushwood, was clothed with dense forest, there was in the decaying vegetable matter a much larger supply of carbonic acid, a quicker solvent for the carbonate of lime; next, the quantity of carbonate of lime would in most soils grow less and less each year as it got washed out by rains. A very rapid deposit is going on in some places at the present day. In Poole's Hole, for instance, the gas-pipes put in for lighting up were found to be coated an eighth of an inch in six months.

Another objection which certainly has some force is that no human bones are found along with these chipped flints. These latter are found, not in the vegetable mould, but in coarse gravel where they might have resulted from accidental concussion; and no one can distinguish man's work from those which are the result of accident. Blake's patent stone-breaker, for instance, gives flint flakes just like the "prehistoric" ones. Mr. Callard clearly inclines to the notion that the flints are not artificial; Professor Gaudry, on the contrary, followed by Mr. Boyd Dawkins, suggests that they may have been the work of some anthropoid ape, though (as has been shrewdly remarked) no existing apes, not even one of those who use stones for cracking fruits, has ever been seen to make or use a flint flake.

One great argument for the vast time claimed by Mr.

Pengelly and others is, that the Brixham Cave shows up-raisings and depressions which, at the present rate in these lands, would require vast periods for their accomplishment. Shallower reasoning it is difficult to imagine. It begs the whole question. What right have we to talk of the present rate as the measure of action in days when the Hebrides were most of them active volcanoes, and when the Ashby-de-la-Zouch coal field was being so curiously contorted by the upheaval of the granitic mass of Charnwood Forest? There are instances enough before our eyes, in Mexico, in Southern Italy, in the Greek Archipelago (Santorin, to wit), to prove that these Brixham changes might have occurred suddenly. One thing is clear, existing causes never could have brought them about at all. This cry for uniform causes is a reaction from the absurdities of the catastrophists; but these absurdities must not blind us to the fact that catastrophes do occur even now. A volcano will do in a day what wind and rain would not effect in countless ages. And this present season with its abnormal floods may well remind us that in her more peaceful working nature is far from being always consistent. As Professor Morris and Mr. Evans (*Stone Implements*) remark about the Somme, "Who shall say at what intervals floods occurred, and what was the average effect of each?" To insist on uniform effects from such uncertain causes is sheer doctrinaire obstinacy.

"The rate of erosion of a valley, or the deposition of silt in the bottom of it, or the accumulation of stalagmite in a cave are equally uncertain, since they depend on variable and intermittent causes; and they are therefore blind guides to the lapse of time" (Professor Dawkins's letter to Mr. Callard on the contemporaneity of man with the extinct mammals). Mr. Pengelly gives a warning which (if we rightly read his statements) he himself has not always borne in mind: "Be careful in scientific inquiries that you get a sufficient number of perfectly trustworthy facts, and that you interpret them with the aid of a rigorous logic."

It does not concern our present purpose, but it is still very interesting to note the astronomical arguments which may be adduced for geological operations having been more rapid and on a more gigantic scale the further we go back in the history of the planet. Two Essays by G. H. Darwin (*Phil. Transacts.*, 1879, Parts I. and II.) on "The Tides of Viscous Spheroids," and also what Dr. Ball, Irish

Astronomer Royal, now lecturing at the Royal Institution, says about the tides, &c., may be read with advantage in this connection. Forty-six million years ago the day was only fifteen and a half hours long, fifty-seven million years ago it was six and three-quarter hours, the lunar month being four days and a half. There were greater tides, and therefore greater oceanic denudation; the quick succession of day and night would bring frequent storms; the rotation was more rapid, there were, therefore, stronger trade winds.* And very much nearer our time these same causes must have been so much more powerful than they now are as considerably to hasten on the results to which we have so long been taught to assign measureless periods.

Professor Geikie has been somewhat misrepresented as urgent in his claim for vastly long ages. He rapidly traces the chief strata since the dawn of modern forms—the fire-clay in which grew the plants of the coal; the meiocene, in which our horse was represented by the anchitherium, a small weak creature about the bigness of a sheep; the pleiocene, in which he had developed to the hipparion, a sort of three-toed quagga; the pleistocene or glacial, which gave us the till or boulder-clay, and which was followed by such a great depression that marine shells are found on Snowdon, 1,300 feet high. “Man,” he says, “came into Europe in the interglacial period, and staid there. The flints found in the thick river gravel-beds *fell through the ice-holes while he was fishing*. Few or none of his bodily remains are found in these gravels, because what did get there would soon be ground to powder.” He, too, reminds us that the stone age is not yet extinct in the world, and that man in Finmark, and elsewhere, is still living in the ice age. And he quotes the very important remark of Dr. Arthur Mitchell, in *The Past in the Present*, that we must not say an implement is ancient because it is rude. To us it rather appears that the author of *The Great Ice Age* is by no means one of the “gluttons of time.” What can be more cautious than this? “To assert that a brick earth is older than a cave breccia, because it contains some bones which the latter does not, or fails to show some which the latter does yield, is too often a conclusion drawn because it agrees with presumption.” At the same time, he thinks

* Dr. Ball has put prominently forward one of the sources of heat supply, even if the sun cools. Energy is converted into (hypogene) heat by internal tidal friction.

very lightly of the theory which makes the terraces of alluvium in which chipped flints are found to have been terraces still in the days of palæolithic man (Dawson), who in summer came down to till them from the plateaux where he lived in winter, retreating as soon as the winter floods rose, and leaving his flint hoes behind him. The difference any one can see is very great, for if the terraces have all been deposited since the flints were in use which are found in them, the existence of man is carried back to a very remote period. If, on the contrary, they have ever since man first appeared been terraces of flood-land, the probable antiquity of the remains is much lessened. They may (as Dr. Dawson suggests) have been the hoes and mattocks of the very same men who, in their homes on the upland, had flint arrows, and the other implements usually called *neolithic*. Dr. Geikie does not, indeed, pooh-pooh this supposition; but he says, "from the nature and structure of some of the high-lying gravels, there can be little doubt that they were formed at a time when the rivers, then larger than now, were liable to be frozen, and to be obstructed by large accumulations of ice. *We are thus able to connect the deposits of the human period with some of the later phases of the ice age in the west of Europe.*"*

Naturally, those who wish to put themselves in a position for ascertaining the truth must read both sides. They must read Lubbock as well as Dawson (the two argue along exactly opposite lines from the same facts), Lyell as well as Taylor, Pengelly as well as Callard. But they must not neglect the men who are content to abstain from theorising, while patiently seeking for new facts. Foremost among these is one from whom we have already quoted, but who cannot be too often kept before our readers. Indeed, we recommend every one who takes up this subject to read Professor Boyd Dawkins's *Cave Hunting and Early Man in Britain*. It is going to the original source instead of to second or third hand authorities. The history of cave exploration (on which, we must remember, the question of man's age depends) is briefly sketched, from the discoveries by the Spaniards of the caverns of the Guanches, that

* "The deposits which contain the history of the human period are cavern loam, brick earth, river alluvia, lake bottoms, peat mosses, sand dunes, loess, and other superficial accumulations" (Geikie, *Text-Book of Geology*, p. 903).

strange people in whom a bit of neolithic culture was preserved by insulation, just as, from the same cause, the early Norse culture has been preserved in Iceland. The German bone caves seem to have been first ransacked in the sixteenth century, when superstition was dying out owing to the Reformation. It was *ebur fossile*, or as it was also called unicorn's horn, a notable ingredient in the prescriptions of the time (as it is now in those of the Chinese), that was sought there. Dr. Gesner, in 1603, was the earliest scientific man who directed his attention to them. His view, which was again put forth, when the great cave of Gailenreuth, in Franconia, was explored in 1774, was that the bones, evidently many of them belonging to elephants, hyænas, and other creatures now confined to the tropics, had been swept in by Noah's flood.

In our own country the Oreston Cave, near Plymouth, was explored in 1816; while Father M'Enery, a Roman Catholic priest, began his search in Kent's Hole in 1825, and continued it till 1841. He strove in vain to make the scientific world recognise the fact that he had found flint flakes along with bones of extinct creatures. Even Dr. Buckland was for a long time incredulous,* though by-and-by he discovered traces of man along with the extinct mammals in the Paviland Cave, Glamorgan. So strong was prejudice, that till 1859 M'Enery's MSS. were unnoticed. Then came the Aurignac Cave, described by M. Lartet, about which, as affording incontestable proof of man's co-existence with extinct animals, there was a great flourish of trumpets. Unfortunately for the theorists, our countryman, the Rev. S. W. King, who carefully explored the cave in 1865, showed that the interments in it were not palæolithic, pottery and other more recent objects being found among them. Mr. King pointed out the vagueness of M. Lartet's account, and the untrustworthy way in which he trusted to the descriptions of the stonemason Bonnemaïson, who broke into the cave and brought out seventeen skeletons which he buried in the churchyard. Very interesting are Mr. Dawkins's remarks on the identity of form in the skulls (dolicocephalic) found by Mr. Busk, in the Genista Cave, at Gibraltar, and in Cefn and the other caves near St. Asaph, showing "the wide range of the

* In *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, published 1823, he denied the co-existence of man and the extinct animals.

Basques at the dawn of history"—those Basques, with jet black hair and eyes, who are found unmixed in Brittany and the Meuse valley, and who are identical with Kabyles and Berbers, and with the extinct Guanches. His geological maps of Europe, at various periods, prove how vast have been the comparatively recent changes. The Mediterranean was a small inland sea, Africa being joined to Spain and also to Sicily and Italy; while Great Britain, joined to France, not only at the Straits but by the whole of its southern shore, was enclosed in a big continent of low rich land stretching north and west into the Atlantic, and filling up most of the North Sea, over which roamed the herds of mammoths and reindeer, &c., just as nowadays the herds of bisons roam over the still unvisited parts of the American continent. With these creatures lived the predecessor of the Basque, the palæolithic man whom Mr. Dawkins identifies with the modern Eskimo; and of him he confidently affirms: "There is no evidence of his having been less developed than many tribes of men now." The great breadth of land surrounding Great Britain in all directions is proved, we are told, by the size of the trees in the submarine forests. They would not be so large had they not grown at a long distance from the sea."

Mr. Dawkins comes down to much later times; in the caves in Settle (Yorkshire) he finds evidence of a long continued settlement of the Brit-Welsh flying before the Anglian invader. Mr. Green has adopted this view in his history; some of us may remember the pathetic account of the gradual degeneration of the fugitives, based on the deterioration of their implements—the most civilised being found at the lowest depths. All through, whether he is hunting with Dr. Falconer through the caves of Gower, or speculating on the co-existence of man with the hippopotamus in the Nerbudda valley (accounting for the traditions of a "water-elephant"), he is eminently cautious. To our other instances of his caution let us add this general remark: "there is no certain trace of man older than pleistocene." Indeed we may safely set him down as a catastrophist, for he talks of "a swinging to and fro of animal life over that great fertile area which covered the British Channel and nearly all the North Sea and German Ocean;" and of man coming now and then alternately with hyænas. And this makes him careless about insisting on vast periods, for convulsionists are naturally far less

"gluttons of time" than uniformitarians. Of *Early Man in Britain*, we take it, the most interesting part is the opening chapter, showing the continuity between geology, archæology, and history; though his picture of the eocene period of Great Britain, when Mull and Skye, and other Hebrides flamed with volcanoes at least ten thousand feet high;* and when, except the southern end of the German Ocean, and a little lake south of the Isle of Wight, there was land between France, Ireland, England, and Scandinavia; the Baltic, too, being non-existent; and when, moreover, land connected Scotland with Iceland and Greenland, while Scandinavia by way of Nova Zembla stretched to the Pole, is almost as interesting. In this world of hipparions, and mastodons, and deinotheres, and hogs, and deer, and higher apes, with warm climate and abundant food, did man live? No, says Mr. Dawkins; and one great reason against his having then existed is that "no living species of land mammal has been met with in the meiocene fauna. Man, the most highly specialised of all creatures, had no place in a fauna which is conspicuous by the absence of all the mammalia now associated with him." This argument, of course, tells with all the greater force on evolutionists; for, as we have noted already, if man existed in meiocene times, and those times were removed from ours by so many ages, "it is incredible that he alone of all the mammalia then living should not have perished, or have changed into some other form." There is no escape from this dilemma. Either the meiocene age, and, therefore, all subsequent ages, are brought much nearer to our day, or meiocene man, had there been such a creature, must have developed in the same sense in which the hipparion is supposed to have developed. Concerning the Abbé Bourgeois's flints from the mid-miocene strata at Thenay, which were shown with so much confidence at the last Paris Exhibition, Professor Gaudry (*Les Enchaînements*, p. 241), suggests, as we said above, that they may have been the work of the great anthropoid ape (*dryopithecus*) then living in France; and, in answer to the sneer that apes nowadays do not make stone implements, Mr. Dawkins remarks: "It does not follow that the extinct

*The height of the Mull volcano is calculated by analogy, for its cone has long ages since been worn away. Etna from a base of only 30 miles round rises to 10,900 feet. The base of the Mull volcano was at least 40 miles round.

apes did not do so, for some extinct animals are known to have been more highly organised than any of the living members of their class. The secondary reptiles possessed attributes not shared by their degenerate tertiary successors. The *deinosaurs* and *theriodonts* had structural peculiarities now only met with in the birds and the mammalia. In the same way some of the extinct higher apes may have possessed qualities not now found in any living species."

The lowering of temperature which, coming on through the pleiocene, reached its maximum in the pleistocene age, is marked by the gradual disappearance of the quadrumana. In the meiocene age they range as far as North Germany. In the lower pleiocene they have receded to the South of France; in the upper they are confined to Italy. Before the next age they have wholly gone (their presence in Gibraltar is due to reimportation). Did man exist in the pleiocene world when the bamboo thrived and the pomegranate ripened near Lyons, although already ice-borne boulders were being deposited in the Norwich crag? The low forest land between the Faroes and Greenland, and between Norway and the Pole, was being submerged, allowing free passage to the icy currents; there were stags and elephants, and a big-nosed rhinoceros and a hippopotamus specifically the same as our own. But, though this one species survives, Mr. Dawkins rejects the evidence for man's having then lived. Of the "fossil man" of Denise, near Le Puy, found in a volcanic tufa, "a victim to showers of ashes from a pleiocene volcano," he is doubtful whether the deposit was undisturbed. Of the skull found near Arezzo, eighteen yards below the surface, "the conditions of discovery are very unsatisfactory;" it was found after a slip in the sides of the railway cutting. The series of cut bones obtained by Mr. Lawley from the pleiocenes of Tuscany "seem to have been notched artificially. Now they are mineralised, and so hard that they could not be scratched with any stone implement. But it is not to my mind satisfactorily shown that they were obtained from undisturbed strata. . . . The mineralisation is, of course, no proof of antiquity: we know how rapidly deposits of sulphate of barytes have sometimes been formed in the wooden pipes of coal mines." It would have been out of the due order of nature for man to have been alive among a fauna of which every species save one has disappeared.

Even the cut bones of the early pleistocene at St. Prest, near Chartres, which French archæologists accept as undoubtedly artificial, Mr. Dawkins prefers, with Sir J. Lubbock, putting to "a suspense account." "There is no inherent improbability in it; but there is unfortunately some doubt as to the precise stratum in which the bones, which Sir C. Lyell thinks might have been gnawed by rodents, were found. The mid-pleistocene brings us to the brick earths of Crayford and Erith, in which only two flint flakes have up to this time been discovered. The big-nosed rhinoceros was not extinct; but with him and the hippopotamus, and two kinds of elephant, were associated in the Thames valley two arctic creatures, the musk rat and the marmot. Whether these two flakes are enough to prove the presence of man, whether they may not have been naturally produced, we will not inquire. The extreme rarity of human remains (if these be human) need not astonish us, for almost all early caves have been destroyed by denudation and by atmospheric influence in such a wholesale way, that only two, that at Oreston, near Plymouth, and one at Baume, in the Jura, in both of which have been found bones of the big-nosed rhinoceros, are known to exist. Mr. Dawkins rejects the so-called basket-work in the lignite beds of Düruten, near Zurich, believing these cigar-like sticks to be knots out of rotted pine trunks. The late pleistocene age contains "that obscure and complicated time called the glacial period." During it, also, river gravels like those of the Thames valley were deposited. It is in these that the oldest palæolithic implements are found. So long ago as 1690 one was dug up in Gray's Inn Lane, along with an elephant's bone. It was kept in the Sloane Collection and in the British Museum, and was at last found to be identical with M. Boucher de Perthes's Abbeville and Amiens flints. Others of these Thames valley flints have a history for which Evans's *Ancient Stone Implements* may be consulted. Acton has been one of the best hunting grounds for tree trunks, mammoth and hippopotamus bones; and chipped flints are found in its "high terrace" gravels. They have been obtained from the Thames bed at Battersea, &c., the conclusion being that "man was dwelling there while the gravels were accumulated high above the Thames level, as well as while they were being formed at and below its present level." To part of this we take exception. Of course the flints found in the Thames bed

may have been dropped in through ice-holes, or rolled from a distance, as those at Bemerton, above the bed of the Salisbury Wily, undoubtedly had been; and hence there is no certain proof in their being so found that those who shaped them were living when the gravel was being formed.

About this river-drift man, however, Mr. Dawkins has no doubt: "He was a savage, whose tools were principally for preparing skins. He threw them away when he had done with them, and he did not know how to grind them to a sharp edge." In our own southern rivers, in the gravels of the Manzanares, and of the Nerbudda, in Palestine (on a gravel bed between Mount Tabor and the sea of Tiberias), and in French gravels from the Somme to the Garonne, these implements are found; and nowhere in larger numbers than at Brandon and Thetford on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk, not far from the scene of "Flint Jack's" not yet forgotten exploits.

Human bones are naturally of rare occurrence in rolled gravel in which even those of the largest pachyderms are often much water-worn. Mr. Dawkins believes in the fragments found at Eguisheim near Colmar, at Clichy-sur-Seine, &c. The pieces of skull seem to point to a long-headed race with *large brains* (identical, says Dr. Hamy, with those buried at Cro Magnon in the Vézère valley. "*The leg and thigh bones present characters commonly met with in skeletons of the neolithic age, the linea aspera of the femur being enormously developed, and the tibia flattened.*" This river-drift man was present as man, and not as an intermediate form.

Was this river-drift man preglacial? He may have been, says Mr. Dawkins, for the mammals with which he is associated in France had existed in Britain before the cold drove them southward. But there is no proof of this, unless the Crayford and Erith lower brick earths are considered preglacial, and the two flakes found in them are held to be artificial. The "proof" brought forward by Mr. Skertchley (*The Fen Land*, by Miller and Skertchley, 1878) from his discoveries at Brandon, Mildenhall, &c., Mr. Dawkins holds to be very inconclusive. Professors Hughes and Bonney pronounce the strata in which Mr. Skertchley's implements were found "not to be of clearly ascertained inter- or preglacial age." A little later, man was undoubtedly living in the same neighbourhood. In the Ouse valley there is a series of river gravels largely made up of

materials from the destruction of the boulder clay through which the valley itself has been hollowed. The river gravels therefore are later than the boulder clay; and some of the implements found in them are made of ice-borne quartzites.

The wide range of these river-drift men leads Mr. Dawkins to infer that "for a very long period man was in that stage of culture;" for it must have taken a long time for wandering tribes to spread from Central Asia to Southern England. He thinks "they cannot be referred to any branch of mankind now alive, and they are as extinct among the peoples of India as among those of Europe." He holds them to have been most probably different from the cave men whose remains are found in a limited area in Europe and whom he identifies with Eskimos.

In the caves, for instance, which he and the Rev. J. M. Mello discovered at Cresswell Crags, near Worksop, he distinguishes the remains of two races of men—those in the lower strata (red sand and lower cave earth) the same as those of the river-drift men; those in the upper series—the breccia (stalagmitic conglomerate) and the surface earth—marking a much higher stage of culture, yet not advanced to what is called neolithic.

We do submit that this is building too much on a slight foundation. The lanceolate flakes, singularly like the flakes which may be picked up by dozens on Cornish moors, where the disintegration of the granite sets the quartz crystals at liberty, may be artificial; but the implements from the lower bed have a very non-artificial look. What seems to us the strangest thing of all is that, in the upper cave earth were found not only these lanceolate flakes, a needle and other bone objects, but fragments of Roman and *medicæval* pottery, and also teeth of the leopard and the sabre-toothed lion (*Machærodus latidens*). Surely it is unsafe to infer anything positive from deposits in which so many widely sundered ages are represented. Mr. Dawkins says, comparing Kent's Hole with his own discoveries in Derbyshire and Welsh caves: "When all facts are taken into consideration, it is difficult to escape Mr. Pengelly's conclusion that the two sets of implements represent two distinct social states, of which the *runder* was by far the more ancient." We demur to this; and it is almost the only statement made by this usually cautious writer to which we feel called on to take decided exception.

We cannot help noticing the graphic picture Mr. Dawkins draws of the movements of the palæolithic fauna, which he compares with those of bisons in North America, and reindeer over the tundra in North-east Siberia. "The magnificent ravine of the Wynnets and the pass by Mam Tor from the Vale of Hope and Castleton to the plains of Cheshire and Lancashire evidently marks the route by which they passed to and fro;" and the fact of 6,800 good specimens (besides those thrown away) being found in a shallow hole (25 feet by 18) which was used as a drinking place, may be compared with the bisons five feet below the surface found drowned in a swamp along their line of march. These cave men were clever at drawing; in England the only specimen of their skill is a hog-maned horse at Cresswell, but the reindeer and emus, &c., in France and similar incised bones in Germany, are as spirited as anything done by the Eskimos nowadays. No traces of their interments are found; Mr. Dawkins thinks they had the same disregard for their dead which is shown by the Eskimos. And they have left no trace on the modern population of Europe, having been driven out by neolithic invaders before whom they fled with the same terror and defenceless hatred which the Eskimo shows to the Red Indian, before whom he has been retreating even during the last century, as the Indian pressed by the white man has been driven further north.

Coming now to neolithic times, Mr. Dawkins utters, we are sorry to say, an uncertain sound. He thinks the interval separating the pleistocene from the prehistoric period was long, for there were great changes accomplished in the mammalia and in the geography of Europe. At the same time, he confesses that the formation of a layer of stalagmite, which, in caves, commonly marks off one epoch from the other, is no measure of the interval; for whereas in Kent's Hole stalagmite has latterly been deposited so slowly that the date 1688 is only covered with a film one-twentieth of an inch thick, in Ingleborough Cave a stalagmitic boss has grown at the rate of one-third of an inch a year. He thinks the pleistocene period was "beyond all calculation longer than the prehistoric," for he is loth to believe that a valley could be cut down a hundred feet in any but a very long space of time. Whenever they came into Europe, the neolithic men are assumed to have been of the same (non-Aryan) race as the modern Basques,

dolichocephalic-occipital (the length being due to a development of the back of the head). Their jaws were small, and they were not prognathous. The language of the modern Basque shows their ancestors to have been stone-implementation men: axe is "stone lifted up," *i.e.*, in a handle; pick, is "stone to tear asunder;" knife, "a little stone," &c.*

One point seems to us to demand consideration. During the neolithic period, Britain is represented as an island of much about its present form, save that the now submerged forests filled several of its shallow estuaries and coasts. Are we to suppose that the Basques, with their tame animals, had spread over here before the disruption, or that they came in after it? Mr. Dawkins suggests that they came over from the continent in their "dug-outs" with cattle and household stuff. We can hardly fancy this; and it is a historic fact, on the other hand, that the lake Flevo of the Roman geographers was finally converted into the Zuyder Zee by the storms of a single winter. We cannot see any impossibility in the sundering of England and France having been finished with almost equal rapidity.

And now, having given a brief sketch of what those most qualified to speak have to say on either side, we will follow B. C. Y. in his able summary of the arguments for man's recent origin.†

He begins with the case of Kent's Hole, and we hope all who are interested in the subject will study his able examination of Mr. Pengelly's mode of reasoning. They will, we feel sure, come to the conclusion that Mr. Pengelly has claimed for his so-called palæolithic remains an antiquity wholly unwarranted. The deposits do not require the time claimed for them; and the "finds," in several cases, seem to the impartial observer to be not artificial at all: "It is a venturesome thing to conclude that man lived on the earth and used tools at a remote date, because there are marks of collision on a rude stone found in the lower bed of a cave, especially when the bed in which it was found consisted principally of rounded pebbles washed in by tributary streams, in which *mêlée* they would be

* It is remarkable, and bears on the whole question of the age of deposits, that these knives were used in certain ceremonies quite into the historic age. Flint flakes, too, are found in Romano-British interments, and even in Merovingian tombs.

† We regret we have been unable to find, in *Nature* or elsewhere, any summary of the proceedings of the Lisbon Congress of two years ago.

driven one against another." The non-naturalness or otherwise of these finds is, however, of no importance; for the association of the so-called implements with remains of domestic animals shows the beds in which they were found have been disturbed in comparatively modern times.

Another point is to be borne in mind. We sometimes look on the floor of Kent's Hole and other caves as covered with a regular series of superposed layers. This is by no means the case. At Cresswell the stalagmitic breccia thins out where the lower cave earth grows thick, and *vice versa*, as if (says Mr. Dawkins), the breccia and the upper portion of the cave earth were contemporaneous deposits. This is still more notable in Kent's Hole. Instead of "two floors of stalagmite, five and twelve feet thick, with a bed of cave earth between them," we find the cave earth thick at the entrance, then thinning out and entirely disappearing, so that the two stalagmites rest immediately on one another, except where here and there is found a patch of the earth. This would point, not to slow deposition of an even layer, but to the washing in of earth during a flood which may have been the work of a few days. Of course, our author does not fail to make use of Mr. Dawkins's admission that the so-called implements are found in all the beds, so that, if their position in the red-sand bed proves their early date, their occurrence in the surface soil equally proves that they are comparatively recent. Implements of the rudest type were, in fact, found at the surface in such numbers as to suggest to Mr. Mello a manufactory of them. Our author believes they were tools used for rough work (even as Red Indians who have iron still prefer using stone scrapers for their skin-dressing) by the same men who also used the delicate flint borers and the trimmed flakes, and who had come in contact with Roman civilisation. There is (by Mr. Pengelly's own confession) the same mixture in Kent's Hole. If everything followed in order, first the rude implements with extinct animal remains, then the more finished tools with a mixture of extinct and existing mammalia, then undoubtedly neolithic implements and bones of domestic animals, the case would be clear. Instead of this, Mr. Pengelly, lecturing at Manchester, said he took teeth of four extinct animals (among them the *tichorhine* rhinoceros) out of the upper surface of the granular stalagmite floor, *above the works of skilful artificers* and jutting up an inch in

relief, with at most not more than an inch and a half of the stalagmitic matter formed round them. Nor is the case for man's antiquity strengthened by finding bones of extinct animals along with his implements; for the cave lions at any rate certainly did not die out early, but lasted on to recent times. The age of all remains, human or animal, must be determined by the conditions of the bed in which they were found; and here we have both bones of extinct creatures and so-called flint implements found in the surface earth. But for the guarantee of illustrious names, the absurdity of assigning an immense antiquity to a flint flake found along with a tooth of *machærodus latidens*, and also with a bit of Samian ware, would be transparent. The Samian ware speaks for itself. Even if it came into the island before Julius Cæsar's invasion, it cannot well be more than 2,500 years old. It is historic; how then can the associated flint be palæolithic? As for the tooth, it may have been an amulet, passed on from age to age, and from far-off lands (tigers' teeth are preserved in that way in India, and the specimens of jade in the Swiss pile dwellings show the immense distances over which ornaments travelled in early days); if not, either this sabre-toothed lion lingered on till comparatively recent times, or the whole of this surface deposit was washed in by some flood, and therefore it tells us nothing as to the antiquity of its contents.

The hard and fast division of ages into stone, bronze, &c., has long been given up. Not only do they run into one another, but long after the introduction of the newer implement the older stands its ground. Stone mauls were among the Anglo-Saxon weapons at Hastings; stone hammers were used by the Germans in the Thirty Years' War, by the Irish in the wars with Queen Elizabeth (*Chambers's Cyclop.*, Art. "Bronze"). The Cornu-Britons used urn-burial (by cremation) as late as the Emperor Tetricus, one of whose coins was found in an urn in an undisturbed barrow at Morvah, near Penzance, the urn being (as usual) inverted, and the mouth placed on a flat stone, so that the coin could not have dropped in from above. So in Brittany, in a dolmen, which the explorers were sure had never before been opened, were found, *two feet below* the usual deposit of flints two statuettes of Latona and a coin of Constantine II. Just as the presence of flint flakes (which one Cornish antiquary, perplexed at their occurrence in comparative

late interments, calls "strike-a-lights") is no proof of antiquity, so the use of iron is no warrant for civilisation. The negroes of Southern and Central Africa are not only workers in iron but make excellent steel, and have done so from the earliest times; yet in other respects their culture is not higher than that claimed for neolithic man. On the other hand, among the highly civilised Assyrians, stone arrow-heads are found, and "from a sun-dried mound near Bassorah the British Consul, Mr. J. E. Taylor, obtained two taper instruments of chipped flint which would have passed without hesitation as drift implements (B. C. Y. p. 79). Mariette Bey, too, testifies to the frequent occurrence of worked flints in Egypt; they are always found on the surface, and some are clearly as late as the age of the Ptolemies. In the United States, where what we seek in caves and mounds is going on before men's eyes, "drift implements," undistinguishable from those of the Somme valley, are in use along with polished (neolithic) specimens.

The case then stands thus. Thanks to Mr. Dawkins we have got man down to the comparatively late epoch of the ice age; the suggestion which follows is, that that age was nearer to our own than is usually assumed, and that the earliest remains are not those of some race unrepresented now in the human family, but of the pioneers who first pushed into the unknown West, and whose culture is no more to be taken as a sample of that of their better circumstanced contemporaries than is the squalid barbarism of those cave-dwellers at Wick Bay whom Dr. Arthur Mitchell describes to be taken as a measure of the general social condition of that part of the British Empire. Of the power of degeneracy even in stationary populations, we see instances in the Egyptian Copt, and the Maya Indian of Yucatan. It is certainly more rational for those who do not altogether fling away revelation to believe that whatever low culture is really evidenced by the remains is just such as would naturally be the fate of those who wandered far from the great centres. The evolutionist must perforce go in for long if not measureless ages, during which man was struggling out of a series of nondescript forms between the brute and the human; but even he does not hold that his earliest men, or their successors, were developed into the men of to-day. Therefore, even to him, there is no need of such a vast period since man's first appearance.

The sum of all is, that "the two assumptions, the remote

antiquity of man and early man a savage, are not inscribed on the face of nature, nor found buried under the crust of the earth, nor written on the page of history, but are conclusions drawn, not unfrequently, from unsound or deficient premises, discredited by new discoveries, and rejected by some of the most cultured and logical minds in Europe and America." So writes our anonymous author; and it is notable that Mr. Mello, Mr. Dawkins's associate in his Derbyshire cave-hunts, thinks our present work is rather to accumulate facts than to dogmatise upon the few we have, and adds his strong conviction that, as it has ever been in the past, the more we know of the works of the Creator the more reason we shall have to see one and the same Divine hand in the Word inscribed on the face of nature as that which speaks to us through our sacred books.

It has always been the aim of unbelievers to discredit revelation by attributing to man a fabulous antiquity. What a flourish of trumpets there was when the French *savans* discovered the zodiac of Denderah! Volney, in his *Ruins of Empires*, heralded the downfall of Christianity as a consequence of thus finding its symbolism anticipated by an unknown number of centuries. The zodiac of Denderah has since been proved to be late-Ptolemaic; and now the credibility of the Bible is assailed with a flint flake. Chinese chronology and Indian astronomy were in turn brought forward, and in turn discredited; and now it is a chipped pebble in river-drift. Any weapon will do in such a cause: *odium scientificum* seems to think that the end justifies the means.

To mere theories, based on vague supposition, or evidence of the most imperfect and unsatisfactory kind, one ought not to be called on to adjust the statements of God's Word. That Word has, no doubt, been narrowed unnecessarily. There is no need to adopt the six or seven thousand years. At the time of the dispersion the threads of history were broken; "many of the names in the genealogical tables are plurals, and several have the formal termination used to designate a tribe." The Bible record of families and communities does little more than trace the line of Abraham. "An extension to eight or even ten thousand years would probably be no strain on the Bible chronology; and this writer," says B. C. Y., "can find no well-established scientific fact that requires more." This, of course, is the death-blow to evolutionism, as far as man is concerned; for ten times

that number of years could not suffice for his emergence from the brute and development into man, such as man now is. For such a purpose (as Professor Huxley admits) even the glacial period would be totally insignificant.

We have nothing that demands these vast time periods. The pile villages are of yesterday (were in full use after Roman times), the kitchen middens* are proved to be of no great age by the Roman remains found in them. Changes which were supposed to need long ages, under favourable conditions are found to be made rapidly. The Portuguese gentlemen of the Malabar coast, proud of their pure blood, have become as black as the Nairs; the same with the Jews of Cochin. To say nothing of volcanic upheavals, land rises or sinks from other causes at a rate far beyond that assumed by Sir C. Lyell when calculating the number of years since Snowdon was depressed and then upheaved. Under the city of Glasgow, for instance, at a depth of 117 feet, were found two canoes, in one of which was a beautiful *neolithic* axe-head. Since comparatively modern times, therefore, the soil there must have risen at least twenty feet. As to the rate of silt accumulation in the Mississippi delta, Professor Andrews, of Chicago, gives some startling facts; and Mr. Taylor (as we noted above) told the Geological Society that the force of water in the rivers of the glacial period was at least 125 times as great as at present. And then, for further shortening, we have catastrophes, of which Mr. Huxley remarks, they may be conceived as part and parcel of uniformity. "A clock is a model of uniformity in action. Its striking is essentially a catastrophe; the hammer might be made to blow up a barrel of gunpowder or to turn on a deluge;" and, though the analogy is only a partial one, it is sufficient to prove the writer's position.

M. Joly's *Man Before Metals* we have only placed along with the rest of our title-books because it gives a cheap

* We may remark that Mr. F. V. Dickens, in his review of *The Shell Mounds of Omori*, by E. S. Morse, Professor of Geology in the University of Tokio (1879), denies point blank that these mounds are of the same age as that usually, but wrongly, assigned to the Danish kitchen middens. They contain abundant human remains, as well as bones of the dog, not indigenous but introduced from China (*inu* Jap., *kiuen* Chinese)—cf. *klav*. He thinks they were undoubtedly Aino mounds; and these so-called aborigines inhabited that part of the island at least as late as the fourteenth century (*Nature*, Feb. 12th, 1880). It is fair to say that in the next number of *Nature* this statement, as far as the Ainos are concerned, is disputed by Mr. Sigiura, a Japanese resident in London.

summary to those to whom costly works, like Mr. Dawkins's, are inaccessible. It is also well to know what is the state of feeling on the matter among Continental *savans*. The Abbé Bourgeois' flints, then, were universally discredited at the Brussels congress ten years ago; and, despite M. De Mortillet's able arguments in their favour, nothing has since transpired to give us confidence in them. They do not even convince M. Joly, strongly biassed as he is on the side of man's great antiquity. His book, a popular summary of the question from the opposite point of view to that which we have been advocating, may well be read along with Mr. Southall's popular treatises. The latter part of it, "Primitive Civilisation," is independent of time theories, and gives a very interesting and comprehensive view of the whole matter, though we must protest against the assumption that kitchen middens belong to the remote past because those who made them grew no corn, and had few or no domestic beasts. It is certain that in kitchen middens Roman remains have been found, showing that their makers, whether savages or not, lived well within historic time.

One very curious chapter in M. Joly we do not remember to have seen elsewhere in English. It is an analysis of M. Broca's pamphlet on *Cranial Amulets*, obtained by trepanning living subjects,—young people afflicted with epilepsy, it is imagined; such crescent-shaped fragments being supposed to ward off the disease. There is a good deal of assumption in all this; and it has no direct bearing on our subject, for the trepanned skulls belong to neolithic interments. But it is a very interesting subject of speculation, especially when we take in its bearing on the belief in an after life—for the trepanned skull, when the subject died, was always provided with a bone crescent like that of which it had been robbed.

The rashness of geological chronologers, by the way, is well illustrated by M. Joly's acceptance of a statement that "at New Orleans an entire human skeleton was found buried beneath four ancient forests, to which Dr. Dowler attributes an age of 57,000 years!" Yet, ready as he is to mention such vague and flimsy rumours, even M. Joly does not put faith in the long array of figures put forth by some calculators. "We are far," he says, "from reposing blind faith in these rash, or at least premature, calculations. . . . Since science is as yet unable to determine the precise

dates of events which took place in the earliest times of Egyptian history, since scientists tell us that fifty years ago not a word of this history was known, is it rash to endeavour to reconstruct as a whole the early archives of the race, and to believe that we possess all the records indispensable for so difficult and so gigantic a task?" His closing words, too, must not be forgotten—that "quaternary man was man in all senses of the word anatomically, intellectually, and morally."

Of course his book is far inferior in picturesqueness to *Early Man in Britain*. We miss the glowing description of Phœnician enterprise, of the distribution of amber along the old trade routes, of the hoards of the bronze-smith found in France, of the worship (for Mr. Dawkins believes in it) at Stonehenge and Avebury. But of the actual handicrafts of early man, the pottery, the fine arts, &c., Mr. Joly gives a fair picture; and his constant collocation of New Zealand stone axes with neolithic weapons of the same kind, of South Sea island fish-hooks with those found in the caves, is valuable for our purpose. It reminds us that the stone age is still extant; and that therefore there is no such necessarily vast gap between it and modern times. *Moses and Geology*, by Samuel Kinns, Ph.D., has some good remarks on this question of man's antiquity; but we must close a subject the great importance of which has led us to treat it at extra length. We have striven not to dogmatise, but to take the reader to the original sources on both sides, and to put before him the question, Is this overthrow of all beliefs, this giving up of everything that we find in Scripture, demanded by scientific facts? We think the answer of every fair-minded man and woman will be "Surely not." Let us, therefore, be content to stand in the old paths, and not to rush wildly after what will probably prove a delusion.

One word in conclusion. We said the question was important. So fully is its importance recognised by the advanced party that Professor W. S. Duncan made not long ago (in *Nature*) a strong appeal "for a gigantic combined effort to be made by all naturalists and all lovers of truth, to attempt in a downright earnest manner its solution." It is no use looking, he argues, for the missing link in deposits later than pleiocene, "for real man has been found in the preglacial and pleiocene deposits, both of the Old and New World. Anthropomorpha (he says) have been

found in meiocene strata; so that it is there we must look, and (he adds) if the matter was taken up with as much earnestness as has been brought to bear on Assyrian or Palestine explorations, success would, no doubt, have been achieved." He limits the inquiry to the Old World, no superior primates having been found in the meiocene beds of America; and he conceives the line of migration of the anthropomorpha to have been from China through Northern India westward; and the meiocene beds along this line he proposes to examine. Of course, he begs the whole question; but his vehemence proves how important the matter is felt to be by the other party, as well as by those who think with us. In conclusion, we urge on our readers not to be led astray by supposed facts and by evidence put forth, no doubt, in good faith, but which, from the nature of the case, cannot be conclusive. Mr. Dawkins's sympathies lead him in the direction of long periods; but he is cautious, and he has had personal experience, such as falls to the lot of few, of the difficulty and uncertainty of cave hunting. His words, therefore (*Early Man in Britain*, p. 229), may well be taken as a warning to place "to the suspense account" any discovery at which a man of tried skill and knowledge was not present, and where the undisturbed state of the strata is open to the least doubt. He says: "Those experienced in digging caves know well how very difficult it is to separate the contents of two different ages lying together in the same place, and frequently mingled together by previous diggers as well as by the burrowing animals." With this caution we close our remarks on what is undoubtedly one of the questions of the day.

ART. VI. — *Wesley's Designated Successor; The Life, Letters, and Labours of the Rev. John William Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley, Shropshire.* By the REV. L. TYERMAN, Author of "The Life and Times of the Rev. Samuel Wesley of Epworth," "The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.," "The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, B.A.," and "The Oxford Methodists." London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1882.

OF all the remarkable personages that figure in the history of the great Methodist Revival, none has taken a stronger hold on the affections of its adherents, or been more permanently enshrined in their memories, than John Fletcher. His relation to the movement was altogether unique and peculiar, and the influence he exerted on his contemporaries and on the succeeding generations of the people called Methodists such as to assign him a place in their veneration and esteem hardly, if at all, inferior to that of the "first three." Certainly, the Wesleys and Whitefield alone take precedence of him, and even they rather on the ground of priority than of superior claims either to our spiritual sympathy or intellectual homage. He had no part, we need scarcely say, in the origination of the movement. Born in 1729 in a remote Swiss canton, he was still a child when the Methodist leaders opened their campaign against the ungodliness and vice of a degenerate age. Nor did it seem at all likely that the ranks of their coadjutors would be reinforced from such a quarter. Cradled amid the aristocratic surroundings of a family of noble descent, and manifesting at an early age a strong bent towards his father's calling, the military profession, no human foresight could have predicted the career to which he was providentially destined, or descried in the high-spirited and mettlesome youth the lineaments of one of the meekest and most devoted servants of Christ of his own or any other age. Such transformations, however, were not uncommon in those days: perhaps if we could rightly read the story of the lives around us, we should have to add they are not uncommon now. He who

touched the heart of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, and made her a pattern of saintship instead of a leader of fashion, who at a later date led John Newton from the deck of a slave vessel to the pulpit at Olney, also directed the youthful Fletcher, disgusted with the failure of his martial projects, to the shores of this country, brought him within the sphere of evangelical influence and attraction, shaped a new ideal for his lofty aspirations, and called forth his best energies in the exercise of a ministry of unsurpassed fidelity and zeal.

The relation he sustained to Methodism bore the same stamp of a providential ordination as the mode of his introduction to it. No other of Wesley's sympathisers so thoroughly identified himself with the spirit and genius of his enterprise and yet retained so completely his personal independence. No other owed so little to the immediate teaching of the master mind, and yet did so much for its establishment and perpetuation. No other by the majesty of his character and the brilliance of his writings gained so widespread a fame among the Methodist people, and was at the same time so little known to them in his bodily presence. More warmly attached to the Wesleys both by community of view and sympathy of spirit than any other ordained man of his age except Perronet, he did not, as Dr. Coke did at a later date, give himself up to the toils and hardships of an itinerant life, but contented himself, like Grimshaw and Berridge, with imitating, on a scale compatible with the engagements of a settled charge, the self-denying labours of his more adventurous brethren. Fletcher was at once a model Methodist and a model Anglican clergyman, uniting in a wonderful degree the catholic and world-embracing zeal of one with the laborious pastoral efficiency of the other. His quarter of a century's incumbency of a neglected country parish, like that of David Simpson in a thriving borough, demonstrated for all who had eyes to see and ears to hear to what insignificant proportions the question of priestly prerogative and canonical regularity may be reduced when the wants of perishing men are surveyed and ministered to in the spirit of the Gospel of peace.

The appearance of Mr. Tyerman's biography forms a fit occasion for some notice of the character and genius of this excellent man, although the book itself adds little to our previous knowledge, beyond some hitherto unpublished

letters and documents, and in no way modifies or fills out the received estimate of him. Mr. Tyerman somewhat underrates, as we think, the task of the biographer, and in the same proportion overrates the powers of the ordinary reader of biographies. "In such publications," he says, "I am only desirous to see the man, not the artist's drapery. I want to know his doings, sayings, and sufferings, rather than to read philosophical discourses concerning them." The business of the artist, we need scarcely observe, is something more than to arrange the drapery of his figure: his most important function is to portray the figure itself. To do this requires not only an accurate representation of every part, but a combination of all the parts into a consistent whole, and, what is far more difficult, the infusion into the whole of such varied and harmonious expression as shall remind beholders of the living reality. The biographer has one advantage over the artist upon canvas, viz., that instead of a single picture it is a series that he is called to paint. But then it is a series extending over a whole lifetime, and in which the outlines of one melt, or should melt, insensibly into those of another, as in a succession of dissolving views. Unless such a series of presentments be attempted, the man is not placed before us. His "doings, sayings, and sufferings" must, of course, be exhibited; but always with an eye to some special effect, and not in such fulness of detail as to destroy the possibility of any effect at all. A mere chronological arrangement of facts and dates will not suffice for this. Not that chronological order need be sacrificed. That always lends itself to artistic treatment, since the human faculties follow a rational development, and the circumstances of all but the most monotonous of lives admit of picturesque grouping. But there are many problems suggested by the doings, sayings, and sufferings of the subject of a biography to which they do not spontaneously supply the answer. The question, "What happened next?" is far from being the only one the mind delights to propound to itself. Why this happened rather than that, how this bore upon that, which were the most important links in the chain of causation that ran through this man's existence, and what gave him such an ascendancy over the minds of his fellow-men, all these are thoughts that force themselves upon the attention of every reader; and the business of the biographer is to assist him.

Having said so much, we must say a little more, or run the risk of being misunderstood. We have been criticising Mr. Tyerman's conception of his task, not the manner of its execution. In depreciating his office, he has very needlessly depreciated himself. His working rules are better than his abstract principles, and his performance outruns the limits of his promise. He has served a long apprenticeship to biography, which he has attempted on a scale that would have appalled most men. He has ransacked every available source of information, traced and explained every important allusion, digested his heterogeneous materials into compact and intelligible order, exercised a wise judgment as well in repression as expansion, and accompanied his extracts everywhere with a running fire of acute and original remark. All this he has done in such a way as to deepen in the readers' mind their reverence for Fletcher, and certainly not in any degree to mar the favourable estimate they had previously entertained. And if he has generally trusted too much his readers' powers of assimilation, and trusted too little his own powers of effective idealisation, let us remember how rare the character he strives to depict, and let us honour the modesty that has secured the portrait from a far worse evil than mere sketchiness, the evil, namely, of gorgeous exaggeration and elaborate self-display. This is in short Mr. Tyerman's best biography, and one which will only add to, and not detract from, its author's well-earned fame.

Availing ourselves of the author's help, let us endeavour, with some share of his modesty, to pursue a line of our own, and to point out, as fully as we can within the limits of an article, some of the chief characteristics, moral and mental, of a man whom Methodism has always delighted to honour.

It has not we think always been sufficiently acknowledged how strong was the mental fibre which in this man was woven by the subtle workmanship of grace into such exquisitely beautiful forms. Though the records of his early life are scanty, the indications of this are not wanting, and they occasionally reappear in after life. The deep humility of Fletcher, his soaring heavenly-mindedness, and the undefinable charm of his native politeness, all tended to conceal his strength. His very portraits, not excepting the one prefixed to the new biography, have done him some injustice. The "seraphic Fletcher" is a

title that reveals the sublimity of his devotion, but it does not express the human strength of will that wrought with the Divine attraction and instrumentally raised and sustained his ardent spirit at such a transcendent height. By a curious misadventure, the "free-will" element of his experience has been lost sight of in the superior glory of "free-grace." Indeed, the term "seraphic" itself is one that wants re-coining. The modern notion of the angelic falls far below the scriptural idea : it seems to be a growth of mediæval times, in which the deeds of knighthood and the graces of saintship—though both received the Church's blessing—were seldom conjoined in the same man. The widened range and compass of the emotional nature under the influence of Christianity has caused its concomitant discipline of the practical energies to be somewhat undervalued. But the truth is that Christianity proves its Divinity by its adaptation to every species of temperament, supplying the defects of a weak nature, and softening the asperity of a strong one. Such was its adaptation to the mind of Fletcher ; but here a strong nature had to be controlled, not a weak one stimulated.

The best proof of our assertion is to be found in two of the most conspicuous features of Fletcher's course, and the ease and naturalness with which he exhibited them, we mean the steadfast courage with which he faced the pastorate of a brutal colliery population like that of Madeley, and the gallantry with which at the call of duty he descended into a still more terrible arena, and threw down the gauntlet to Wesley's furious Calvinistic assailants. These are subjects to which we shall return : we only advert to them now as showing the stern vigour of his character in strong contrast, and yet in perfect harmony, with the ethereal mysticism of the contemplative side of his nature. We see the same thing in the days of his youth developed both in bodily activity and mental toil. He was a bold and skilful swimmer, and an eager and successful competitor for university distinctions. The versatility of his mind was as remarkable as its vigour—the one is often the sign of the other. The ministry was first proposed as his future calling, but, shrinking from that on account of its moral responsibilities and doctrinal bonds, he turned his thoughts to military studies and prosecuted them with ardour and success. A certain headstrong wilfulness determined his self-expatriation and his future lot in life. His mili-

tary projects not meeting with the approval of his parents, and a quiet life at Nyon not being in harmony with his predilections, he set sail for England to try his fortunes in a foreign land. And when a few years later he became acquainted with the nature of the movement which was attracting the attention of the whole English nation, his position as tutor in a wealthy family of some note did not hinder him from choosing the unfashionable side and throwing himself heart and soul into the movement.

We have made these observations because in any attempt to estimate a man's character it is of the highest importance to show what were its natural features independently of the influence of circumstances, the refinement of culture, and the renovation of grace. In Fletcher it is manifest that grace made conquest of an original and powerful mind. His religion was not an heirloom from a pious ancestry, a good deposit committed to him as a most sacred treasure, to barter which for worldly advantages would be disloyalty to noble traditions and disobedience to parental injunctions. His early seriousness was proverbial, but it does not seem to have sprung from enlightened religious convictions, early instilled and carefully nurtured. The moral law was enforced, and the forms of religion observed, but his "infancy was vicious and his youth much more so," words intended probably not to hint at anything like immorality, but which do describe the ungodliness of an unregenerate heart. From a survey of his early life, so far as it is known, any ordinary observer of human nature might have discerned the promise of great things, and might have predicted a career of progressive worldly advancement. But the most acute observer could not have discovered the Divine purposes that were to be accomplished in him, or the manner in which they were to be wrought out.

To these we must now direct our readers' attention. The first few years of his life in this country, passed in obscurity, gave no indication of what was to follow. His aim in coming hither at all does not seem to have been very definite: to learn the English language is the only motive assigned. For this purpose he put himself to school at a Mr. Burchell's, at South Mimms, near Hatfield, and afterwards, upon his removal thither, at Hatfield itself. Fletcher's aristocratic connexions appear to have been of service here in introducing him to some of the first families

in the neighbourhood, and "by his easy and genteel behaviour he gained the affectionate esteem of all who knew him." But he did not mingle in the fashionable follies so prevalent in those days; on the contrary, the early seriousness which had worn away during his residence at the Geneva university now reappeared. "All this time he had the fear of God deeply rooted in his heart." The occasion of this deepened seriousness is not mentioned. It was not owing to the influence of his fellow-students, and we do not know enough of his instructor to attribute the cause to him, though his attachment to Fletcher is a good sign. It seems probable that the disappointment of worldly ambition, followed as it was by an entire change in circumstances and surroundings, was instrumental in reviving early impressions. He was a stranger in a strange land, and the comparative seclusion of the Hatfield academy would be favourable to reflection and prayer. After eighteen months spent in this way, he obtained an appointment as tutor to the two sons of Thomas Hill, Esq., of Tern Hill, Shropshire, an engagement that lasted until their removal to Cambridge. Mr. Hill, being a member of Parliament, was accustomed to spend a considerable part of every year in London, and to bring his family with him. Fletcher, of course, accompanied them; and accordingly for the next few years, *i.e.*, from 1752 to 1760, his time was divided between town and country, though perhaps the larger portion of it was spent in the country.

The position in which Fletcher was now placed was not in itself favourable either to godliness or to great intellectual development. Not that anything occurred in his dealings with his patron that was to the disadvantage of either. It is plain that from the first Fletcher won the respect and confidence of the family, and if his mode of life gradually moulded itself on a severer model than theirs no objection was made on that account. This liberality of sentiment, so rare in those days, was exceedingly honourable to Mr. Hill; still more, on the other hand, was Fletcher's independence honourable to him. Each took a proper view of his relation to the other: the duties of his office being discharged, the tutor was at liberty to follow his own inclinations. Many would have turned that liberty to a very different account, and would have regarded their connexion with such a family as a step to worldly advancement, if not a means to all kinds of

foolish self-indulgence. Fletcher embraced the leisure thus afforded him for the purposes of study and devotion. And so the cramping effect of a constant intercourse with young and immature minds, an evil to which all teachers are liable, was obviated. At the same time, the conversation of a family interested in public affairs, the journeys to and from the metropolis, and the residence there during a considerable portion of every year, would be a healthful relief and corrective to a mind in danger of too great fondness for a recluse and sedentary life.

The decided bent to seriousness and devotion was manifested in Fletcher before he knew of the existence of the sect that was everywhere spoken against. But the ferment it was producing in every grade of society was too considerable to be long hidden, even from those least accessible to its influence; and to a man of Fletcher's intelligence and sympathies the first imperfect account of its strange doings was not likely to create prejudice, but rather to arouse interest and lead to inquiry. Accordingly, being on one occasion twitted with his resemblance to the Methodists, a people that prayed all day and all night, he expressed his determination to find them out, if they were above ground. He did find them out, adopted their principles, joined their ranks, and lived to repay his obligations to their teaching by services the value of which will be felt to the end of time. It was the genuine vitality of Methodism that gained it this new adherent. Not only did it scatter everywhere the seeds of life, it attracted to itself the life derived from other sources, quickening and nourishing it, and bringing it to a maturity that otherwise would never have been attained. Fletcher's course might have been outwardly much the same without the influence of Methodism—the service of the Church was then as now a natural sphere for a man of his turn of mind—but he would never have carried his hearers beyond the threshold of the temple of truth; both he and they would have remained in the outer court, but for the flood of light poured upon him by the Gospel which the Methodists proclaimed and the trumpet notes of its invitation to enter the holy place.

The manner of Fletcher's call was not, however, such as the figure of the last sentence would suggest. At least we have no record to that effect. Many of Wesley's

coadjutors, notably John Nelson and Thomas Maxfield, were the direct fruit of his own preaching: they heard the sound of the trumpet, were alarmed for their safety, and passed at once from death unto life. Fletcher's conversion was of a different order. Like Wesley's own, it involved a process of intellectual conviction, resulting in a complete reconstruction of his theology, or rather a vivifying of its hard, dry forms. The difference between morality and spiritual life was never more marked than in Fletcher's condition before and after conversion. All his relations to God and his fellow-man were seen in a different light as soon as he had obtained correct views of the nature of saving faith. The structure of good works he had been for years laboriously erecting fell at once, and he saw that he had to seek for mercy at the hands of God on precisely the same grounds as the chief of sinners. The accounts of his conversion, both as traced step by step in his journal and as contained in a letter addressed to his brother in Switzerland about the same time, are exceedingly instructive. In the one we see the struggle while it is yet in progress, with all its hopes and fears, its ups and downs: in the other we have a picture of the whole field of battle, drawn with exquisite skill and presented in a light favourable to contemplation and study. In the one are portrayed the shifts and artifices by which Satan would hold the soul captive in ungodliness, till one by one they are found to be mere refuges of lies: in the other the true principles at issue in every such encounter are graphically delineated and their inevitable consequences are pressed home.

In the spiritual letters that follow, the first experiences of a Christian until firmly rooted in the knowledge of God, are also brought before us. They discover to us a soul aflame with love and zeal, and at the same time steeped in humility, their candid disclosures of temptation and victory adding a life-likeness to the delineations which we should have been sorry to miss. So ingenuous, indeed, are the confessions of occasional gloom and despondency, that we have need to remind ourselves of the testimonies of others concerning Fletcher's whole-hearted devotion from the very commencement of his spiritual career, or we should hardly make full allowance for their self-depreciatory tone. His intercourse with some of the most spiritually minded of Wesley's followers in London was remembered by them,

long years after, as among their most precious privileges. It is Fletcher's hand alone that supplies the shadows of the picture, and they are just deep enough to give the impression that though the revelation of the Son of God was one of unusual brightness and effulgence, yet in him, as in other men, there was a difference between the glory of the dawn and that of the unclouded noonday. Fletcher's sorest temptations occurred, as was natural, during his retirement at Tern. Cut off from fellowship with the people of God, and debarred by the peculiarity of his position from much opportunity of exercising his gifts, his ardent spirit could not but chafe under the restraint imposed upon its energies, and the mental conflicts that ensued were severe.

What he wanted was a suitable sphere of action, and it was not long before such a sphere was presented. The call to the ministry, heard many times but not heeded because it was doubtful whether it came from God, became clear and imperative, and it was obeyed with alacrity. So early as 1757, two years after his conversion, he received priest's orders in London from the Bishop of Bangor, and the same day hastened to assist Wesley in the administration of the sacrament. His first sermon also was delivered in a Methodist preaching-house. As opportunity offered, he exercised his gifts in this way to the delight and edification of the people. But when in Shropshire, his opportunities were few, owing to the disaffection of the clergy, the same fate overtaking him as had long ago befallen the Wesleys. Nevertheless, in the occasional fellowship he enjoyed with the Methodists of the metropolis, and especially with Charles Wesley, there was much to console him. His fame spread far and wide: Berridge and Lady Huntingdon reckoned him among their friends, the latter appointing him her chaplain. But the removal of his pupils to Cambridge in 1760 opened the way to the more active work of the ministry. The only question was where it should be exercised, in this country or Switzerland, and if the former, whether in connexion with Wesley or Lady Huntingdon, or in some pastoral charge. While he was deliberating, Providence was at work. The choice was offered him between Dunham in Cheshire, "a fine, healthy, sporting country," where "the parish was small, the duty light, and the income good," and Madeley, in which the conditions were exactly the reverse. Between two such

alternatives such a man as Fletcher could not halt. He chose the meaner and harder lot.

And now commenced that wonderful ministry which for a quarter of a century was to shed so glorious a light on one of the darkest places of the land, and to turn a Sodom of wickedness into a Shiloh of privilege and grace. A good measure of Fletcher's calibre is afforded by a consideration of the difficulties he here encountered and overcame. In common with all the Methodists, he had to withstand at once the brutal ignorance of the lower orders and the freezing formality of their superiors in the social scale. The religious—or those who called themselves such—and the irreligious were alike hostile to the doctrine he taught, and alike alien to the spirit that animated him. In this respect he only shared the reproach of his brethren. But his circumstances were different from theirs. They itinerated from place to place, and, though they never shunned danger and often faced the turbulent mob, yet had an advantage in their line of action not possessed by a man who was rooted to one spot. Banished from the churches, they took to the fields: denied one form of fellowship, they established another. Fletcher was tied to one neighbourhood, where there was not a single man of influence, clerical or lay, to stand by him; and the position he occupied, though perhaps legally impregnable, was exposed to a mode of attack not less galling, and even more dangerous, than that which called forth the prowess of his companions in arms. We do not say this to disparage in the smallest degree the men at whose feet Fletcher counted it an honour to sit: the sacrifices they made, the sufferings they endured, and the enterprises they dared, are the boast and glory of the eighteenth century, as it is its disgrace that they should have been necessary. But they fought on the high places of the field; their course was traced by sympathising thousands, and wherever they went they had palpable tokens that a day of grace had dawned. Fletcher was called to a different work and to a different form of heroism, less romantic, but not less exacting; humbler, but better suited to his character and temperament. Their campaigning was upon the grand scale: battle succeeded battle, and the scene of conflict shifted according to the fortunes of the war: he sat down before one redoubtable fortress, dug his trenches and drew his parallels, and staked all on the issue of the siege.

There was enough to try him in the opposition of the multitude, in the calumnies, insults and injuries he had to put up with. But there were greater perils within, the peril of spiritual sloth and despondency, of seeking to please instead of to profit, of becoming a lord over God's heritage, of caring for tithes more than for souls, of suffering the light of the sanctuary to decline for want of oil in the vessel, and the power of godliness to be lost in the form for want of baptisms from on high; perils that no ministry is exempt from, but which are peculiarly incident to a one-man ministry and a sedentary life. Of the magnitude of these perils none had a deeper conviction than Wesley. We see it in his early refusal of Epworth, and it was probably confirmed by his failure in Georgia. And it may be that perception of these perils, no less than a sense of his own urgent need and the needs of the times, led him to dissuade Fletcher from a settled pastorate, and to exhort him to join his own band. And certainly experience on the whole was on his side. Some of his own helpers who had tried the experiment had left their first love. But if only one in a thousand was proof against these evils, Fletcher was certainly the man. He was aware of his danger, and knew where his strength lay. Unweariable prayer and unweariable activity were his double line of defence. To the open hatred of the populace he opposed the charm of invincible meekness, while their secret indifference he challenged by unconquerable zeal. If they would not come to church and hear the Gospel there, he carried it to their own doors, and was "ready to run after them into their pits and forges," so he might win a hearing for his message, and clear his soul of their blood. Not content with this, he extended his labours to the regions beyond, converted a wide tract of country into a Methodist circuit, and thus added the cares of a small diocese to those of an exhausting pastoral charge.

Gradually but surely these labours told. Opposition died away. For the first two years it was uphill work. The publicans were enraged with Fletcher because their craft was in danger. The more respectable tradesmen talked of turning him out of his living for "a Methodist, a downright Methodist." A magistrate threatened him with imprisonment; a multitude of the baser sort, headed by a papist, mobbed him with a drum; while another godless crew waylaid him with intent to do grievous bodily harm,

and would no doubt have effected their purpose, but that he was providentially hindered from falling into their hands. Their spiritual advisers, as usual, egged on the mob. One young clergyman pasted on the door of Madeley church a paper charging him with "rebellion, schism, and being a disturber of the public peace." And, indeed, if setting the laws of God above those of men be rebellion, and the holding of spiritual assemblies outside the church be schism, and the public denunciation of fashionable evils be disturbance of the public peace, Fletcher was guilty of all three. His tone was bold and uncompromising, because he could not be a partaker in other men's sins. His sermons displayed more of the terrors of the law than the graces of the Gospel, because he knew that the remedy would not be valued until the extent of the disease was made known. But this firm outspoken utterance, seconded as it was by the strong argument of holy living, soon made itself felt; and crowded congregations and loving societies rewarded the labours and cheered the spirit of this devoted man of God. And in 1764, Wesley, who till now had kept aloof from Madeley in order not to add fuel to the flames of persecution, paid Fletcher the first of a long series of visits, preached to a greater multitude than the church could hold, and summed up his impressions after his own laconic style in the following entry in his *Journal*: "Mr. Grimshaw, at his first coming to Haworth, had not such a prospect as this. There are many adversaries indeed; but yet they cannot shut the open and effectual door."

The disciplinary effects of this fiery ordeal on Fletcher's own mind and heart must have been very great. From the peaceful avocations and studious leisure of a tutor in a noble family he stepped at once, without the ordinary preparation of a curacy, into the position, not only of a professed teacher of truth and director of souls, but of a champion of evangelical orthodoxy in an arena filled with foes, where every movement was watched and a single false step would have been ruin. The strain thus put upon his energies was severely felt. There are traces in his letters of this. But there are no traces of fear, of repining, or of any other spirit than that of the purest compassion for the ignorant and them that were out of the way. He had counted the cost, and was more ready to lay down his life than his charge. Meantime, his knowledge of Divine things was enlarged, and his sympathy

with God's people in their various trials intensified and deepened. Many evidences of this are scattered through the letters quoted by his biographer. We may instance those to Miss Ireland and Miss Hatton, two ladies who, after severe illness, passed away at a comparatively early age, and one to the Countess of Huntingdon, on the occasion of a temporary affliction. But his most familiar outpourings were reserved for Charles Wesley. They show the same self-abasement as we noticed in his earlier epistles, but there are added the appeals for sympathy of one who is enduring a great fight of afflictions uttered in the ear of a sympathising friend.

As time went on, and he began to be more secure in his position at home, Fletcher was able to join, to a greater extent than before, in the evangelistic tours of his brethren. Several of these were taken at the instance of the Countess of Huntingdon; and the sketches of them given in this book furnish a vivid picture, both of the harmony that prevailed among the evangelical leaders before the outbreak of the Calvinistic controversy in 1770-1, and of the effects that followed their preaching.

Fletcher's ministry was as powerful as any. His sermons in Bath, London, and Yorkshire appear to have produced profound impressions. Not the least interesting feature of these excursions was their becoming the occasion of his addressing pastoral letters to his flock at Madeley, which overflow with the tenderness and zeal of a true shepherd of souls. One of the choicest results of this intercourse with spiritual friends was the composition of a treatise, in the form of a series of letters, "On the Manifestation of Christ," suggested by, and addressed to, the Countess of Huntingdon. They are included in the collected works, but without anything more than a conjectural reference to the occasion that called them forth, the editor, the Rev. Melville Horne, being only able to describe them as "the first essay of a genius afterwards so much admired." Whether they were ever sent to the noble lady for whose edification they were designed, is not known now: at least opportunity was not wanting. They are especially interesting, not only as the first elaborate production of the writer, but also as the only one written before the great controversy which was soon to engage his pen. Their tone is not polemical. True, errors are pointed out and exploded, but no personal element enters into the warp and woof of

the argument. The exhibition of the privileges of all true believers is the aim of the letters, and everything is made subservient to that. The friendship with Lady Huntingdon culminated in Fletcher's appointment as president of her Theological Seminary at Trevecca, which was opened in the year 1768.

And now the time was approaching when Fletcher was to serve the Christian Church in a way he never dreamed of, viz., as a defender of some imperilled doctrines of the common faith. We refer, of course, to what is known as the Calvinistic controversy. The commencement of it is usually assigned to the action of Wesley's Conference of 1770 in drawing up certain strongly worded "Minutes" in answer to the question, "Wherein have we leaned too much toward Calvinism?" The publication of these "Minutes" was the signal for an outburst of wrath on the part of the Calvinistic allies of the Methodist movement which Wesley was scarcely prepared for. The "Minutes" were drawn up in good faith for the use of his own fellow-workers, as a caution against Antinomism license. The extreme view that would be taken of them by his Calvinistic friends, notably the Countess of Huntingdon and her cousin, the Rev. Walter Shirley, he could not have foreseen; but had he done so, he could scarcely have acted otherwise than he did. Offence was taken, certainly; but Wesley was not to blame for this, unless it can be shown that it was wilfully and causelessly given. But in fact Antinomianism was, and always had been, Wesley's greatest hindrance; and the connection of this with Calvinism, as taught by many of that day, was close and indisputable. It was upon this ground that the Wesleys and Whitefield first disagreed in 1741; and in the Conference of 1744, the first of which there is any record, the same subject was largely discussed. There were special reasons for its renewed consideration in 1770. The previous decade had been one of great spiritual enlargement and increase; but tares had been sown with the wheat, and the evil effects had become apparent in many ways. It was time to take a stand, and hence the appearance of the document which gave so much umbrage. The course adopted by the Calvinistic party was one that did little credit either to their hearts or heads. The Countess of Huntingdon at once wrote to Wesley, informing him that until he renounced such doctrines she must exclude him from her pulpits. Later in the year Mr. Shirley sent a

circular letter to all the serious clergy, and to many who were not in orders, calling upon them to resort to Bristol at the time of the next Conference, in order to go in a body to its doors and demand of Wesley and his preachers an immediate recantation. The issue was a response on the part of some eight or ten individuals, and a two hours' debate in the Conference, in which Wesley took the safe ground that his meaning had been misunderstood, and, in common with all his preachers, except Thomas Olivers, signed a declaration to the effect that he still held fast the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Here the matter seemed likely to end, but for circumstances we must now call attention to, which bring Fletcher upon the scene.

It is plain that John Wesley in the eyes of the Countess was the only offender. Charles Wesley was not held responsible for his brother's mistake, and Fletcher had not been present when the minutes were drawn up. If any doubt, however, existed as to the course the latter would take, that doubt was soon dispelled. Lady Huntingdon demanded of all connected with her college that they should testify their adherence to Calvinistic tenets, and diminished Joseph Benson, then head master, for non-compliance. Fletcher felt that he could not continue his connexion with the seminary, and placed his resignation in her ladyship's hands. Calvinism had been one of the stumbling-blocks which barred his way into the Reformed Church while yet a youth, and it was not likely he would embrace it now. When he heard of the circular letter, he immediately set to work to reply to it, and his reply was in the printer's hands when the Conference of 1771 met. Nothing that transpired at that Conference called for the suppression of Fletcher's pamphlet. Without its publication, the meaning of what had taken place at that Conference would almost certainly have been misunderstood. The document signed by Wesley would have been regarded as a weak succumbing to clamour and a virtual renunciation of the Minutes of the previous year; and so his position with his own people, both as a teacher and ruler, would have been compromised. Wesley certainly made a mistake, not to our minds in suffering Fletcher's pamphlet to be printed after his agreement with the self-constituted representatives of Calvinism, but in coming to any agreement with them at all. To have declined courteously all communication with these men would have been the most pru-

dent as well as the most dignified course. The responsibility of this publication undoubtedly lay with Wesley, who knew too well the value of Fletcher's protest to lose such an opportunity of righting himself with his own people, and of dealing a more effectual blow than his own minutes at the evils which threatened his work. However that may be, the flood-gates of controversy were now thrown open, and Fletcher—the meekest man on the face of the earth—embarked on a stormy sea which has often swallowed up those who have ventured upon it.

In Fletcher the Methodist leader found a valiant champion. There was a chivalry about his conduct that wins our admiration. He was high in favour, not only with the Countess, but with all her following. Nearly all the evangelical clergymen of the day were Calvinists: Wesley, as the representative of Arminian doctrine, stood almost alone. It would have been easy for Fletcher to desert an unfashionable cause, or at least to maintain a silent neutrality. But he was no time-server: he did not understand the art of winning popular favour by following the currents of popular feeling. He could not bear to see truth distorted, and the advocates of truth put to shame. Least of all could he forget his personal obligations to the Wesleys. He therefore threw himself manfully into the breach, and for several years gave his best energies to the defence of the Gospel as he had learned it from the Word of God.

His qualifications for the task were as conspicuous as his nobility of spirit. A vicar of an important parish, in all respects save the obligations of friendship independent of the Wesleys, his motives could not be put down to interest or servility. His birth and breeding, and his social position in this country and his own, were additional advantages by no means to be despised. The fact that he was a foreigner, who had forsaken his own country for the sake of the religious privileges of this, would add something to the interest of his utterance, which would be also augmented by the facility of the utterance itself. Then his reputation both for learning and piety was already considerable; and at the age of forty-two, while yet full of vigour, none could object to him on the score of his youth. These things, together with the universal favour that he had hitherto enjoyed, must have caused some consternation in the camp of the adversaries, when they saw him step forth, as it were, from his seclusion and throw down the

gauntlet before the men who had too hastily supposed that their very presence on the field of battle had been enough to win the day.

But if the first appearance of the champion awoke some apprehensions, the manner in which he discharged his functions filled all hearts with dismay. Without any preliminary flourish of trumpets, he addressed himself to the work before him with all the ease of a practised combatant. There was a vigour and incisiveness about his tones that at once attracted attention. It was manifest that he possessed a thorough grasp of the subject with which he proposed to deal; that he was capable of combining a minute analysis of all its details with a comprehensive survey of its general principles; that he was a skilful logician, quick to seize the weak points in an antagonist's position, and bold to press his advantage to its farthest issues; that he could collect and array in formidable strength both scriptural and other testimonies, commanding the resources of both inspired and uninspired theology; that he knew how to strew the thorny paths of theological discussion with the flowers of a graceful though not gaudy rhetoric; that he could discuss some of the most perplexing problems that can occupy the human mind with a clearness that never laid him open to misconstruction, and with a felicity and copiousness of diction which in a foreigner were truly marvellous. Meantime, to the unprejudiced his spirit appeared as free from rancour as his mind from doubt. It was plain to all who had eyes to see that he had at heart his antagonists' good; that the blows he struck were aimed, not at their life or honour, but at that in them which was prejudicial to both; that he was tremblingly solicitous not to inflict a single pang beyond what was needful for this purpose; and that the uniform courtesy with which he addressed them was not the studied affectation of ill-concealed malice, but the honest expression of Christian love.

Of course, it was not to be expected that all this should be at once seen and acknowledged by friends and foes alike. Those whom he was compelled to oppose smarted too much under the lash of his arguments to perceive either the justice or the mercy of the punishment meted out to them. Nettled by the appearance of such a champion on a field from which they were about to carry off the honours, they returned to the charge, and sought to divert the attention of the public from the argumentative strength

of the vindication to the apparent breach of faith committed in suffering it to be published at all. This led to a continuance of the controversy, and one *Check* followed another from Fletcher's fertile pen, until by the time the last had appeared all the principal points in debate had been thoroughly handled.

To enter into the details of the controversy forms no part of our present purpose. The reader may find this done ready to his hand in the pages of Mr. Tyerman, who has devoted nine of his chapters to the subject. It was a very tedious but very necessary part of his work. Without some such clue, the connection of the *Checks* is likely to be lost sight of: with it their successive appearance is accounted for, their drift and bearing explained, and the personal allusions with which their pages are so plentifully besprinkled add interest to the perusal. Mr. Tyerman also supplies samples of the replies from the opposite side, enough to enable his readers to form an estimate of the relative strength of the contending parties, and of the spirit in which they severally wrote. To some extent this may be judged of from Fletcher's own writings, but Mr. Tyerman quotes some specimens that for scurrility of tone were beneath the notice of a principal in the strife. Even in the pages of this biography, a hundred years after they were penned, they excite surprise, nay more, they kindle indignation and rouse disgust. Meanwhile, their argumentative feebleness, compared with their opponent's strength, makes their authors appear like striplings fallen into the hands of a giant. Shirley, Toplady, Berridge, Richard and Rowland Hill, each in turn is tempted to assume the offensive, and each in turn is put to an ignominious silence. It soon came to be understood that, however strong his love of peace, and whatever he might be willing to concede for its sake, there was a clear line in Fletcher's mind between concession and compromise, beyond which line he could not go. And when it was found that he had resources that the most prolonged warfare could not exhaust, and a temper that the vilest abuse could not irritate, his adversaries grew weary of the conflict, and were glad to quit the field.

It is a melancholy picture that this controversy presents to us, but it has its lights as well as its shadows, though the latter undoubtedly prevail. The responsibility of beginning it lies with the Calvinists, and all the bitterness

was on their side. No doubt they misinterpreted some of Fletcher's expressions. His warm protestations of brotherly love they read ironically, whereas they ought to have known enough of the man to give him credit for being sincere. His playful sallies they took in sober earnest, and retaliated in grim rejoinders of which the malice was more obvious than the wit. The moral effects of certain doctrines, which he deduced with logical consistency and depicted with caustic vigour, they regarded as attached to their own characters, and resented as personal affronts. On their side controversy ran its natural course, and degenerated into rancorous recrimination, in which principles were forgotten, and the desire for victory supplanted the love of truth. Fletcher maintained his dignity, and never forgot what was due from one Christian brother to another. Indeed, we may say he was a model controversialist.

If our feelings are stirred even now as we think of this controversy, how much more those of the partisans who watched its actual progress. Other strifes were external merely, and served to knit the faithful in closer and closer bonds: this rent the seamless vesture, or rather the very body of Christ. Nevertheless, good was brought out of evil. The societies under the care of the Wesleys were firmly grounded in their attachment to the truths that Fletcher taught, and were henceforth unmolested by their brethren who belonged to a different school. The combatants themselves were reconciled. Fletcher had interviews with most of his former opponents, who, now that the veil of prejudice was lifted, saw his character in its true light and spoke of him in the highest terms of affectionate regard, one of the foremost to hold out the olive branch being the redoubtable Countess. One lesson to be learned from this painful story is undoubtedly that religious controversy is a momentous business, and, like marriage, "not by any to be enterprised nor taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly;" that unless some vital interests are at stake, it should be discreetly shunned; and that, when once begun, it should be conducted in the spirit of holy jealousy as well for the honour and happiness of the Church and its possibly erring members, as for the interests of the truth which it is sought to defend. The possibility of their being themselves in error should be remembered by all those who feel called upon to combat it: the necessary limits of all finite intelligence should be

a continual caution against dogmatism, and the proneness of human nature to idolise its own imaginations should check the full triumph of pride. There is a sense no doubt in which principles are to be preferred above persons, but it is quite possible for a man to misread the axiom. When he supposes he prefers principles to persons, it may be that he only prefers one set of persons to another; or one individual to another, and that individual himself. John Wesley is an authority on such a subject that most men will honour. There is a paragraph on this subject in the preface to his *Sermons*, written just before this controversy broke out, which has a peculiar force, viewed in connexion with that fact. "For God's sake, if it be possible to avoid it, let us not provoke one another to wrath. Let us not kindle in each other this fire of hell, much less blow it up into a flame. If we could discern truth by that dreadful light, would it not be loss rather than gain? For, how far is love, even with many wrong opinions, to be preferred before truth itself without love? We may die without the knowledge of many truths, and yet be carried into Abraham's bosom. But if we die without love, what will knowledge avail? Just as much as it avails the devil and his angels."

We will pass now from the controversy itself to the writings it gave birth to. The most important of Fletcher's writings owed their origin directly or indirectly to that controversy. With the exception of a short tract in 1758, and a sermon in 1759, the *First Check* was Fletcher's first publication. The Calvinist controversy lasted from its appearance in 1771 to the issue of *The Plan of Reconciliation* in 1777. The fertility of his pen during this period is astonishing. Besides the numerous works relating to Calvinism, these years produced the *Appeal to Matter of Fact and Common Sense*, and the *Vindication of Wesley's "Calm Address to our American Colonists,"* with one or two more political pamphlets. The whole occupy five volumes of the collected works, and more than half of a fifth, each containing on an average 450 pages. When it is remembered that the ministrations of the parish and of a wide surrounding district, were kept up with unabated vigour, it is manifest that only by a zealous redemption of time, and especially of the morning hours—Fletcher, like Wesley, was a very early riser—could such a literary feat have been performed. Yet throughout these voluminous pro-

ductions the writer betrays no sign of hurry, tedium, or exhaustion. The only works that he produced subsequently were the *Portrait of St. Paul* and the poem on *Grace and Nature*—both written in French while he was in Switzerland, and afterwards translated into English—and the pamphlets devoted to the Socinian controversy, which were published after his death.

The field covered by these writings is very wide. The theological portion of them, which forms the bulk of the whole, formally discusses some of the most important doctrines of Holy Writ—Original Sin, the Divinity of Christ, the Conditions and Extent of Salvation, the Christian Character—while many other doctrines are fully illustrated in the discussion of these. The most exhaustive treatises are, of course, those connected with the Calvinistic controversy. Never before in the history of the Church were the points at issue so clearly put, nor the scriptural evidence so fully stated. More profound disquisitions there may have been, as those of President Edwards: more popularly effective there have been none. The delicacy of the balance in which the Scripture testimony is weighed, and the extreme nicety with which the rival claims of free grace and free will are adjusted, is something marvellous. Free grace is honoured in ascribing all the merit of man's salvation to Christ's atonement, and all the power that effects it to His Spirit. It is much more honoured than in the predestinarian scheme by the inclusion of all within the range of its benefits, the glory that is taken from God's sovereignty being given to His lovingkindness. The extent of Christ's redemption in like manner is not limited by any understatement of the corruption of our nature, which is declared to be complete, while a quickening germ is said to be implanted in each man's heart, through that redemption, making his salvation possible. Thus hope is kindled in every breast, while all ground of glorying is taken away. Meantime, at the other end, the redeeming process is wonderfully exalted by the doctrine of Christian perfection, in which grace at once softens the rigour of the law and enables its fulfilment, thus again glorifying Christ in His redeemed subjects, and hiding pride from man. Similarly with the relations of faith and works. In our present justification before God, faith alone, itself His gift, is the condition and instrumental cause; but thenceforward works are a condition of our continuance in the Divine

favour, as being the necessary fruits of faith; and for the same reason they are the basis of our justification at the last day. Yet Christ is not robbed of His glory, since these works are but the fruits of faith, which is the gift of His spirit.

Such in brief was the scheme that Fletcher patiently elaborated from the teachings of God's Word. It harmonises all the parts of Wesley's system more thoroughly and satisfactorily than Wesley ever had time to do it for himself. It was endorsed by both the Wesleys, Charles having seen most of the manuscripts before they went to press, and John pronouncing the highest eulogiums. Fletcher's scheme has been accepted ever since by the Methodist body as one of the best exponents of their position as adherents of the Arminian creed.

Fletcher's *Appeal* is as remarkable for the descriptive powers it displays as the above-named for the argumentative. Not that this is wanting in argument: on the contrary, it proceeds in regular order and is an almost perfect specimen of method. But the proofs are drawn, not from Scripture, but from observation; and a more comprehensive survey of human nature as it is, was perhaps never made. The treatise, of course, provokes an inevitable comparison with Wesley's largest work, *On Original Sin*, which discusses the same theme, but in a very different manner, being first of all historical and then scriptural and dogmatic. They are both characteristic of the men. Wesley is terse, pointed, and vigorous, and yet at times anecdotal and humorous. Fletcher is diffuse and imaginative, deeply serious and impassioned. His effects in this essay are not those of a cutting logic, so much as of a tender, earnest appeal to the deepest feelings of the heart. His pictures are at times harrowing—too much so indeed for modern taste—to the emotions, but most healthy as a stimulus to the conscience, because drawn from scenes that lie open to common observation and true to the very life. While this was designed for the benefit, primarily, of those who lived in his own neighbourhood, and whom he wished to arouse to a deeper sense of their spiritual need, his *Portrait of St. Paul*, written in Switzerland, was proposed as a model first to the unfaithful pastors of his own country who were asleep at their posts, and then to Christians generally. All the features of his other writings are happily blended in it; and, indeed, it may be regarded as one of

the ripest productions of his pen. It enshrines at once his most comprehensive philosophy, his richest experience, his most matured views of Scripture truth, and his happiest controversial vein. Controversial it must of necessity have been, considering its object, but the discord of the personal element did not mingle with its faithful and animated strains. The *Vindication of the Christian Faith and Socinianism Unscriptural*, addressed to Dr. Priestley, Mr. Benson thought unfinished, and added chapters which have ever since been bound up with them. Mr. Tyerman thinks they were as much finished as the author ever meant them to be, and that in justice to both authors their several productions should be issued separately. The former of the two treatises is an excellent sample of methodical arrangement and sound scriptural exposition, while the latter betrays all the smartness of the most lively of the *Checks*, and shows that, even when almost *in articulo mortis*, the author's right hand had not "forgot its cunning."

Of the poem entitled *Grace and Nature* there is no need for us to say much. A translation by the Rev. Miles Martindale appeared some twenty years after Fletcher's death, but neither that nor the original has been since included among the collected works. The translation fills a volume of 352 pages, with the exception of 72 pages of notes. Embodied in it are two cantos on the Peace of 1783, and one on the blessings of peace in general, in which last the author makes a graceful retreat from the position taken up in the *Vindication of the "Calm Address,"* and wishes all sorts of prosperity to the now formally acknowledged United States. Considering that we have just passed the centenaries of these two events, the recognition of American Independence in 1782 and the Peace of 1783, it may not be inappropriate to quote an illustrative passage. It will serve as a good sample of Fletcher's powers as a poet. The reader will, of course, remember that it was written in an age when very different canons of taste were in vogue from those accepted now. Passages might have been selected that would need this apology much more than that given below. The one we have chosen has reference to the former of the two events above alluded to.

"Now, by no foreign policy controll'd,
High rank with sovereign princes patriots hold,

And, resolute, maintain unbounded sway
 O'er provinces unpractised to obey.
 Hence, free from warlike toil and stern debate,
 These friendly rivals of a parent state
 By growing virtues their descent shall prove,
 Each liberal art aspiring to improve,
 Till other Lockes and Miltons shall be born,
 Ages remote to polish and adorn.
 Meanwhile, by unabating zeal constrain'd,
 With truth's mysterious volume in their hand,
 They visit superstition's dark abodes,
 And point barbarians to the God of gods :
 What time, directed by the star of day,
 With Anson urging their advent'rous way,
 Their glowing course they now impetuous run,
 Where the moor blackens in the sultry sun ;
 And now, at the bright portals of the east,
 Meet fair Aurora in her purple vest ;
 Fixing their standard on remotest shores,
 And bearing home rich tributary stores.
 Happy, if jealous envy ne'er descry
 Their spreading honours with malicious eye,
 Nor interest beckon from their seats below
 The furies that delight in human woe.
 Intrepid Britons ! from your happy isle,
 Indulgent on their rising cities smile—
 Behold your sons in awful senate sit,
 With the united states beneath their feet,
 And ceasing their first homage to constrain,
 Yield up America's immense domain.
 So, with his vig'rous sons a parent deals,
 And while his heart with fond affection swells,
 Gently relaxes his controlling care,
 And bids them his divided fortune share."

Taken as a whole, Fletcher's works constitute the most considerable literary product of Methodism during the first half-century of its existence. Not that ability was wanting, but most connected with the movement had little leisure for this kind of work. Literature was not their calling. We do not forget, of course, what was done by the Wesleys. Charles's poetry was a contribution of priceless value. John's activity, both as a writer and a disseminator of other men's writings, was astonishing. The best history of the Methodist movement is still that which every reader of Wesley gathers for himself from his pages. Its doc-

trinal standards are found there. They furnish pictures of the England of the eighteenth century not to be equalled elsewhere. But they do not contain much of theological literature properly so called; they do not embrace any elaborate treatises on special doctrinal topics, except those on *Original Sin*, and *Christian Perfection*. To have produced such works would have required more leisure than the Founder of Methodism had at his command. To Fletcher the opportunity was given, and what use he made of it we have already seen. Of the permanent value of his work no thoughtful person will doubt. Isaac Taylor is quoted by Mr. Tyerman as passing a qualified judgment, but Robert Southey, a much sounder critic, and one whose impartiality will not be questioned, says that "the reasoning is acute and clear, the spirit of his writings is beautiful, and he was a master of the subject in all its bearings." Let any unprejudiced person sit down to the perusal of these volumes, let him remember the circumstances under which they were written, and the audience to which they were addressed, and we cannot but think that, if he have any critical judgment at all, and make any pretensions to that historical faculty which enables a man to estimate a writer by reference to the period to which he belongs, he will agree with Wesley in pronouncing him one of the finest writers of the age. And the popularity of his works is proof of their value: they are read more extensively to-day than they were a hundred years ago.

The arduous tasks thus imposed upon Fletcher shattered his health. Various excursions were taken to different parts of the country, including one long tour of eleven or twelve hundred miles in company with Wesley, but without any salutary effects. Wesley, indeed, says that during the journey he took with him his strength gradually increased, and expresses his belief that if he had only persevered a few months longer, he would have quite recovered his health. Wesley had unbounded confidence in horse exercise and continual change of air. In his own case it had wrought wonders, but it does not follow that it would have been as serviceable for Fletcher. Fletcher's illness seems to have been a providential means for bringing about a reconciliation with many of those with whom he had been at swords' points. In various parts of the country, but especially at Newington, near London, and at the house of Mr. Ireland, near Bristol, he had interviews with some of the leading

Calvinists, who thus came to understand his character better than they had done while the controversy was in progress. A noteworthy incident was Fletcher's visit to the Bristol Conference of 1777. He was then so weak as to be unable to walk without help : his appearance was that of a man dwelling in the suburbs of heaven, and his address to the assembled preachers left impressions never to be forgotten. To spare his friend's enfeebled energies, Wesley cut short the interview by a prayer of extraordinary fervency, concluding with the promise, "He shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord," words that seemed to have their verification in Fletcher's subsequent recovery. All other means proving ineffectual, as a last resort, his physicians recommended him to try his native air. Fletcher had once before visited Switzerland, but this time his stay was much more protracted, lasting from 1778 to 1781. His strength gradually increased, and in the spring of 1781 he was able to resume his labours at Madeley. His absence was painful both to him and to his people, but it was the occasion of his writing some of the most tender and beautiful pastoral letters that were ever penned.

The same year saw his marriage with Mary Bosanquet, one of the most eminent saints of her own or any age. The three years of their union formed a fit close to a life of extraordinary diligence and devotion. Probably no home on earth ever enshrined more of true sanctity and blessedness than the Madeley vicarage during its joint occupancy by John and Mary Fletcher. The latter found in her new sphere a sufficient outlet for her benevolent impulses, and in her companion one who could sympathise with her holiest aspirations. The former found in his partner a true helpmeet, able to second his efforts for his people's good, enter into his projects, literary and other, aid his devotion, sustain his faith and hope by her own unwavering steadfastness, and at the same time minister to him all those temporal comforts of which he had been too long in the habit of denying himself to his bodily harm and loss. For deadness to the world, for self-denying charity, for close and uninterrupted communion with heaven, for transparent simplicity and integrity of spirit, and for all those qualities which cause the character of a saint to exceed in lustre the mere moralist as far as the glory of noon exceeds the twilight, such a

pair as John and Mary Fletcher perhaps never before walked the earth.

Of the remaining three years of Fletcher's life the principal episodes were his visit to Dublin in company with Mrs. Fletcher in 1783, and his attendance at the Leeds Conference in the following year, the former remarkable for its spiritual influence on the Dublin societies, the latter for his affectionate mediation between Wesley and those of his preachers who were aggrieved by being omitted from the hundred on whom Wesley's power was to devolve after his death. For the rest, these years were passed in the performance of ordinary duties and in the composition of his last literary works, of which mention has been made above. Some of his most valuable letters belong to this period: they seem to be the sweet overflowings of a heart surcharged with spiritual grace and blessing.

Sooner than any expected, the end came. The portrayal of it, by the hand of Mrs. Fletcher, is one of the most touching pictures in the whole range of Christian biography, a fit companion to that of Wesley's last days by Henry Moore. We have read it often, from our earliest years, always with deep emotion. The last service at Madeley church, which he could not be persuaded to relinquish, and in which he seemed to be visibly offering up his last remains of strength in the service of God and His people, the solemn communings of the death-chamber, the final manifestation which filled to the full a heart that had been so often enlarged to receive it, the sign agreed on with his faithful partner by which they should "draw each other into God" when he could speak no more, with the use actually made of it,—these and other circumstances serve to fix the scene indelibly upon the memory, and to give the impression of an Elijah-like translation to the realms of light. John Fletcher, died on Sunday, August the 14th, 1785.

Till within a few years of his end Wesley had wished that Fletcher should succeed him in the government of the societies, if he survived. Wesley's personal preferences for a monarchical form of government seem to have been as strong in reference to ecclesiastical as to civil affairs. And had they been carried out no man would have been fitter, morally and spiritually, than John Fletcher for such a post. But no single man could have stood in the same

relation to the Methodist societies as Wesley himself. The arrangement actually made, and the gradual development from that to the present economy, have as clearly stamped upon them the ordination of Providence as the birth of the movement itself. Fletcher's best memorials are the writings in which he defended and enforced the most vital doctrines of Christianity, and the life, now written more fully and clearly than before, in which those doctrines received the best practical exemplification that frail man may hope to show.

ART. VII. 1.—*A Popular Commentary on the New Testament.* Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D. In Four Volumes. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.

2. *The Training of the Twelve; or, Passages out of the Gospels, exhibiting the Twelve Disciples of Jesus under Discipline for the Apostleship.* Third Edition, Revised and Improved. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D. T. and T. Clark, 33, George Street, Edinburgh.

WE propose to consider the history of the interval between the Resurrection and the Pentecost in its relation to the Holy Ghost: a chapter of Biblical theology which deserves more attention than it has received. It will be seen that the forty-nine days or the sabbath of weeks have a very close connection with the event that closed them; and that their history cannot be understood save in the light of that connection. In fact, the two great divisions of the period which the Ascension separates may be best studied as paying their tribute to the Other Comforter: the former showing the necessity for His coming, and the latter the preparation to receive Him.

A superficial glance at the narratives would not suggest this. On the contrary, the first impression produced by the history of the interval is disappointment that the rich promise of the final Discourses is not fulfilled. The eve of the Crucifixion was very much if not mainly occupied with the promise of that Third Manifestation of God whose coming was a mystery not second even to the coming of the Eternal Son Himself. What the Lord had said in a great variety of forms was simply the most marvellous revelation concerning the Godhead that had ever been given: at least since the angel had told the Virgin that the Holy Being to be born of her was the Son of God. And the Revealer had linked the coming of this wonderful Person with His own departure and transitory return. Now with that amazing series of revelations still vibrating in their ears, must not the company of the Apostles when the Lord came into their midst have expected to hear the strain continued? And do

we not expect it? Rather, should we not expect it if we were not so familiar with the record as it is? But whatever might be expected, the fact remains that the entire history of the fifty days contains very scanty reference to the subject which had filled the Saviour's lips and the disciples' hearts before the sad hour when they forsook Him and fled.

When we look narrowly, however, we find there are two sayings which, like light shining in a dark place, qualify this statement of ours. They are very brief but very suggestive; each throws alone and both throw together a flood of radiance upon the entire narrative. One of them rules over the first period, the forty days of our Lord's gradual departure; and the other over the second period, that of waiting for the Pentecost. The former was spoken on the day of the resurrection, when the Lord taught by symbol and act the new manifestation of His presence that was to be: "Receive the Holy Ghost." The latter was spoken on the day of the Ascension when He bade His disciples wait for "the promise of the Father and the power from on high." These words are only like lights in a dark place. They only qualify the statement at the outset: they do not contradict it. Neither of them refers to the Third Person with anything approaching the distinctness of the paschal reference: His personality is still kept in the background; and still it remains true that we are left to gather the importance of the Interval in relation to the Holy Ghost from the promise that precedes and from the fulfilment that follows rather than from the events of the days themselves.

It will hardly be thought a forced or exaggerated generalisation if we say that the solitary reference to the Holy Ghost in connection with the Lord's Resurrection has a deep and universal meaning for the whole of the forty days. This will be more evident if we mark the place it holds in the record. Reading cursorily the accounts of the Resurrection, as we have them in the four narratives, we should not mark the pre-eminence of this particular narrative. But we are too apt to overlook the bearings of the several events in the perspective. This is specially the case in the history of the first day: the day of the Lord's reappearance. No one evangelist gives any hint of the wonderful fulness of life which was crowded into its morning and evening. It is only by collating them that we discover how active it was after the short absence from the world: that it was in fact the most fully occupied day in the whole ministry of Jesus. But it is only in St. John's

account that we discover the supremacy of the manifestation in which the Holy Ghost was breathed on the disciples. St. Matthew's glance is beyond Jerusalem; it reaches to the mountain in Galilee where the King of the Jews will crown Himself King of nations; and he pays no tribute to the first Christian day, or at any rate no direct tribute. Every one in his Resurrection chapter—even the Lord Himself—is but a herald of the distant assembly in Galilee. As to the great event itself, he limits his allusion to the by-plot between the elders and the watch. St. Mark gives a general summary, which embraces nearly all that took place: but in a compressed style, only hinting at what is elsewhere dilated upon, and, like St. Matthew, in such a style as to make the first day flow undistinguishably into the history of the forty days. St. Luke goes beyond his predecessors. He has the apostolic assembly in view; and our Lord's formal appearance in its midst; but at first it seems as if he had an eye and a pen for only one event of the after part of the day: one which however he has so described that criticism is silenced about any omissions. However, we see that the wonderful prelude of the Emmaus disciples is introduced only to introduce the congregation of "the Eleven," and "them that were with them." The journey to Emmaus, in which the Lord intercepted the two desponding disciples, was on the circuitous way to the little room in Jerusalem. St. Luke's account of the scene is very important, and shows plainly that it was not a brief appearance, but a long interview: the longest of the whole period of forty days, something corresponding to the long paschal communion before the "Arise, let us go hence" was spoken, and the type or earnest of the everlasting reunion reserved for a better state. By the time we have read St. Luke's account—inserting in it also one or two hints given by St. Paul in the Corinthian epistle—we find that the day of the resurrection was indeed in its spiritual vigour worthy to be called "the Lord's day." But St. John adds much to the narrative; and when we have by his help completed the record of the day, we perceive that it has no rival save Pentecost as a day of spiritual intercourse between God and man; and that even in the mere assemblage of events it is unsurpassed, probably unequalled, in the Gospels. There is no one day of the Bible, the diary of which is so filled up as this is: always supposing that the several visits of the women and the Apostles to the sepulchre are arranged in order as they should be and may be. But we must not forget the

point to which all this aims : that St. John has supplemented the other narratives at all points. In the forenoon of the day we have the affecting addition which links St. Peter and himself with the sepulchre, as well as the episode of the Magdalene and its ever-memorable lesson. As we read his new chapter we see plainly that as St. Luke's Emmaus brethren are only messengers to the Apostles, so this Magdalene is only a messenger on the same errand. St. John reaches the same goal which St. Luke reaches : the first great meeting with the Eleven. But St. John ends the whole with that breathing of the Holy Ghost which is the crown and glory of the day.

Before dwelling however on that let us take a swift glance at the details of this day of our Lord's new and supreme energy, as an unforced comparison of the accounts presents it to us. The mystery of the resurrection itself, wrought in secret, must be omitted : not a word is said on that subject, though nothing can be more exact than the exhibition of the results of what may be called a process. The stone rolled away, the linen clothes reverently laid by themselves, and the napkin for the head laid by itself, are all under the custody of the angels who wait for the visitants who are sure to come, some of whom indeed have never been very far away. The women were the first to visit the sepulchre in different parties : a fact which is proved by a collation of the accounts, each of the evangelists describing their visits under a distinct aspect. During the morning our Lord's own appearances were three : once to a company of women, whose worship He accepted, and whom He sent to remind the Apostles of His promise to see them in Galilee ; once to Simon Peter, the details of which are buried in silence ; and once to Mary Magdalene, whose worship He accepted, but restrained and made it the occasion of an important lesson. It is this manifestation which evidently occupied the chief place in the tradition of the Christian company, and the significance of which St. John made very prominent. While the schemers are contriving their iniquitous method of accounting for the absence of our Lord's body, the Lord Himself appears to the travellers who are bewailing their disappointment on the way to Emmaus. He expounds to them the Scriptures concerning Himself ; and then, when the evening had come, pays His first visit to the company of His Apostles as representing and surrounded by the body of the disciples. In their midst He gives full proof of the verity of His resurrection, continues the discourse which had occupied the journey to Emmaus, silences the doubts and fears of

His disciples, and gives them the best of all proof that He had risen from the dead by breathing on them the Spirit of His new life.

St. Luke and St. John combine to give us a perfect, or almost perfect, knowledge of what took place in this first manifestation: for such the latter permits us to call it, all previous appearances having, as we have seen, been only precursors and heralds of this. It was the Lord's first "assembling together with His people"—to use the expression of Acts i. 3—and, it may be boldly said, the first congregation of the Christian Church met around His name on the Lord's day. This is no disparagement to the primacy of the Pentecostal assembly, when really the congregation of Christ's flesh, baptised into the name of the Holy Trinity, receiving the Apostles' doctrine, and in their fellowship breaking bread, first made the name Church a reality. It is no disparagement to that intermediate gathering on the mountain in Galilee, when our Lord announced His supremacy and expounded His final commission. But we are now beholding the company which has all the reality of the Christian Church impressed upon it at least in outline. It must always be remembered that in grace as in nature the principle of continuity holds. There are no sudden and violent leaps or breaks in the procedures of the Divine economy. The interval of fifty days was not a perfect blank; nor did the risen Lord wait until the day of Pentecost was full come. From the moment of His reassumption of His body, unviolated by death, throughout the great day of His resurrection, down to His "Peace be unto you!" this reunion with His flock was in His thoughts. It might seem indeed from two of the accounts that His anticipation was projected forward to the more general assembly on the mountain in Galilee. But the harmony of the accounts qualifies this. We learn from the other two reporters—indeed from three of them—that this nearer assembly was more immediately in His mind. And when the evening was come St. Luke and St. John unite—in this more than in any particular—to give us the full meaning of this first assembly.

It does not seem to be the will of the Spirit of inspiration that the harmonising of the narratives should be so far carried out as to construct a connected account interweaving every word of all the evangelists. The ligaments and junctures necessary for this are wanting. In the presence of the supreme event which they unite to record, the circumstantial details are not thought of. For instance, we are now utterly unable

to weave into a perfectly harmonious narrative the comings and goings of the women; though there are indications here and there that the several evangelists are perfectly aware of each other's accounts. But in the two narratives of the first assembly we have all the elements of a perfect harmony. St. Luke tells us that the Lord stood suddenly in the midst of the disciples while they were listening to the Emmaus brethren with wonder and incredulity. He gives us to understand that the Lord rebuked the reasonings of their hearts, which reasonings St. Mark sets down as no less than unbelief (ch. xvi. 12). In fact, they believed that they saw a spirit—the spirit of their Master without His body. That was the extent of their unbelief. Two of them were not included in the reproof: we must not press St. Luke's words too far. To Simon the Lord had appeared; and, although we know not what took place in that private interview, which perhaps sealed on Simon's heart the personal forgiveness which Peter received officially by the lake side afterwards, we may be sure that he did not think he saw a spirit. And John's faith has already been attested. But the Apostles as a company were incredulous. St. John's account tells us that the question "Why are ye troubled?" was preceded by the words, "Peace be unto you!" which were the effectual solace of their souls. But not as they were first spoken: as yet they were, like the gift of the Spirit, rather an earnest than the full reality. After He had shown them "His hands and His feet," "His hands and His side," and had eaten in their presence, then comes in St. John's second "Peace be unto you!" with its full strength and confirmation, bearing away every lingering vestige of their doubt.

At this point St. John leaves his companion, and introduces what is to him the main significance of the first meeting. His second "Peace be unto you!" looks forward to the gift of the Spirit and the great commission. The first looked backward to the fears and reasonings and doubts which it stilled; and that was enforced by the exhibition of the sacred tokens—which, we repeat, were precious memorials to Himself as well as evidence to His doubting disciples—and by the eating before them. The second is strictly linked with the symbolical breathing of His new life. The sacred signs on His body, and the partaking of food, had reference to His human nature restored in its verity: the actual body a second time "prepared for Him" after it had served its holy purpose of a redeeming sacrifice. The breathing upon them, and

its accompanying peace, had reference to His new estate of exaltation, in which the Divinity is the supreme element in His incarnate Person, and the bestowment of which on His people is through the Holy Ghost. Here comes in all the meaning of St. Paul's "life-giving Spirit," as that signifies not the Holy Ghost through whom it is conveyed but the Person Himself of the "Lord from heaven." It is hard for us to distinguish between the Holy Spirit as the Divine agent in imparting the Divine-human life of the risen Son of God; but it is necessary to do so. He breathed on His disciples His own new and perfected life; but He said "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." He gave Himself; they received the Holy Ghost: the distinction and the unity of these propositions is the perplexity of the reason of the "natural man:" it is the glory of "him that is spiritual," and "discriminath all things." But this is not all. St. John adds that the Lord re-uttered the words He had spoken before "while He was yet with them," concerning their mission from Himself in the likeness of His own commission, and their full authority in His name and by His Spirit to bind and to loose on earth what He binds and looses in heaven.

But here the pertinacious spirit of the critical, which is here the "natural," man revolts, and asks why St. Luke omits what is the very essence of the whole event. The question, which has much keenness in its edge at this point, is one that places its note of united interrogation and exclamation at almost every point of the history of the fifty days, or rather of the forty before the ascension. In fact, a careful study of the entire literature of the attacks on the Resurrection will show that it resolved itself mainly, if not entirely, into the question why the four evangelists say what they say, omitting what they omit: the why, however, being silently or loudly changed into the affirmation that every omission is argument of untruthfulness or ignorance. As to the ignorance, it might be said that it is barely possible that some of the recorders were unacquainted with some of the incidents of the great day: they "knew the power of His resurrection" without, it may be, knowing the exact truth of the several processions to the open sepulchre. But if we remember how surely engraven on the heart of the Christian company the events of such a time must have been, we shall be very slow to believe that anything that took place that morning failed to transpire. But as to the untruthfulness, the answer must be more positive. Indeed it is this.

which is chiefly harped upon. Not one unbelieving critic can be found who does not echo the cry that whatever Luke did not record he did not know, that Matthew describes the ascension as taking place immediately after the resurrection, that John knows nothing of the ascension itself, and in short that anything omitted by any reporter must be struck out of the category of fact. The work on "Supernatural Religion" is almost forgotten; but it lies before us, and in fact is a valuable assistance to us at every point. There we find it taken for granted as a necessary postulate needing no proof: a postulate the application of which would reduce the history of the forty days to what might be called, speaking of any other subject, a most amusing scantiness, if indeed any narrative were left at all.

The plain answer to this kind of comment is that, professing to be exceedingly critical, it is utterly without judgment. It forgets the first canon of criticism in the estimate of such independent and yet convergent accounts as these, that the design of each reporter be discovered, and that his record be measured by that. Afterwards, when each has been shown to be consistent with himself, it will be important to collate the whole, and see if their agreement is generally capable of sufficient vindication.

Now, in the case of St. John's narrative, there is abundant evidence of his having most carefully arranged the materials that remained for him over and above the reports of the three Synoptists. He had his own purpose; and that was to form such a bridge as none of the other evangelists has constructed between the Resurrection and the Pentecost: in other words, to show how the Lord who had taken His farewell, is to reappear through the Spirit. Hence his single chapter—omitting now the postscript—is composed of a succession of variations on one theme: the relation between the Lord absent in the body and present in the Spirit. A special design may be traced in each of the evangelists. For instance, St. Matthew's leading idea is to show that the risen Jesus was Christ the Lord; the Ruler in the new theocracy; and his eye is fixed on the mountain in Galilee, to which the Lord Himself looked forward before His departure, which He remembered on the morning of His resurrection, and which He kept before His disciples' minds throughout the interval. The superscription of this evangelical narrative would be: "That it might be fulfilled which was written in the Prophet Zechariah." And St. Luke writes as the predestined con-

tinuator of the history of Christ, his Gospel being an introduction to the Acts ; and, thus viewed, the double account of the Ascension—one looking back on the life that had been spent out, and the other looking forward to the "life indissoluble, the endless life"—receives a most satisfactory illustration. The same might be said of each reporter, if we knew all his secret mind and purpose : this, however, we know not, for of all men that ever wrote history these were the least anxious, in their sacred impersonality, to betray their motives and aims. But this leads to a higher consideration. There was One superintending them Whose agents and ministers they were ; Who brought all things to their remembrance, and suggested to them designs and aims—as witnesses of Jesus according to the scriptural word, as artists in human language—of which they would otherwise have been utterly incapable. The Holy Spirit is the historian of the Forty Days ; and to those who remember this there is no portion of the Gospels, or indeed of the entire New Testament, that is to say of the whole Scripture, which is more pleasant to the eye, more refreshing to the taste, or more meet to make one wise. The readers who are here reading the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth feel as the Emmaus intercepted travellers felt : their hearts burn within them. They burn with devotion to the risen Lord ; and they also are apt to burn—and they are forgiven for it—with resentment and holy indignation at the abject trifling which is shown in much critical treatment of these holy narratives. And, it may be added, they sorrow also to find so many devout expositors easily yielding in the spirit of compromise, and saying in words which are familiar enough : "It is impossible to harmonise these accounts ; but the great central fact is all the more glorious and immovable."

We shall not be misunderstood in saying that on St. John's account rests mainly the burden of the responsibility. He is the last of the recorders, and, so to speak, the final and authoritative human keeper of the evangelical tradition. He cannot be supposed to have written his narrative without a perfect knowledge of what had been written before. Into the evidence of this we have no vocation to enter now. Our business is to accept his narrative as giving the apostolic rule for the interpretation of the accounts. He shows plainly enough that he is selecting out of the rich, the boundless repertory of his own memory, a few things which shall illustrate his one purpose : to exhibit the link between the

Resurrection and the Pentecost as the transition from Christ known after the flesh to Christ known after the Spirit. Hence he draws Mary Magdalene from the group of the women, and makes her tell her tale of what passed in her case. We see in the other evangelists that there was something very significant and peculiar in her relation to the risen Lord. Her name is always first: for which there was no obvious reason whatever, apart from the deep interest the secret of which St. John discovers to us. St. Mark, who at this point is a compendiator, notes expressly that she was the first who saw the Lord. But St. John reveals the secret that is scarcely hidden in the others. The immemorial "Touch me not" gives us its meaning so clearly that all the artifices of pious expositors have failed to obscure it: a meaning so clear as to warrant our affirming that the instinctive interpretation in the hearts of any average congregation of devout hearers of the narrative is the correct one. "'Touch Me' as the others have done, for the assurance of your faith; but 'cling not to Me,' as thou art doing, for I am not yet ascended. The true union and mystical fellowship, the heavenly touch, is yet to you and to all in the future."

There is another manifestation of the infidel spirit which is rebuked by these accounts; and that is the irreverent criticism of the relation of our Lord's body to space. This is, according to what has just been said, St. John's question especially. But he passes it over, as all the evangelists do, without the slightest comment. It is poor satire to say that they are "half enthusiasts and half deceivers, who delight in the marvellous; and, having once started on the way of invention, stop at nothing." They write as men to whom the mystery of the two natures united in one person is perfectly familiar, and who do not think it necessary ever and anon to remind their readers that they are narrating the acts of one who is God as well as man. The many discussions to which this has given rise, especially among the Lutherans in its bearings on their peculiar dogma of the Ubiquity, are as mournful within the Church as the sneers of the infidels outside. It is far better, far more in harmony with the bold faith that accepts the incarnation, to receive the facts without any explanation. Were St. John at the bar of modern criticism his answer would most certainly contain no subtle theory of the qualities of an ethereal body, or of the process of glorification during which the Lord might assimilate food, and glorify it as He received it. He would bid us remember

that "the Word became flesh," and that it suffices to believe that the manner of His communication with the world around through the medium of His risen body is as utterly beyond our comprehension as His incarnation itself is. The history of the resurrection-interval, however, only continues the lesson which all the Gospels teach before the cross. From the beginning to the end there is not a single word inserted to parry, or obviate, or diminish surprise at the tremendous paradoxes of Divine and human action in the same sentence. It is the great silent presupposition that One Being is both God and man, and that we have nothing to do with the laws which regulate His assumption of one or the other character. Our exposition should reverently abstain, like the Apostles, who durst not ask Him about the mysteries that occupied them, "knowing that it was the Lord." St. John, however, says all when He says that the Lord breathed His Spirit on His disciples.

The words to Mary Magdalene were the immediate precursor of the breathing of the Spirit on the Apostles who received her message. There has been much controversy as to the meaning of the Lord's symbolical act and its relation to a supposed impartation of the Holy Spirit, of which it was the sign. Three methods of explaining it are familiar to readers of the commentaries. There is one which boldly makes it an anticipation of the Pentecost; in fact, St. John's version of that day, which to him had by no means the significance it had in some other traditions, had culminated in the wonders of the second chapter of the Acts. Another regards it as a mere sign, for the present altogether meaningless, but containing the promise of what the Pentecost would more fully explain: that is to say, as a prophecy simple. If these two were the only alternative, we should of course adopt the latter part of it. But there is a third course: the remarkable sign was a seal as well as sign, and gave to the Apostles, as the representatives of the Church, a specific new gift, which could not have been given before the resurrection, in virtue of which they became sharers of the new life of the Redeemer, and capable of continuing His work in the world. But this gift was itself to be more fully explained, confirmed, and, in St. Paul's language, "stirred up" on the day of Pentecost, and therefore this third interpretation really unites the two others.

When it is said that the gift was bestowed on the Apostles "as the representatives of the Church," a difference must be

noted which is of some importance. Though the Apostles were certainly, during the Lord's earlier and later presence, the representatives of the whole discipleship in a sense that no other body of men could be, in a sense in which they could have no successors, we must be on our guard against assigning them more than their due. If we examine carefully the text and context in which their singular prerogatives are referred to, we find that their representative character is bound up very closely with the congregation itself. They are never depositaries of the Holy Spirit apart from the Church. Whatever may be said of the "binding and loosing," the 'breathing on them' of this passage must be regarded as the first great symbolical assurance to the whole body of Christ that His resurrection life was the common property. Here we must fortify ourselves by an excellent note from the volume mentioned at the head of our paper.

"Not only did the risen Lord thus send His disciples on their mission to the world, He gave them also the preparation which should enable them to fulfil their trust. The literal and correct rendering of the original Greek is not 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' but 'Receive Holy Spirit;' the difference being, as was pointed out in chap. vii. 39, that by the latter expression we are to understand not the personal Holy Ghost, but His power or influence over the hearts of men. It was in the power of Holy Spirit that Jesus had entered upon His own ministry (Luke iv. 1, where the same expression is used as here); with the like preparation shall His Church enter upon the work to which she is called. The gift now bestowed is, therefore, simply symbolical but real: at that moment the Spirit was given. All this is in perfect harmony with words of chapter vii. 39, because at this moment the glorification of Jesus has begun (see note on verse 17). The gift, too, was imparted not to Apostles only, but to all the disciples present; it is a gift not for the ministry alone, but for the whole Church of Christ. If so, the interesting question immediately arises, What is the relation of the gift spoken of here to that bestowed at Pentecost? The answer would seem to be that here the gift relates to the inner life of the disciples, there to the more outward equipment for their work; here to the enlightenment and quickening of their own souls, there to preparation for producing an effect on others. Perhaps we may seek an illustration (to be applied, as always, with reserve) from the life of the Saviour Himself. As His public ministry began when the Holy Spirit descended on Him at His baptism, so did His Apostles receive their full commission and power on the day of Pentecost. But as before His baptism the Holy Spirit had rested on Him con-

tinually, so now, before Pentecost, the same holy influence is bestowed on His disciples, preparing them for the day of final consecration to their work. It has, indeed, often been maintained that we have before us a promise and not a present gift. But such cannot be the meaning of the language which is here used. Even were it granted that the word 'receive' might be understood as an assurance of a future gift, the action which accompanies the word must imply much more than this. 'He breathed on them:' this surely was the outward symbol of an actual impartation—of His *breathing into* them (see Gen. ii. 7, where the same word is used) the power and influence of which He spoke. And yet it is true that this gift was both present (actual) and also future (a promise). As present, it brought with it the quickening of spiritual life; as future, it included in itself all that Pentecost gave. The former thought is important in relation to the development of the disciples: the latter in its connection with verse 23, and especially in its presentation of the Redeemer as Himself the Giver of the Holy Spirit (chapter xvi. 26)."

It is not for us curiously to inquire what are the stages and degrees of the life that Jesus, the Prince of Life, gives; nor what was the stage which is marked here by the "quickening of spiritual life." Before this we may reverently suppose that the Life was in their midst, and moving upon and around them by preliminary influences; but that now in a sense never experienced before He became an internal principle, though not yet fully "revealed in them." But we have to do now with the universality of this gift; and what confirms to us the substantial truth of this exposition, is the close connection of the "Peace" with the gift of the Holy Spirit. Both are the heritage of the whole company of believers, and from that moment the entire company were possessors of a life they had not before, the strength and determination and issues of which the day of Pentecost only developed and matured. But we cannot help feeling that the Apostles as such had a special heritage both in the Spirit and in the solemn commission which accompanied the bestowment of His influence. The words of the commission we shall presently call on the same careful and exact expositors to explain: with this proviso, that a certain special and unshared prerogative of the Apostles must be inserted in their exposition. If we go back to their investiture when the Redeemer for the first time spoke of His "Church," and linked it expressly with His "Kingdom" (Matt. xvi.) St. Peter is certainly prominent; and the history of the Acts interprets his pre-

eminence in both admitting and excluding from the Kingdom of Grace. When they are mentioned a second time in Matt. xviii., where again the Church and the Kingdom are united, it is equally plain that the prerogatives are lodged in the whole company of believers. But justice is done to the truth only by combining these; and in the passage we now consider the combination seems perfect. In the first the apostle Peter is the representative of the apostolic body; in the second the Church seems to be alone as the depository; here they are blended, and in the midst of the Church the ambassadors of Christ are sent with credentials such as no others received. They held keys which they never transmitted, but they certainly used them themselves; and their authority, reduced and explained as we shall now see in the following note, gives the name to the pastoral authority of the Christian Church.

"We regard two points as established from what has been already said. 1. The words of this verse are not addressed to Apostles alone. 2. Though conjoined with a present impartation of the Holy Spirit, they belong really to the days when the disciples shall have fully entered on their work as representatives of their Lord and His witnesses in the world. This verse and the last stand in the closest possible connection: only when the Holy Spirit has been received can such a commission as this be executed. Without unduly entering on controverted ground, let us seek to collect the meaning which the words (which we have thought it desirable to render with unusual closeness) must necessarily bear. It is clear that *two* remissions of sin are spoken of,—two which agree in one. Where Christ's servants 'have remitted the sins of any' these sins 'have been remitted unto them,—remitted absolutely, *i.e.*, remitted by God, for 'who can forgive sins but God only?' (Mark ii. 7). But as we know that the Divine forgiveness is suspended on certain conditions,—penitence and faith,—it follows that the remission granted by Christ's disciples must (since it agrees with the Divine remission) be suspended on the same conditions. Either, therefore, the disciples must possess unfailling insight into man's heart (such as in certain cases was granted to an Apostle, see Acts v. 3), or the remission which they proclaim must be *conditionally* proclaimed. No one can maintain the former alternative. It follows, then, that what our Lord here commits to His disciples, to His Church, is the right authoritatively to declare, in His name, that there is forgiveness for man's sin and on what conditions the sin will be forgiven. Nor does there seem to be ground for thinking that we have here a special application by

one individual, whether minister or not, to another of the remission (or retention) of sin spoken of. The use of 'any' in the plural number appears to be inconsistent with such a view. It is not a direct address by one person to another that is thought of,—'I declare that *thy* sins are thus authoritatively remitted or retained.' It is a proclamation from one collective body to another,—from the Church to the world. The mission of the Church is to announce to the world her own existence in her Lord, as a company of forgiven men, and to invite the world to join her. Let the world comply with the invitation, it shall enjoy forgiveness in the company of the forgiven: let it refuse the invitation, it can only have its sins retained in the company of those who have been 'judged already' (compare chapter iii. 18). Here, as in all else, the Church only *witnesses* to what her Lord *does*. But as it is by her *life*, even more than by *words*, that she witnesses, so it is by accepting or rejecting her life that her witness is accepted or rejected; and thus it is that by communion with her the blessing is enjoyed, that by separation from her it is forfeited. It ought particularly to be noticed that of the two remissions or retentions of sins spoken of in the words before us, the Divine act, although the last to be mentioned, is the first in thought,—'*have been remitted*,' '*have been retained*.' "

During these supernumerary days of the Son of Man the things which Jesus began to do and teach were still going on. Although a great change had taken place in the manner of His communications and in His works we perceive that there is one chain which links the present with the past: that their Master is still giving His disciples words which are to be brought to their remembrance by the Spirit. He still speaks of the things which pertain to His kingdom; and we may assume that the veiled instruction, the teaching by germinal hints and symbols to be afterwards explained, continues precisely the same as before. The promise of the new Guide was in abeyance until the set time was fully come; and until that time the Lord prolongs the days of His own ministry. We cannot measure the abundance of that ministry. The records of the evangelists are very limited. Each seems to have his particular design, and to select from the materials accessible to him what suited his own purpose; while all seem to be conscious that the great day of spiritual revelation is at hand and that their task is ended with the resurrection. We have only a few fragments of the post-resurrection instructions of our Lord. And it is impossible to read these narratives of the Interval without feeling—it is

matter of feeling rather than proof—that very many communications of great importance were made to the Apostles which reappear after Pentecost without any indication of their origin. “The things concerning His kingdom” have a wide significance: they may reasonably be thought to include much which was afterwards suggested by the Holy Ghost as reminiscences and expositions of what the Saviour had spoken during these days: this period falling under the general rule, “He shall bring all things to remembrance whatsoever I have spoken to you.” It is hard to doubt that the evangelical narratives of the Lord’s life before His death and resurrection owe much to the Saviour’s disclosures of what none but Himself could have known. He had said, “Ye cannot bear them now;” and of some of the things which they could not yet bear—that is, which were not appropriate for His lips to utter or their ears to hear at that time of their absorbed concentration on one subject—the time had come after the resurrection. He who looks narrowly into the Gospels will find that there are secrets in the Lord’s history from the beginning which none but Himself could have revealed: the forty days in the wilderness at the beginning and the private interviews with His judges at the end are instances. It is forced upon us also to suppose that the relation of the sacraments to His kingdom, the methods by which His kingdom was to be spread, the place which the New-Testament Scriptures were to occupy, and the general constitution of His Church, were subjects more or less dwelt upon in these supernumerary days of His ministry. Comparing “the things concerning His kingdom” with the scanty narratives of the Four, which all seem to hurry towards the Ascension and Pentecost, we cannot think that what we actually read satisfies this large expression. The Holy Spirit, the Interpreter to the Apostles of the full meaning of all the Lord’s institutions, from time to time incorporated them all. It may here be asked: How does this refer to St. Paul? With this question we have not now to do. But it may be observed that he himself most explicitly answers it. To him “born out of due time” into the apostolic company, the Saviour spoke directly by His Spirit; though we observe even in his case that there were commandments and sayings of Jesus lying before him as giving to the other Apostles which as theirs was brought to his remembrance also. Did the Lord give any hint

after His resurrection of the coming of this future Apostle, who should in some respects surpass them all?

Thomas was not present when this first manifestation took place. He did not hear the "peace;" he did not behold the hands and the side, which the risen Lord had shown to the disciples for their consolation and for His own joy; he did not hear the reproof which the rest had heard; and the wonderful events of the long first day of the Lord had been only reported to him, though doubtless reported to him with every detail affectionately remembered and dilated on. Why he was not present we are left to surmise. It is plain enough why we are told that he was not present; the great lesson of the next Lord's day explains that; and explaining the reason of the record explains the reason of his absence too. He was not with the disciples, because he was overcome by his despondency, and had no heart for the fellowship of his brethren. It was not that his faith was less than theirs; they all alike failed to perceive that their Master must rise from the dead. To the whole company as such—with all possible reserve in regard to one of them—the words of reproof were applicable which others "slow of heart" as to the resurrection had formerly heard: "Ye do err not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God." What the Sadducees had received as their reproof these other doubters of another type of unbelief had received also. They were all in the same category of slow-heartedness; and as they fled from the darkness of the cross, so they also fled from the coming light of the resurrection. Thomas, however, led the way in both these processes of unbelief. All being doubters, his doubt was more demonstrative; hence "was he not rightly called Didymus, the man of divided thought?" But his absence from the company is not commented on by the evangelist; the simple fact is stated, not so much to mark his state of mind before as to show how it came to pass that he could utter the words which are reported of him, and remain in such a state of mind during the following week. Had he been where he should have been on the first Lord's day, the history of the second Lord's day would never have been written. But then St. John, in his profoundly significant way, does note that his absence was that of "one of the Twelve;" a perfectly needless note, save as indicating that he had forfeited for a season an apostolical blessing and a prerogative. The breathing

of the Spirit did not quicken his morbid and half-dead spirit. He saw not the sacred tokens which it was the privilege of every living disciple sooner or later to see. He received not the commission in person which nevertheless belonged to him as much as to the others ; and into the full possession of which he as it were naturally entered when his unbelief passed away. Hence he went to his rest on the evening of the first day in a very different state of mind from that of his comforted brethren. Hence he awoke to the first Christian week in a very different tone from theirs ; and, as we may suppose, spent such a week of distraction and sorrow as was at once the penalty of his absence and the gentle discipline of his loving Lord. Here, however, the evangelist encourages no speculation as to the psychological problem of Thomas's state of mind. But neither does he discourage it. And we can hardly understand what follows without some endeavour to realise to ourselves the precise nature of the unbelief of which he was in danger.

"Of which he was in danger:" when our Lord afterwards spoke to him He said, "Become not faithless, but believing ;" St. Thomas was never, nor was ever likely to be, an absolute unbeliever in Jesus. Had he been such, he would have followed the Emmaus disciples, and gone further than they. Nor would he have been found on the second Lord's day with his brethren. He was incredulous as to the Lord's resurrection from the dead ; but that did not necessarily carry with it unbelief as to His Messiahship. We must remember that what the Lord rebuked in the Apostles' hearts was their reasoning doubts ; not their unbelief simply, not their doubts simply, but these as suggesting to them all manner of speculations as to what the return of their Master without His body might mean. They supposed they saw a spirit ; not any spirit, or a spiritual appearance generally, but the spirit of Jesus, which however could not be Jesus Himself. It is not difficult, though to us it is superfluous, to inquire what speculations might be engendered in the minds of men who believed that Jesus had in some sense returned, but not in the verity of "the same Jesus." Suffice that to our Lord Himself any doubt about His actual return in the whole verity of human nature was unbelief to be convicted, re-proved, and convinced away by every "infallible proof." To Him, and to us who know His doctrine as these same

men have taught it to us, there is no Christ Who does not occupy the very body which bore our sins to the Tree.

St. John's is sometimes called the spiritual Gospel. It certainly is the Holy Spirit's instrument for the perfect glorification of the Lord in the abundant demonstration of His absolute Divinity, and in the perfect revelation of the spirituality of His indwelling by the Holy Ghost. Yet it is peculiarly this Gospel which records the special interview of the risen Lord with Thomas, in the midst of the disciples, when He gave him or offered him the evidence that his unbelief had demanded. Into the details of this scene it is not within our scope to enter. Nor to dwell on the effect upon the incredulous disciple which the Lord's proof both of His Divinity and of His humanity produced. It was a double proof. He felt that the Lord was the searcher of his heart—as Nathanael felt at the beginning and as Peter felt at the close of this Gospel—and that He had not only heard the words of his impatient despondency but had also penetrated to the secret of his character as disposed to unbelief. He saw the proof of His actual humanity, and the tokens that He had died on the cross. And he passed from the furthest borderland of unbelief which any Apostle had reached to the highest confession that any of them had ever uttered: "My Lord and my God." Thus the Conqueror finally won one of His noblest captives; and gives everlasting encouragement to those who sincerely doubt but come within the reach of evidence. We quote our two expositors once more:

"One other remark may be made. Those who study the structure of the Fourth Gospel will hardly fail to trace in the incident thus placed at the close of its narrative the tendency of the Evangelist to return upon his own early steps. He had begun with 'the Word' who 'was God;' he closes with that highest truth accepted and ratified by those to whom the revelation was given. The last witness borne by one of them in the body of the Gospel narrative is, 'My Lord and my God.'"

Another illustration of this "returning upon his own early steps" we may find in the fact that the sublime benediction pronounced by our Lord on those who believe without seeing goes back to lessons taught in the beginning of this Gospel. When the Saviour accepted the faith which Nathanael showed, He in effect pronounced it blessed because it rested on his perception of the Divine in his

new Master; and the benediction took the form of a promise that "he should see greater things than these," which was enlarged into a promise that the disciples, trusting in Him because of what they saw with their fleshly eyes, should see "heaven opened on the Son of man," that is, should have higher attestations than their physical eyes should ever behold. So here the Lord silently pronounces Thomas and his companions blessed for believing when they saw; but at the same time He lifts up His eyes to embrace all the future and pronounces them blessed too, if not yet more blessed, whose faith should spring from the manifestations of the Divine in Him through the Holy Ghost. The glorification of the risen Lord through the Comforter is as much here meant as if the Lord had so spoken. The hour was coming, and now began to be, when all who believe in Jesus must believe in Him as One unseen. It might almost seem as if the Saviour did not expect that the mere faith in the records of what others had seen and handled would be sufficient to bear the stress of His infinite claims. "No man can say Jesus is Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." "Except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe!" our Lord had once said in this same Gospel: and the echo of that word penetrates to our present one. Again, St. John—returning on his steps again afterwards in his epistle—closes the New-Testament teaching on evidence by assigning it almost entirely to the Holy Ghost. "It is the Spirit that beareth witness," and "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the Witness in himself." The blessing pronounced on all future believers can only be thus understood. The state of heart which responds to the appeal of the Spirit of Christ in His Word, and in His Church, and in His ordinances is the blessed state; and this our Lord would impress for ever. Those who labour hard to charm away their unbelief by laborious studies of the so-called external evidences, and after all these pains discover how far they are from a perfect joy, are the best illustrations of His meaning. Not indeed the best: they are the best illustrations, who, while with honest minds they strive to place themselves in the company of the first recorders, and give due credit to their testimonies, seek the direct illumination of the Spirit, and rest not until He seals the truth on their hearts. They receive the fulfilment of this last of all the benedictions; for their sake and for their encouragement

the Lord uttered it. What else this lesson teaches is well expressed by Dr. Bruce, a new edition of whose vigorous and acute volume on "The Training of the Twelve" is just put into our hands:

"As little does He mean to say that all the felicity falls to the lot of those who have never, like Thomas, doubted. The fact is not so. Those who believe with facility do certainly enjoy a blessedness all their own. They escape the torment of uncertainty, and the current of their spiritual life flows on very smoothly. But the men who have doubted, and now at length believe, have also their peculiar joys, with which no stranger can intermeddle. Theirs is the joy experienced when that which was dead is alive again, and that which was lost is found. Theirs is the rapture of Thomas when he exclaimed, with reference to a Saviour thought to be gone for ever, 'My Lord and my God.' Theirs is the bliss of the man who, having dived into a deep sea, brings up a pearl of very great price. Theirs is the comfort of having their very bygone doubts made available for the furtherance of their faith, every doubt becoming a stone in the hidden foundation on which the superstructure of their creed is built, the perturbations of faith being converted into confirmations, just as the perturbations in the planetary motions, at first supposed to throw doubt on Newton's theory of gravitation, were converted by more searching inquiry into the strongest proof of its truth.

"What, then, does the Lord Jesus mean by these words? Simply this: He would have those who must believe without seeing, understand that they have no cause to envy those who had an opportunity of seeing, and who believed only after they saw. We who live so far from the events, are very apt to imagine that we are placed at a great disadvantage as compared with the disciples of Jesus. So in some respects we are, and especially in this, that faith is more difficult for us than for them. But then we must not forget that, in proportion as faith is difficult, it is meritorious, and precious to the heart. It is a higher attainment to be able to believe without seeing, than to believe because we have seen; and if it cost an effort, the trial of faith but enhances its value. We must remember, further, that we never reach the full blessedness of faith till what we believe shines in the light of its own self-evidence. Think you the disciples were happy men because they had seen their risen Lord and believed? They were far happier when they had attained to such clear insight into the whole mystery of redemption, that proof of this or that particular fact or doctrine was felt to be quite unnecessary.

"To that felicity Jesus wished His doubting disciple to aspire; and by contrasting his case with that of those who believe without seeing, He gives us to know that it is attainable for us also. We,

too, may attain the blessedness of a faith raised above all doubt by its own clear insight into divine truth. If we are faithful, we may rise to this from very humble things. We may begin in our weakness, with being Thomases, clinging eagerly to every spar of external evidence to save ourselves from drowning, and end with a faith amounting almost to sight, rejoicing in Jesus as the Lord our God, with a joy unspeakable and full of glory."

Had Thomas been in the midst of the company on whom the Lord breathed the Spirit he would have had that evidence which renders sight needless. But when the week revolved he was there, and received his portion of the sealing Spirit. He did behold and see: the evidence he asked for he had; and it is a perfectly superfluous question to ask whether or not he touched. But even while he was beholding the tokens of the veritable manhood of his Lord, the Spirit sealed upon his heart the evidence of the Lord's Divinity, and he had such an experience as he never had before. He does not cry, "Rabboni!" "My Master!" but "My Lord and my God!" The perfect faith in Jesus brings Him before the soul and into the soul as God: that is, impresses His Spirit, His Divine nature, on the soul through the Holy Ghost. And such faith our Lord blessed by sublime anticipation to the end of time.

It is not wandering from our immediate subject to pause here and consider the relation of the Holy Ghost to the interval of eight days which the Lord allowed to elapse before His appearance. It is our evangelist, to John himself, who has for ever linked the two together: "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day," and no one can challenge our right to interpret the link as we venture now to do. The Spirit being breathed on the apostolic company—still being until Pentecost the representatives of the whole community—was the director of every thought and movement. The Lord was absent; but it ought not to be said that both the Lord and His agent the Holy Ghost were absent. An absolute interregnum, as we have seen, there could not be. The Comforter had so far begun His administration as to direct the plans and operations of the apostolic company. And there needs no express assurance that it was He who brought together the Ten on the first weekly return of the great day. Is it too much to say that the first secret influence of the Spirit which had been breathed on the Apostles prompted them to assemble together in the name and around the name of Jesus

precisely on the hebdomadal return of the day of resurrection? This is not indeed said; but the whole history is one of endless suggestion; and to us at least it is an irresistible inference from St. John's marked reference to the interval. The disciples were within—though the word “assembled” is not here, and indeed must be given up in the preceding narrative—and not “for fear of the Jews.” They were separated from the world in a gathering of special solemnity; concerning which it is quite lawful to say that it was the first intentional and deliberate consecration of the day on the part of the Church. And the day was crowned by the bestowment of the gift of the Spirit. Here St. John's Gospel really ends; and the next Christian Sabbath may be proved by computation to have been the Day of Pentecost, when the invisible Lord again and still more effectually breathed the Spirit on His people.

The period of Nine Days which now follows may be regarded as the eve of the Pentecost and a period of solemn preparation for it. At the same time it must be remembered that the very preparation itself is conducted under the special influence of the Holy Spirit already given in some measure.

It is a strong temptation to the dramatic expositor of the history of Christ to regard this interval as strictly an interregnum, during which the Lord is absent and His representative has not yet come. This would invest the period with a character of surpassing interest. In fact, there would be nothing like it in the history of revelation: the dispensation of the Second Person asserted, and the Church thrown back again on the Jehovah of the Old Testament. And there is much in the history that might encourage such a notion: for instance, the Old-Testament lot is cast for the election of a successor to Judas; there is no mention of any appearance of Jesus in the midst as of old; and certainly there is no such joy in the Holy Ghost as was afterwards the most obvious characteristic of the Christian assembly. Jesus has undoubtedly taken His long farewell as a visible Presence; and in this respect we feel as we go up to the chamber over the gate that there is a pathetic tone of desolation in the narrative. Perhaps we carry the thought which we find there; but certain it is that the doors are still “shut for fear of the Jews,” and that there is no longer any lingering vestige of

hope that the well-known voice will again speak the "Peace be unto you!" or that they will ever again see the wounds in the hands. Whether it is merely our own feeling or not, the hundred and twenty seem a mourning assembly, comforting each other after the Great Bereavement, with Mary the chief mourner in the midst. On the other hand, the Other Comforter is most certainly not yet come. The contrast between these intermediate assemblies and the morning and evening of Pentecost is so marked as to be observable at once. They do not praise the wonderful works of God; they go in and out no more than is absolutely necessary; though Jerusalem is waiting for the message, there is no "sound" going forth to summon its crowds; there is no preaching, nor are there any miracles; and it does seem as if the work of the Gospel is abruptly and entirely suspended. Thus there seems to be some measure of truth in the supposition that this period is a time of transition, on a smaller scale, like the interval between the Old Testament and the New; and to study it under this aspect suggests much profitable meditation.

That the heavens have received the Lord is clear enough; and so it is that the Holy Spirit has not altogether taken His place. But yet it is not to be doubted that the breathing on the first congregation on the first Christian Sabbath has not been in vain. Every movement of the little company proved that the Holy Spirit was as much with them as if the day of Pentecost was already fully come. But He was not with them in His power. Among the last words the Lord ever spoke upon earth were a promise of more abundant spiritual influence to rest upon them after a certain time. Or to be more explicit: the Spirit was already given, but not given in His power, not in what is here called His baptism. It was, however the influence of the Spirit on the apostolic company that prompted them to gather the little company together in the upper room. There Simon Peter gives the first evidence of the fulfilment of the Saviour's declaration to him concerning "the keys of the kingdom of heaven." He never used them more effectually than during the interval. We see that he is the master of the assembly. He "binds" by decreeing that the Scripture must needs have been fulfilled, and does not so much advise the Church as direct it in the matter of the lot. Nor should we go far astray if we

regarded him as "retaining" the sin of Judas in his words. Passing from that, however, we may say that under the influence of the Spirit the law is given for the quotation of Old-Testament prophecy. There is one allusion to the Holy Spirit in connection with this history which must not be passed over too rapidly. The address of St. Peter to the Christian assembly quotes the Old Testament in a very remarkable way: in a manner for which nothing in the Gospels has quite prepared us, but which gives the law for subsequent quotation. As the expositors of the Acts in this volume aptly say, "Guided by the Holy Spirit St. Peter finds in these words of the two Psalms this especially sad episode in the history of Christ plainly foreshadowed, and discovers in them an injunction to proceed to the election of another to make up the number of the Twelve."

This quiet little note means a great deal. The action of St. Peter during this interval was a very important one: it was either according to the will of the Head of the Church or it was an impatient and premature invasion of the prerogative of the post-pentecostal Church. Many eminent expositors have advocated the view that the choice of Matthias was a mistake, and that St. Paul was the rightful successor of the traitor. In that case the Interval must be regarded as quite without the Holy Ghost, and indeed a blank. But then St. Peter's appeal to His word in the psalm—thus placing the whole matter as it were under the special patronage of the Spirit—forbids such a supposition. No transaction in the New Testament is more authoritative than the filling up of the apostolic company. It was not expedient that at the coming of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost He should find the witnesses of the Christ in a broken member. But at this point we must take up Dr. Bruce once more, and lighten our pages by his vivid descriptions:

"Besides praying, the waiting disciples doubtless spent part of their time in reading the Scriptures. This is not stated; but it may be assumed as a matter of course, and it may also be inferred from the manner in which Peter handled Old-Testament texts in his address to the people on the day of Pentecost. That pentecostal sermon bears marks of previous preparation. It was in one sense an extempore effusion, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but in another it was the fruit of careful study. Peter and his brethren had, without doubt, reperused all those

passages which Jesus had expounded on the evening of the day on which He rose from the dead, and among them that psalm of David, whose words the Apostle quoted in his first Gospel sermon, in support of the doctrine of Christ's resurrection. We may find evidence of the minute, careful attention bestowed on that and other Messianic portions of Scripture in the exactness with which the quotation is given. The four verses of the psalm stand word for word in Peter's discourse as they do in the original text—a fact all the more remarkable that New-Testament speakers and writers do not, as a rule, slavishly adhere to the *ipsissima verba* in their Old-Testament citations, but quote texts somewhat freely.

"The spiritual exercise of those ten days would be further diversified by religious conversation. The reading of Scripture would naturally give rise to comments and queries. The brethren who had been privileged to hear Jesus expound the things which were written in the law and in the prophets and in the psalms concerning Himself on the night of His resurrection day, would not fail to give their fellow believers the benefit of instructions through which their own understandings had been opened. Peter, who was so prompt to propose the election of a new witness to the resurrection of Jesus, would be not less prompt to tell the company in the upper room what the risen Jesus had said about these Old-Testament texts. He would freely speak to *them* of the meaning Jesus taught him to find in the sixteenth Psalm, just as he took the liberty of doing afterwards in addressing the multitude in the streets of Jerusalem. When that psalm had been read, he would say: 'Men and brethren, thus and thus did the Lord Jesus interpret these words;' just as, when the 109th Psalm had been read, he stood up and said: 'Men and brethren, this Scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas: for it is written, Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein; and his bishopric let another take. Wherefore let us choose another to fill his place.'"

But there is no allusion here to that remarkable intimation which St. Luke gives us in the record of this history: that Jesus "gave command to His Apostles by the Holy Ghost." Much has been written about the meaning of these words; but much might have been spared had it been borne in mind that the new dispensation had already as it were begun. It is true that Jesus spoke Himself to them about the things of His kingdom; but it is also true that the Interpreting Spirit was already more than a mere promise, and that He was in fact beginning to reveal inwardly the Saviour's meaning. From the moment when He breathed on them the Holy Ghost, a change passed

over the manner of His communications. He gave commandment "by the Holy Ghost" to His Apostles, even when He was speaking to them in the old familiar tones. The reception and understanding of His words were under new conditions. And it is this which explains the peculiarity of the expression. It had never been said that the Lord was Himself in the Spirit as a teacher. He was not the subject of inspiration Himself; nor were His words the result of any influence of the Spirit upon Him. Now, after the resurrection, the subordinate relation of the Third Person is made emphatic. The Lord by His agency communicated much instruction to His Apostles; and began already to train their minds to the new method of receiving His words.

It was "by the Holy Ghost" that the Lord corrected His disciples' imperfect conceptions concerning His kingdom. Into this subject we cannot now enter; but may say generally that there is no evidence of any such extremely carnal notions in the Apostles' minds as is generally attributed to them. Dr. Bruce goes further than the text warrants when he says that "In this brief question three gross misconceptions are contained. It is assumed that Christ was to reign personally on the earth, a great king, like David. The disciples had no idea whatever of an ascension into heaven. Then the kingdom they expect is merely a national Jewish one. 'Dost Thou,' they ask, 'restore the kingdom to Israel?' Finally, the kingdom looked for by them is political, not spiritual: it is not a new creation, but a kingdom of earth *restored* from a present prostrate condition to former power and splendour." We cannot think that the Apostles were in anything like the state of immaturity which this indicates. Their question, studied under a microscope, discloses nothing more than uncertainty as to the time of the great manifestation which they had been taught to expect. Indeed, that was the only subject which the Lord had left indistinct, concerning which therefore they were likely to ask any question. His long dissertation on the Old-Testament prophecies—which had not been confined to the Emmaus brethren—and the instruction given in connection with the breathing of the Spirit and the commission of the Eleven must have removed every vestige of uncertainty as to the spiritual character of the new kingdom and its extension beyond Israel to the ends of the earth. Moreover, the

question to which we refer, was put by these Apostles after the scene on the mountain in Galilee, when the Lord had assumed His high authority in heaven and earth and sent His Apostles forth to the ends of the world, and given His promise to be present with His servants to the end of the ages. In the light of this truth, how does this interpretation of the Apostles' question appear?

With regard, however, to this and many other topics arising here, the general principle may be laid down that under the guidance and operation of the Holy Ghost already imparted to them, the disciples of Jesus waited for that fuller outpouring in comparison of which all former illapses were what the breathing is to the mighty rushing wind. It was the "spirit of grace and supplication" that sent them to the upper room, and united them in one common feeling of penitent, self-renouncing expectation. Day after day, they meditated upon the past, and refreshed each other's thankful memories. Day after day they mused over the strange and wonderful experience of their own weakness in the presence of their high duties and obligations. They were to be "witnesses of Him;" and yet hardly dared to look out upon the city where their witness was first to be heard. But the days of preparation were brought by the Spirit Himself to their issue: and He was given to the souls whom He had taught to expect Him.

LITERARY NOTICES.

I. THEOLOGICAL.

A RELIGIOUS ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

A Religious Encyclopædia: or Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology. Based on the Real Encyclopædia of Herzog, Plitt and Hanck. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. Vol. I. T. and T. Clark. 1883.

DR. SCHAFF is very bold in undertaking this publication; and, were the work in the hands of any other editor, we should have little confidence as to its success. In his hands, however, we feel sure that it will prosper. As an editor he has every advantage. He was himself one of the contributors to the great Herzog, of which this is a free abridgment; and he is a master of the whole range, or a large part of the whole range, of subjects that belong to an encyclopædia of theology. He has also before his eyes a former failure in a similar enterprise—with which, however, he had nothing to do—and will know what to avoid. And, finally, Dr. Schaff has no experience in failure. He has conducted many great literary schemes, and they are all, generally speaking, acceptable to the public. But our chief reason for auguring well of this publication is that the fund of theology from which this is drawn is a most precious one: no more valuable body of theological knowledge is extant, and two-thirds of what we have here is a faithful reproduction of its treasure. Of course, the reproduction is not a robbery; as the editors of Herzog have been honourably made confederates in this issue. A glance at the list of contributors—drawn from all the Protestant schools and colleges of Europe and America—will satisfy any one that he will have in these volumes a valuable addition to his theological library. A young student cannot set out with better companions than good books of reference. We would advise him to get this as it gradually comes out. With the next volume we hope to be able to speak about it more at length: this little, however, is not said without careful consideration of many of the leading articles.

COMMENTARIES ON THE REVISED NEW TESTAMENT.

A Commentary on the Revised Version of the New Testament
By W. G. Humphry, B.D. Cassell, Petter, Galpin and
Co. 1882.

*The Revised Version of the New Testament: A Critical
Commentary, with Notes upon the Text.* By the Rev. W.
A. Osborne, Rector of Donington. Kegan Paul, Trench
and Co. 1882.

THE literature of the "Revision," which threatens to form a voluminous library in itself, bears witness to the deep interest, both popular and scholarly, with which this confessedly great work is regarded. If there were no other fruit of the anxious and protracted labours of the Jerusalem Chamber, the Revisers might almost be satisfied with the universal attention which their work has excited, and with the devotion to the time-honoured Version [which it proposes to supplement, or even to supersede] which it has evoked. The tenacity with which all classes cling to the very words of the Book which they have been wont to reverence is not in itself an unhealthy symptom; for, if we mistake not, the opposition which the Revised Version has stirred up does not arise out of prejudice against revision, as such; it springs rather from a profound love of the Old Version which cannot brook any divergence from it which is not inexorably necessary.

The vigorous attacks which have been made upon the work of the Revisers,—some of them undoubtedly transgressing the limits of fair and generous criticism,—must not be allowed to discount the value of their labours as a whole. The charge of an undue bias in favour of certain manuscripts, even if it could be sustained, would relate to but a limited number of passages. The Revisers themselves would probably be the first to admit that not a few of their renderings are inferior in rhythm to those which they displace, and that in some instances they have not been strictly faithful to the canons which they themselves laid down at the outset of their work. But if all the objections of even the most hostile criticism were admitted, the Revised Version would furnish an overwhelming balance of invaluable contributions towards a faithful and well-nigh infallible translation of the Sacred Text.

The volume prepared by Mr. Humphry, a distinguished member of the Revision Committee, is a very admirable complement to the Committee's work. In his Preface he modestly proposes "to provide a companion for the English reader who studies the *Revised Version of the New Testament*, with a view to his edifica-

tion and instruction." Such a reader, as Mr. Humphry assumes, "will sometimes fail to discover the reason or the significance of the change that has been made in the Version." The object, therefore, of this work is to supply the reader's lack of critical insight, and to show him that the changes made are demanded by fidelity to the original text, and are not the outcome either of pedantry, or of a mere desire for change. We venture to think that Mr. Humphry has not appraised his labours at their true value. He has laid even scholarly readers under great obligations, not only by calling attention to the more conspicuous changes which have been made in the Version, but by the sound critical information which he has furnished. The worth of the volume is considerably enhanced by a commentary on the more difficult passages. Many of Mr. Humphry's expositions and illustrations are remarkably terse and felicitous.

Our readers cannot do better than read this book for themselves. It will shed much light, not only on the work of the Revisers, but on obscure passages of the Sacred Word. It will introduce them to many of the quaint readings of the earlier English versions, and show "the changes which have taken place in our language during the long period over which they extend." And it will strengthen the conviction that no change, either in the Greek Text or the English Version, which can be defended on critical grounds can impair in any degree a single article of the faith. "The doctrine" says Mr. Humphry, "is all the stronger, all the more impregnable, because the confident statements of assailants have been refuted, and the misgivings of half-hearted believers, so far as they were countenanced by discrepancies in the MSS., and imperfections in the Version, have now, we may hope, been for ever set at rest."

A few illustrations, selected at a venture from the four Gospels, will serve as specimens of Mr. Humphry's style. "Matt. v. 21. *It was said to them of old time.* Auth., *by them*, following Beza, *dictum est a veteribus.* All previous versions, following Vulg., with Chrysostom, &c., *to them.* The Greek is in itself ambiguous: but the meaning is decided by the consideration that the Commandments which follow were given, not by sundry lawgivers or teachers, but by one, by Moses to the Israelites: and the anti-thesis may be thus expanded: 'This was said by Moses to them of old time: but I say unto you.' Both the pronouns (especially 'I') are here emphatic in the Greek. Moreover, the Greek ἐπεὶ in the New Testament and in the LXX. is not followed by a noun describing the speaker, but by one which (as here) denotes the persons addressed (comp. Rom. ix. 12, 26). Thus at the very outset of His ministry our Lord assumes Divine authority, not speaking in the manner of the Scribes, the servile expounders of Rabbinical tradition, but taking upon Himself to

enlarge and spiritualise the law given by Moses under inspiration from God."

"Matt. vi. 10. *As in heaven, so on earth.* Auth., *in earth, as it is in heaven.* The Greek order is followed. There is much diversity in the earlier versions. Vulg., *sicut in cælo, et in terra*, according to the Greek order, is followed by Rhem. only. The inverted order is that of Wycliffe and Tyndal. The Greek order emphasises the last words, *so on earth*: the Auth. throws the stress on *as it is in heaven*, and suggests, as the meaning of the petition, 'May Thy will be done on earth as perfectly as it is done in heaven;' whereas the true meaning according to the Greek is, 'May Thy will which is done in heaven be done on earth also,' no comparison being implied as to the manner in which it is done: the connecting particles being *as* (ὡς, not καθὼς) in heaven, *also* (καί, not οὐτως) on earth. It is worthy of notice that *heaven* appears in the Greek as a plural at the beginning of the prayer, and here in the singular."

Not a little light is shed by Mr. Humphry's note on the very difficult and, indeed, unintelligible passage as given in the Authorised Version of Matt. xv. 5. "This verse has been relieved of the obscurity in which it is involved by the rendering and interpretation of the Authorised:—(1) By a different arrangement of the first part of the sentence; (2) By the insertion in italics of the words *to God*, 'is given *to God*,' these words being supplied from the parallel passage of St. Mark vii. 11, 12, where the word is not, as here, the Greek δῶρον, 'a gift,' but the Hebrew *Korban*, meaning that which is dedicated to God's service; (3) By a change in the Greek text of verse 6, giving this as the meaning, 'he shall not honour his father,' instead of 'and honour not his father and his mother; *he shall be free.*' The pretence of the son is that what he might have given for the benefit of his parents he has already dedicated to God's service; and the Pharisees said, anyone alleging such a prior dedication should be excused from the observance of the fifth commandment—he should *not* honour his father. Thus for the sake of their tradition they allowed the law of God to be set aside."

After citing the overwhelming critical authority for the revised text and rendering of Luke ii. 14, *and on earth peace among men in whom He is well pleased*, Mr. Humphry adds, "The change of the text, slight as it is, involves a great change of rendering and interpretation, and throws some obscurity on one of the most joyous passages in the Bible. Yet even the loss of a familiar rhythm and a delightful assurance may be more than compensated by the belief that we know better than we did what was the real utterance of the heavenly host, and the exact meaning of the joyful tidings which they proclaimed. And we may remember that by accepting it we are only adopting the form which has

always been current in the version and liturgy of the Western Church." In the same spirit is Mr. Humphry's criticism on the passage, John xvii. 2, *That whatsoever Thou hast given Him, to them, &c.* "'Whatsoever' (Greek $\pi\alpha\nu\ \delta$) is said of the whole body of the believers, "to them," i.e., the individuals of whom the body consists. So Rhem., following Vulg., *ut omne quod dedisti ei, det eis vitam eternam.* Auth., with Tyndale, 'that he should give eternal life to as many as Thou hast given him,' a paraphrase which does indeed avoid the rugged phrase of the original, while it seems at first sight to convey the full meaning of it; but even the rugged phrase is dear to one who thinks by whom and on what occasion it was used; and it becomes still more precious when he perceives what the full meaning really is, the Father has 'given,' has made over to the Son, the whole body of believers, and to each of them, one by one, the Son gives eternal life."

The above specimens will furnish but an imperfect idea of a book which we have studied with much pleasure, and which we can confidently commend. We have only to suggest that in future editions there should be more careful editorial revision; and as the work has been prepared mainly for English readers, it would be well to extend the very brief paragraph which is allotted to the Greek MSS. of the New Testament.

Mr. Osborne's *Commentary* on the Revised Version is constructed on totally different lines. It is professedly critical, and is intended rather for scholars than for the general reader. It seems that the author, a former Head Master of Rossall School, began some forty years ago "to collect materials for a revised translation of the New Testament." His work was nearly completed when he heard, in Germany, of the forthcoming publication of the Committee of Revisers. Though naturally disappointed by the necessity of sacrificing the labour of years, he was so delighted with the work of the Revisers, which he regarded as "so precious an aid to the study of the Holy Scriptures," that his disappointment was scarcely regretted. He was struck "with the greater accuracy of the text and the wonderful fidelity of many of the renderings;" he "felt proud of the triumph of English scholarship" as displayed "by felicitous alterations in full accordance with the best authorities," and, as attack after attack was made upon the Revisers, he had no difficulty in ascribing all hostile criticism either to "gross exaggeration, or a curious ignorance of the idioms of the Greek and Hebrew languages." But this exultation was only short-lived. A closer study of the Revised Version discovered serious shortcomings. "Every perusal brought to light inaccuracies or inconsistencies," betraying "the absence of the one master mind, which should have moulded discordant counsels into an harmonious whole;" grave faults were revealed in the shape of a too implicit dependence on the Sinaitic and Vatican Codices, the intrusion of

spurious marginal readings, needless transpositions, "inconsistencies as to tenses, articles, prepositions," and the lack of "the glorious cadences" which distinguished the genius of Tyndale. Yet even these he would have been content to condone as "but trivial blemishes," if the Committee had been satisfied to regard its work as simply a contribution towards an Authorised Version of the future. But he cannot forgive the claim which he assumes that the Committee has put forth, that of superseding "our incomparable version," and he avows his conviction that not until "the Avatar of some divine like Tyndale," some one individual in whom may be found "the triple character of poet, prophet, and divine," can any revision be realised which shall be worthy to take the place of the venerable version which our fathers produced.

In the meanwhile he puts forth this volume as a contribution, "not to the superstructure, but the foundation only of some future edifice." Not a few of his suggestions are scholarly and valuable; and if his book had been published ten years earlier, it might have been of service. His renderings are in the main exact and literal; and this, perhaps, is their fault; for a literal rendering of the Greek text must necessarily be fatal to any version. But there are many terms and phrases in Mr. Osborne's book which will never commend themselves to English readers. Such, for instance, are "the anxiety of the age," for "the care of this world," "a wine-drinker" for "a wine-bibber," "deniers" for "pence," "dumfounded" for "speechless," "the cross-roads of the highways" for "highways," "birthpangs" for "travail," "the whole cohort" for "the whole band," "but he, showing umbrage" for "and he was sad," "a more excessive condemnation" for "greater damnation," "breathed His last" for "gave up the ghost," "spawn" for "generation," "be contented with your billets" instead of "your wages," "senseless one" for "thou fool," "enjoying himself gloriously" for "faring sumptuously," "ten minæ" for "ten talents," "grammar" for "letters," "sacristan" for "temple-keeper" (A. V. "worshipper"), "refitted our equipment" for "took up our carriages" (or baggage), "so I box" for "so fight I," "incongruously yoked" for "unequally yoked," "towards his bed-rod" for "upon the top of his staff," "parallax of revolution" for "shadow of turning." It will be long, too, before well-known texts will give way to such renderings as "with much of my capital I acquired this citizenship," or "Jesus I recognise and Paul I know," or "but a greater than these two is the love," or "already tempted in all respects in a similitude." But apart from these blemishes Mr. Osborne's volume is worthy of careful study. Its spirit throughout is devout and reverent and modest, and all will join in his desire that "every humble effort to restore the pure Word of God, or make its meaning plainer" may be "received without abuse or acrimony," seeing that all,

whether scholars or divines, "are labouring to build only on the same foundation—gold, silver, costly stones, perhaps worse, hay and stubble."

GESTA CHRISTI.

Gesta Christi: or, A History of Humane Progress under Christianity. By C. Loring Brace. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

THIS is in every way a good book—subject, treatment, style, matter, aim are alike excellent. The author's aim is to illustrate the beneficent action of Christianity in the various spheres of human life. For this purpose he divides the whole period since the Christian era into three periods—the Roman, mediæval, and modern—and exhibits the influence of Christianity on the various branches of morality and classes of society. He is well versed in the literature of the subject; the questions requiring legal knowledge are treated with special intelligence; the style is quiet and scholarly. The fact that the author "has been engaged for some thirty years in a practical application of the principles of Christianity, with the view of curing certain great social evils in the city of New York," brings him into thorough sympathy with his theme. At the same time he is on his guard against exaggeration, which is the special peril of sympathy. In seeking "to show what Christianity has done for the world," he does not forget that "many influences, material, moral, and intellectual, have combined to effect the advance of the race in morality and humanity." A precise estimate of what is due to these several factors is impossible, but it is needless. After every deduction has been made, the argument for the Divine power inherent in Christianity is overwhelming. The present work is indirectly a most powerful apology of a practical kind, based not on argument, but on indisputable facts. The author's aim is only apologetic in the second place. His primary interest is in the subject itself. Any inference in the direction of Christian apology is left to the reader. Let us add that the work is a finished work. There is no trace of haste or crudeness. The studies and working experience of many years are embodied in it. We should find it difficult to speak too highly of the work, or to commend it too strongly to all friends of Christianity and their kind.

The chief points dealt with in the Roman period are—Restraint of Excessive Parental Power, Position of Woman, Slavery, Exposure of Children, Distribution of Property: in the Middle Ages—Position of Woman, Feudal Wars, Ordeals and Duels, Torture, Rights of Strangers, Piracy, Education, Serfdom and Slavery, Chivalry: in Modern Days—Position of Woman, Divorce, Inter-

national Law, Slavery, Duelling, Prison Reform, Co-operation and Pauperism, Free Trade, Intemperance, Persecution. It will be seen that several important subjects recur in the several periods. The influence of Christianity on the position and character of woman may be regarded as the chief topic of the book. Slavery also is treated with great fulness. The chapters dealing with these topics are full of information brought together from sources not readily accessible to ordinary readers; but the field they open is so wide that we must pass them by.

The point to which we would draw attention, and which is amply illustrated in the present volume, is the wisdom shown by the Christian Church in its conflict with the reigning evils of different periods. It never went in for extreme measures of reform by outward means. It preferred restraint to prohibition, and trusted rather to gradual improvement than to violent remedies. The wisdom shown by the early Church in dealing with slavery has often been imitated since in other matters. The Apostles and their successors did not openly denounce the system. The times were not ripe for this. The condemnation was much more implied than expressed; but, at the same time, truths were sedulously taught and convictions created which insured the fall of the system in the end. The same policy has been pursued with equal success on other questions. There was no more prominent feature of mediæval life than its violence. Private wars, duels, blood feuds, private revenge were universal and apparently inveterate. Europe was one unbroken scene of strife and outrage. The way in which Christianity sought to temper and check the evil was by getting fines substituted for blows, by forbidding strife at certain periods and in certain places, and by encouraging arbitration. Some of the regulations in force may seem strange to us; but it was no little triumph to secure even a temporary or local truce in a state of universal war. Undoubtedly the chief power in the final suppression of private feuds and wars was the erection of strong governments able to control the turbulence of chiefs and nobles who had hitherto figured as independent princes. Hence arose the highly centralised governments which were universal in Europe down to very recent days. In condemning the tyranny into which they degenerated we ought not to forget the services which they rendered in their earlier days. But our present point is, that before these governments had acquired power and were able to enforce the supremacy of law, Christianity was the sole restraint on the passions of barbarous peoples. Modern philanthropists would do well to study the moderation of the past, and to temper the ardour of zeal with the patience of faith. We are convinced that this is the right way to deal with the evil of war. In a very interesting chapter our author measures the ground that has been gained in this respect. The difference

between ancient and modern wars on the score of humanity is immense. William Rufus cut off the hands and feet of his Welsh prisoners; the Emperor Barbarossa had his prisoners shot from military engines. Poisoned weapons were used down to the fifteenth century. It is needless to point out in detail what progress has been made with respect to the treatment of the wounded and of private persons and property. It is singular that America has hitherto refused to sanction the abolition of privateering, although she was ready enough to enforce excessive damages against Great Britain for the outrages of the *Alabama*. The inviolability of private property at sea during war has not yet been agreed to. No doubt it would seem a strange contradiction for a nation to be at war in one respect and at peace in another. But war itself is an anachronism and a dishonour to Christian nations. Our chief hope at present is in the extension of the principle of arbitration. Although inapplicable in extreme cases, it is perfectly practicable in the majority of cases which hitherto have been settled by the sword. Our author states the standing armies of Europe cost £600,000,000 a year; and this enormous loss is the least evil of the present state of things.

We again commend the present work to our readers, remarking that the story of progress achieved in the past is full of encouragement to all who are labouring in the cause of humanity, peace, temperance, and purity.

JUBILEE LECTURES.

Jubilee Lectures: A Historical Series delivered on the Occasion of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.
With an Introductory Chapter. Two Vols. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

BESIDES their immediate purpose as a memorial, these volumes will long serve as a statement of Congregational principles and an epitome of Congregational history. Like the recent St. Giles's lectures on the history of the Scotch Church, they give ordinary readers as much information respecting the aims and history of Congregationalism as they have time or occasion for. The English work is much more complete and polemical than its Scotch companion. The latter is exclusively historical, whereas the *Jubilee Lectures*, although styled a "Historical Series," are just as strongly marked by the apologetic or even aggressive element. The "introductory chapter" by Dr. Fairbairn is a professed vindication of the Independent idea of the Church. The pugnacious tone, using the word in no offensive sense, present in so many of the lectures, is very characteristic and interesting. The

reader is thankful when he is not the mark of such blows dealt by such strong, skilful hands. Let us say once for all that the conspicuous and uniform ability of the volume is worthy alike of the writers, the theme, and the occasion. We may perhaps be forgiven for remarking that the only topic absent from the volume is the "Union," of which the volume is a jubilee memorial.

It is not a little significant that Independents, like modern Episcopalians and Presbyterians, abandon the argument from the authority of the New Testament. In former days it was otherwise. Each of the three types of church polity pleaded *jus divinum* for itself. Now these systems are justified on grounds of reason and expediency. The argument of Bishop Lightfoot in his notable essay is very different from the arguments of his predecessors. The same change of ground is clearly apparent on the Independent side. Dr. Dale says, "Most modern Congregationalists would decline to rest the argument for Congregationalism on precedents recorded in the Acts of the Apostles or on texts quoted from the Epistles. We prefer to find the laws of ecclesiastical polity in the laws of spiritual life, in the objects for which Christian churches exist, in the central principles of the teaching of Christ." Dr. Fairbairn in the "introductory chapter" takes precisely the same line. This change of front is matter of rejoicing. In principle the advocates of the three systems occupy similar ground, and so far come nearer each other. The result must be a lessening of bitterness and growth of charity impossible before. Dr. Fairbairn's argument for Independency is drawn solely from its supposed conformity to the genius of Christianity, and its necessity in order to the realisation of the highest forms of Christian life. These are very intelligible and noble arguments. Far be it from us to characterise them as vague. Still it is evident that their cogency is largely subjective, and depends on the right apprehension of the truths and facts entering into the question. Dr. Fairbairn maintains the necessity of Congregational association, or at least of association, in order to the formation of the highest type of Christian life. He rejects the notion of individualism, which some might think the logical outcome of Independency. But why fix the limits of association at the congregation? Surely it is but a narrow type of character that is exhibited on such an area. Does civil organisation stop at the municipal community? Is it not precisely the more complex problems which emerge in the larger organisation that call forth the highest powers of human nature, powers that find no scope on the smaller field? We are surprised to find such a broad statement as the following: "Ecclesiastical polities that build congregations into a corporate system, into a uniform and centralised body-politic, must be intolerant." Why should this be more true of "ecclesiastical" than of civil polities? It may be true of "ecclesiastical polities" that

claim divine, infallible authority ; but the intolerance then is the result of the special claim, which is no part of the polity. Intolerance is no more a necessary consequence of a "corporate system" based on reason and convenience, than of a congregational system based on reason and convenience. The essay dwells much on the analogy between Independency and the political life of the ancient Greek cities. The type of character fostered by those little independent republics of old is extolled as the highest conceivable. We should certainly join issue with the writer on that point. We conceive that the English citizen and statesman stand on a far higher plane than the Athenian citizen and statesman. A mind dealing with such limited interests necessarily contracts narrowness and hardness ; and these are patent defects, as it seems to us, in the old Greek life. If association on the large scale cramps development, why not on the small scale ? If association on the small scale is essential to development of character, and so is a good, must it not be a greater good on the large scale ? Why glorify individualism up to a certain point, and then suddenly drop it ? Dr. Dale says in his lecture, "The possible is hardly worth living for. It is the ideal that kindles enthusiasm and gives inspiration and vigour to all human effort." What is the ideal ? The perfection of the individual. Very good. What then is the use of the congregational fellowship ? It is a means towards the perfecting of the individual. Very good. Then must not the larger fellowship be a still more effective means to this end, or at all events develop a higher ideal of perfection ? Ought the Christian Church to provide means for satisfying the desire for fellowship in its highest forms, or satisfy this desire up to a certain point, and then leave its members to seek wider and nobler forms of fellowship outside itself ? Really, Dr. Fairbairn's argument would make the very simple, undeveloped society of the early Church the law for all time—that is, perpetuate the tribal or village governments of the earliest ages. He argues strongly that the episcopal system was an aberration *in toto* from the first, an aberration resulting in part from Jewish and in part from Gentile tendencies. Its abuses and excesses were aberrations, but we see no reason to affirm this of the institution itself. We cannot affirm that episcopacy *per se* is incompatible with the spirit of the Christian religion. We have no doubt that an Episcopalian Fairbairn or Allon or Dale on like abstract grounds could show good reasons to the contrary. But we gladly bring criticism to an end. Dr. Fairbairn's argument against the Episcopacy of the sacerdotal school is very powerful and conclusive. Recognising in Congregationalism a system at deadly feud with Sacerdotalism, we desire with all our hearts to see it strong and vigorous.

Our remarks have borne principally on the "introductory

chapter." The pictures of the several historical periods are drawn by experienced hands. Dealing with such familiar subjects, Drs. Dale, Allon, Stoughton, Kennedy, and their fellow-workers could not be other than successful. Dr. Allon is very severe on Laud, but we are inclined to think that he does well to be angry. His lecture may prove an antidote to Mozley's essay. The lectures do not always confine themselves as strictly to the period marked out by their subject as desirable. Each one seems ready, even anxious, to tell the whole story from the beginning. Browne and Barrow, Burroughs's *Irenicum*, and Edwards's *Gangraena* frequently reappear on the stage. Mr. Baldwin Brown in his vigorous and eloquent lecture on "The Struggle for Civil Liberty in the Georgian Era" strives hard to throw off the fetters imposed by his subject. Beginning with "our German forefathers" he traces the stream of liberty down its whole course, treating of the Georgian Era in the later pages. The subject of Mr. Mackennal's lecture, "The Evangelical Revival in the Georgian Era, and its Effect on the Development of the Free Church Principle," is very tempting to us. We will content ourselves with saying that the lecture is full of knowledge and generous appreciation.

BOWNE'S METAPHYSICS.

Metaphysics. A Study in First Principles. By Borden P. Bowne, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. Sampson Low. 1882.

THE name of Professor Bowne will probably be new to many of our readers, and to some the title of this book will sound anything but attractive. Notwithstanding, we can assure all who are interested in theology, and do not shrink from a little patient thought, that they will find in these pages what will amply repay their most careful perusal. As we know, "no problem emerges in theology which has not first emerged in philosophy," and in the treatment of those important topics which lie on the borderland of philosophy and theology, few more suggestive books than the present have, in our judgment, appeared for some time. At least, this is true for English readers, inasmuch as a large part of the subject matter here presented cannot be new to readers of German philosophy. But Professor Bowne has so handled his material as to make it in the fullest sense his own, and he presents it in a form free from the laboured German phraseology and style which so often repels English students. Of his speculations we are told, "Leibnitz furnishes the starting point, Herbart supplies the method, and the conclusions reached are essentially those of Lotze. I have reached them, for the most part, by strictly inde-

pendent reflection; but, so far as their character is concerned, there would be no great misrepresentation in calling them Lotzian." It is an advantage which many will appreciate to have presented to them in an interesting but at the same time carefully reasoned and thoroughly scientific form the results reached by such a thinker as Lotze. No more able philosophical advocate of Theism in this generation is known to us, while his conclusions are those of one eminent for his attainments in physical, chiefly physiological, science.

And there can be little doubt that the lack of a sound metaphysical system lies at the bottom, not only of crude popular errors, but of the graver errors of so-called "scientists" who decry metaphysics. "The pretended repudiation of metaphysics always has the practical result of assuming without criticism a very definite system of metaphysics—generally, a materialistic fatalism." And in vain does "common sense" endeavour to remedy the defect by falling back on an unreasoned and unreasonable system based on phenomena as perceived by the senses. "The senses have the same function in philosophy which they have in science, namely, to furnish the raw material for the mind's activity." And till that activity has been so exercised as to rationalise our sense-experiences, so as to express the true nature and relation of things, we cannot expect to be free on the one hand from popular theological crudities and confusions, and on the other from the unwarrantable assumptions of materialists and associational psychologists. We emphasise the theological bearings of this subject, because in our estimation the religious conflict of the day with agnostics of all kinds is to be fought out on the metaphysical battle-ground. And we are glad to commend as a companion, if not in quite all respects a guide, Professor Bowne as an English representative of Lotze. In our brief notice of his book, we shall attempt to give our readers some idea of his views of Being, drawn from the first Part, headed "Ontology;" and then further define his relation to other thinkers by quoting from a chapter towards the close of the third Part, which deals with Psychology. For the rest, and especially the writer's views of space and time, his refutation of the mechanical theory of life, which we find in the cosmology of the second Part, we must refer to the book itself.

Our aim is to understand reality. But this must be as it appears in thought; reality, as it does not appear in thought, is unknowable in the nature of the case. The only rational aim of the knowing mind must be to find not what the real is apart from thought, but the universal predicates of the real in thought. Hence, truth cannot be viewed as the correspondence of thought and thing, but as the universally valid in our thought of the thing. A knowledge of "things in themselves" can only mean a know-

ledge which shall be universally valid. The sceptic assumes that thought is second in knowledge, not first, and then being is allowed to challenge thought to know it. But in knowledge being appears as an hypothesis, posited by thought to explain our rational experience. But to posit something out of relation to intelligence gives us only a swelling sound, empty of the slightest substance. The subjectivity of thought then does not prevent it from comprehending being, because the latter must admit of rational determination, if it is to be affirmed at all.

Let us proceed then to "work-over our notion," as Herbart would say, of being, taking everything as it seems to be, and making only such changes as are necessary to bring our views into harmony with themselves. The confidence of reason in itself is a universal fact of mind, not to be groundlessly distrusted; the notions of common sense are to be modified only so far as reason itself may prescribe. This is just what physics does in its department, and if we have to depart somewhat widely from our provisional assumptions, we shall not be distinguishing between appearance and reality in any other way than does the Copernican theory of astronomy when it overthrows entirely popular views of the heavenly bodies, or the undulatory theory of light when it posits an invisible, imponderable ether. Our first concern must be to get rid of the phantom of "pure being," which arises from mistaking a logical concept for a real existence. Only the definite and specific can exist in reality. And if it could exist it would be useless, for the notion of being when found must contain the ground and explanation of all manifestation. Being as indefinite and undetermined contains no ground for the definite and determined manifestation. But clear as this may seem, this notion of pure, undetermined being has haunted philosophy from speculations of early Greek thinkers to the "substance" of Spinoza, and the phantom is not exorcised yet.

The next step is to show that being is *cause*, and the only mark of distinction between being and non-being is a *power of action* of some sort. Here the common-sense objection about passive being is met, and the latter shown to be a misleading abstraction from our physical experience. The above conclusion is in harmony with the most enlightened results of physical investigation, which show that "materiality is but the phenomenal product of a dynamism beneath it." And further, we have no right to separate between power and being, or to think of power as a something inherent in being. The reality is always an agent; "being and action are inseparable; to be is to act; the inactive is non-existent." While this view cannot be pictured, and will seem impossible to those who think only in sense-images, it must be thought, and reason shows "the inert core of rigid reality to be a useless and baseless fiction."

Another similar train of thought shows us that the nature of things is not explicable according to the common sense view of an enduring, changeless substance whose qualities are its changing states ; a changeless substance affords no explanation of changing states. The thing changes constantly, and changes in its absolute totality. The only identity, therefore—such is what will appear to many the startling conclusion reached—to be found in impersonal things is the identity of law, and “*in personality or the self-conscious spirit we find the only union of change and permanence, or of identity and diversity.*” If by being we mean something which unites identity and diversity, we must say that the personal only is able to fill out the notion of a thing. Instead of interpreting personality from the side of ontology, we must interpret ontology from the side of personality. In our self-consciousness and memory we have the revelation and the proof of a continuity of being altogether different from the mere identity of law which is all that is discoverable in impersonal being. We pass of necessity over the arguments used to show that what may seem to us to be interaction between independent things is not really such, the independence being apparent, not real, and the plurality of things becomes reduced to a dependence upon one all-embracing being, which is the unity of the many. “An interacting many cannot coexist without a co-ordinating one”—the Infinite. The true nature of the Infinite is then proved in opposition to Spinoza, Hegel, and Spencer to be free, personal, and intelligent, in one of the most interesting chapters of the book.

Here we begin to obtain glimpses of daylight. The common-sense view has, by a chain of reasoning, of which very imperfect indication has been given here, passed from our grasp. Its elements have one after another dissolved and disappeared, and, instead of a rigid core of substance called matter, with its changing qualities, in unintelligible relation with another substance called spirit, we have the immanent action of one fundamental being, the Infinite, which does not exclude the coexistence of the finite, but is its self-sufficient source. If the world has vanished then under the action of this potent elenchus, do we vanish also ? Is nothing but the Infinite real ? Not so, answers our author, the infinite and the finite consciousness. But how do we arrive at these ? Why do they not melt in the crucible along with the rest ? My personal consciousness may suffice as testimony to the reality of my own existence, but why do I believe in the existence of others like myself ? “The true reason can be found neither in psychology nor in metaphysics, but only in ethics. Our belief rests ultimately upon the conviction that it would be morally unbecoming on the part of God to subject us to any such measureless and systematic deceit. We conclude then (1) that the infinite is more certainly known than the objective finite ; (2) perception is

essentially a revelation by the infinite to the finite ; and (3) faith in the revelation must be based on an ethical faith in the revelator" (p. 458). This faith in the Revealer does not compel us to believe in the commonsense view of material substance with changing states, because that has been shown to contradict reason, and, indeed, to imply self-contradictions. But the result of our inquiry into the nature of being is to bring us face to face with this as the ultimate rational system or order of things. An Infinite, shown to be free, personal, intelligent, good ; and finite consciousness, real agents, posited by the Infinite in creation. *Impersonal finite agents have vanished in the analysis.* "As impersonal, such an agent would have no subjective activity, and as dependent it has no objective activity ; thus the notion vanishes into zero."

Our remarks have been mere hints as to what may be found in this book ; neither the arguments on which these views are founded, nor the consequences implied in them, can be judged of from these few words. Professor Bowne, however, shows at some length in his third part how his "phenomenalism" differs from Berkeley and subjective idealism. He has not been endeavouring to show that the world is a gigantic fiction, but "a proper universal. It exists not in finite thought alone, but in the infinite thought and infinite volition. For us space is as real as the phenomena in it, and these in turn are as real as the space in which they appear. Both alike are subjective ; but both alike are universal, in that they are phases of the thought-side of reality, and are valid for all intelligence from the particular standpoint" (p. 477, or again, p. 453).

"Three views are possible concerning the object in perception. We may regard it (1) as a thing in the common meaning of the term ; (2) as a phenomenon of an objective fact of some kind ; and (3) as only an effect in us." The first is common sense, proved self-contradictory ; the third is subjective idealism ; the second is the view of Professor Bowne, and the "objective fact of some kind" is the action of the infinite (spirit).

We can easily see the bearing of these speculations on modern theological discussions. As we are reminded in the preface, "Of late years the impression has widely prevailed that the belief in God and freedom exists only by sufferance, so that if logic were allowed to have its way, this belief would soon be beyond the reach of hope and mercy. Not sharing this conviction," Professor Bowne says, "Although it is said to have the fullest endorsement of the spirit of the times, I have rather sought to show that the truth of this belief is a matter of life and death to all philosophy and rational science." And, without committing ourselves to all the writer's arguments and conclusions, we thank him for an able work, and advise all thinkers and teachers who hold the belief in

God and freedom to be a "matter of life and death," for the spiritual welfare of the human race, to read what Dr. Bowne has to say about its philosophical and scientific basis.

BOVET'S EGYPT, PALESTINE, AND PHŒNICIA.

Egypt, Palestine, and Phœnicia : A Visit to Sacred Lands. By Felix Bovet.

THIS book has been translated from the French by Canon Lyttleton in a time of illness. It is commended to English readers by a letter from Professor Godet, the popular commentator, who gives a brief account of the author's career as a student, writer, professor of French literature, and afterwards as a professor of Hebrew, also for forty years his own personal friend. The works of F. Bovet are not known in this country, though the volume before us has had a successful circulation for twenty-five years, having passed through eight French editions, and been translated into German, Swedish, Dutch, and Italian. A volume with such an introduction, author, and antecedents to some extent disarms criticism. We are prepossessed at once in its favour and anxious to know the secret of its success. The book is an account of a tour—or rather a pilgrimage—which commences at Marseilles and ends at Beyrout. Bovet is a worthy successor to the Frenchman of the fourth century who contributed the earliest piece of literature we possess of this class, and who is generally known as the Pilgrim of Bordeaux. He did not go out as a discoverer so much as a devotee. From his early years he had longed with an earnestness of desire, characteristic of faithful Jews, to see Jerusalem. Thus we have not the production of a phlegmatic philosopher, but of an enthusiastic pilgrim. His scholarship and devoutness make old things, which would be dry and dead in the pages of many, like Aaron's rod, green and living. It is the spirit of this writer which gives life to what is related, rather than startling experiences and hair-breadth escapes. Sometimes his religious sentiments make him pardonably sympathetic with superstitious customs and practices which are professedly expressions of devotion to sacred sites and events. He sees something to admire in the dance of the Egyptian dervishes (p. 57), and in the ceremony of the tapers lit by fire from heaven every Easter eve in the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem (p. 217). Bovet's reverence for the Holy City may be inferred from his own words. He says: "I know that I am coming near Jerusalem, and I am vexed to find myself unfit to feel the delight I have so often promised myself at that sight. All on a sudden, however, after passing over a little dip in the ground, I catch sight, at not more

than ten minutes' distance at most, of the embattled walls and cupolas of Jerusalem; my emotion conquers my fatigue. The impression made upon me surpasses all that I had imagined. My eyes fill with tears. My first feeling was a kind of softening of the heart, that indescribable mixture of admiration and of pathos, which is inspired by the sight of that which one loves. Here, then, lies before me that poor little town which has felt itself greater than all the greatest things of the earth, and has recognised itself as the principal city of the world! That city which was so much loved by David, which Jesus so much loved, and in which Jesus suffered for the sins of the whole world, and for my sins" (p. 113). This lofty spiritual tone pervades the book, and will give to religious readers inspirations rarely met with in books of travel. Even where we cannot agree with the author, we acknowledge a charming freshness and fragrance which led Godet to speak of this book as an unwithering flower which had been gathered in Palestine.

We regret that this work should have appeared so late as to be placed at a great disadvantage in the English market. M. F. Bovet does not tell us much of the manners and customs of the Maltese, Egyptians, Palestinians, and Phœnicians, which has not been well said many times by English and American authors, since his book first appeared. And it cannot be said that he adds to our knowledge of sacred topography and archæology. Moreover, it would be very misleading to suppose that the picture in this book is altogether one of the present; it is rather of twenty-five years ago. For instance, he speaks of Jerusalem having no suburbs (p. 144), but three years ago, when Sir Charles Wilson visited the city, he said that the suburbs had become almost as extensive as the city within the walls. The East, which continued as it was for 2,000 years is being quickly changed by European influence, and even Palestine, notoriously conservative, is feeling the power of Western civilisation in dress, manners, and architecture.

But if Bovet has nothing new to say upon one class of subjects, there is another, that of Biblical interpretation and illustration, to which he has made some valuable contributions. How instructive is the following account of carrying a key: "It is usual in the East to lean one's key on one's shoulder, as a sapper carries his axe. This custom, which I used to notice as I passed, became very interesting to me when, some time after, I read this prophecy of Isaiah, 'The key of the house of David will I lay on his shoulder; so that he shall open and none shall shut; and he shall shut and none shall open.'" This expression would be unintelligible without a knowledge of this custom which Bovet met with at Acre. We are also indebted to the author's Hebrew scholarship for new light shed upon some obscure passages of the Old

Testament. One instance has reference to the deliverance of the Galileans from the obscurity which characterises their history in the Old Testament, and from their religious disadvantages when compared with the people of Judæa. "Galilee was to have its turn; the last were to become first in the kingdom of God. The obscure shores of the lake of Gennesaret had been reserved in the counsels of Providence to become one day the native land of the Gospel. So that the prophecy fulfils itself. 'As the earlier ages left the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali without honour, so will the later cover with glory the way that goes from the sea to beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations.'"

We cannot follow Bovet so readily when he discusses questions of sacred topography and archæology. The revelations of the pickaxe and shovel since he wrote have been so many and important, as we may see by opening Warren's *Underground Jerusalem*, or *The Temple and the Tomb*, that his presentation of the questions as to the walls of Jerusalem, the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and of Hezekiah's Pool, is necessarily very imperfect. Statements as to the position of Bethlehem are far from correct. He says (p. 271), "Bethlehem stands at a level three hundred feet higher than Jerusalem." But according to the recent survey of the locality it is forty-three feet lower than Jerusalem. It is also stated that Bethlehem is surrounded by hills lower than itself. But Râs-esh-Sherifeh, on the south-west, is more than seven hundred feet higher, and Beit Jala, immediately on the west, has an elevation higher by one hundred and forty feet. Our author also takes the well at the junction of the Kidron and Hinnom valleys, commonly called Bir Ayoub, for the En Rogel of the book of Joshua. But *Ain*—the bubbling spring—could never be correctly applied to a hole dug or bored in the earth, like that which is called the Well of Joab. It is true that *Ain* is ten times translated *well* in the Authorised Version, but incorrectly so. The only known *Ain* or spring near Jerusalem is that now called The Fountain of the Virgin, which supplies the Pool of Siloam, and if taken as the ancient En Rogel more reasonably meets all the requirements of Old Testament history.

There are also several historical events which seem to us seriously misplaced by Bovet. He says (p. 295) that there is no doubt that Ain Kârim was Elizabeth's principal home, and that John the Baptist was born there. But there is no reason to suppose that Ain Kârim was the site of a priestly city in which it is most likely Zacharias would reside. Either Jutta, or Hebron, between which the opinions of Biblical scholars are generally divided, has much stronger claims to be considered the birthplace of the Baptist.

The tradition that the fight of David with Goliath took place not far from Ain Kârim is accepted by Bovet. But tradition in

this must not be trusted, for it has also placed the fight in the valley of Jezreel, hence the name of the river which flows by Beisan, Nahr Jalud, *i.e.*, Goliath's River. The requirements of the history are much better met by placing the valley of Elah in the Wady-es-Sunt, thirteen miles west of Bethlehem, and the place of battle probably between the Arab villages of Shuweikeh and Zakariya, which may be taken to represent the ancient Shochoh and Azekah (1 Sam. xvii. 1). We will direct attention only to one other incorrect statement. The mountain of Samaria is said to be stronger than Jerusalem, "being surrounded by valleys on all sides. Samaria is an island, Jerusalem is only a peninsula" (p. 330). If Bovet had examined thoroughly he would have found that what the isthmus is which connects Jerusalem with the plateau on the north, such is the narrow saddle on the east of Samaria, and that the mountain is not completely isolated as he supposes.

Notwithstanding these mistakes, to which travellers making a hurried tour are very liable, we regard the book as one of the most readable that has appeared upon Sacred Lands. It is never dull; it is often enlivened by an amusing incident or conversation, while here and there a gentle pleasantry gives piquancy and flavour to what would otherwise, for lack of novelty, be rejected as tame and insipid.

STEEL'S SERMONS.

Sermons Preached in the Chapel of Harrow School and Elsewhere. By the late Rev. T. H. Steel, M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, sometime Vicar of St. Ippolyts and Great Wymondley, and late Assistant Master in Harrow School. With a Prefatory Memoir, by Henry Nettleship, M.A., Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. London: Macmillan and Co. 1882.

THE name of the preacher of these sermons will not be familiar to many. In disposition Mr. Steel was reserved and retiring, and his occupation, during the principal part of his career, was that of teaching, from which two causes it came to pass that he was little known outside a comparatively narrow circle. It was none the less a wise thing to print this volume of sermons. They consist, with two exceptions, of sermons preached in the chapel of Harrow School, and were found, after Mr. Steel's death, collected together among his manuscripts, with a dedication in his own handwriting; and they are marked by so many good qualities, being on the one hand fresh and earnest, and on the other bearing

constant evidence of the culture and wide scholarship of their author, that they fully deserve a place in that corner of the library where the masters of the pulpit are wont to cluster.

The life of Mr. Steel, like that of most schoolmasters, was quiet and uneventful. Born at Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1806, of a well-to-do burgher family, he was educated at St. Paul's School, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. His career at the University was honourable throughout. Then, as now, to be second in the first class of the classical tripos, and twentieth in the list of wranglers, was success to be envied. And his studies subsequently bore much the same ratio to one another. The best linguists of the day spoke of "the extraordinary depth and accuracy of his acquaintance with the classical languages," whilst to the end of his life he was always fairly abreast of the latest advances of mathematical and physical science. In sympathy with all studies, and a master of more than one, he belonged to a type of men—the representatives of which are gradually growing scarcer—intimately versed in the old learning and unacquainted with few branches of the new. In 1836, when the present Bishop of Lincoln was elected to the head-mastership of Harrow, Mr. Steel accompanied him as assistant. Seven years later he left Harrow for St. Ippolyts, in Hertfordshire, the vicarage of which he had accepted shortly before his removal from Cambridge. But in 1849 he was persuaded by Dr. Vaughan to return to Harrow, where he remained until within a few months of his death, which occurred on the 6th of December, 1881. The prefatory memoir by Professor Nettleship relates few incidents of general interest beyond the above, which constitute the outline of a career of singular tranquillity and of great religious attractiveness and beauty.

It is unfortunate that there exists so great unwillingness on the part of most scholars to print and publish the fruits of their scholarship. Either because they begrudge the time that would be thus consumed, or because they are unwilling to consent to even so partial a diversion from their favourite pursuits, they too often permit their knowledge to perish with them. Three small pamphlets, for instance, are, it appears, the sum of Mr. Steel's contributions to literature. It is true, indeed, that in his country parsonage he almost completed an edition of the *Œdipus Rex*, which his son-in-law, a classical scholar of no mean reputation, describes as executed with the greatest care and accuracy, and as embodying the results of the best Greek scholarship of the day. But in this state of near completion the manuscript was allowed to remain. Of the pamphlets, one is a discussion of "the best means of extending the utility of agricultural societies," in the form of a letter addressed to Lord Dacre, and a second is an urgent recommendation of the scheme, which Mr. Blackley has

more recently made familiar to the public under the name of *National Insurance*. The third pamphlet is a very able attempt to reform the method of teaching the classics that was at the time in vogue. The aim of such teaching, according to Mr. Steel, is to awaken the interest of the pupil, and call out his knowledge and faculty. To do that, the classical lesson should also be a lesson in English, and the differences in idioms and modes of expression should be worked out in detail; and consequently, in upper forms at least, the use of translations should be freely allowed, and the lesson should be made an exercise in expression as well as in grammar. Mr. Steel's views have not yet been generally adopted, but they have already won the support of many experienced teachers, and are gradually growing in favour. And whoever thoughtfully considers the reasoning of this little essay, which Professor Nettleship prints in full in the preface, will probably come to regard it as almost the most valuable thing in the volume.

In speaking of the quality of these sermons, it is necessary to remember the peculiar character of the audience before which all but two were preached. As sermons to youths and young men, whose education is fairly advanced, they are admirable, and open to but one objection; and it is uncertain how far that objection justly lies against them, since they are only a few of many sermons preached at Harrow. But it is, in our opinion, desirable to give greater prominence to such truths as centre round or are deducible from the doctrine of regeneration, even in sermons to lads whose training and surroundings have been Christian, than is the case in this volume. With that exception, these sermons are well adapted to their purpose. They are strong and forcible, but at the same time not less emphatic in insisting upon the necessity of certain more passive virtues, of which boys are apt to be oblivious. They deal with the precise perils and needs of school-life, and introduce in right degree the element of preparation for the life that will succeed the school. The preacher never assumes the rôle of the schoolmaster, is never lacking in sympathy with his audience, and always appears to aim at practical results in the strengthening of good character or the encouragement of such as have been overtaken by temptation to strive more resolutely against it. Minute exposition, doctrinal expatiation, and qualities of a similar kind, do not belong to these sermons, and would be altogether out of place in the pulpit from which they were preached. But the predominant characteristic is one that boys love, facility in the use of biographical illustrations which they themselves can appreciate, and especially in exhibiting the way in which science fulfils her right function as the handmaid of religion and Scripture. It is notorious that the fame of several great names in science, who have been led in their engrossment in

their own pursuit into utterances that are as dangerous as they are one-sided and unguarded, has affected the well-educated youth of the day with a widespread suspicion of the genuineness of Christianity, and even of the wisdom of any religion. These sermons may be recommended, especially when the scholarly attainments of their author are borne in mind, as a likely means of removing that suspicion; and from them, moreover, most preachers, who are embarrassed with similar difficulties in the course of their work, may learn much as to the method in which the truths of science should be employed, and the assaults of scientific men repelled. They are, with the exception already noticed, model sermons to boys, and they are very profitable reading for any one.

KERR'S HUMAN NATURE.

Essays on Some Aspects of Human Nature. By James Kerr, M.A., Author of "Domestic Life in India," "Glimpses of India," &c.. Second Edition, Enlarged. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1882.

THIS little book contains four essays on subjects of interest, written in a chatty and unpretentious manner by one who has closely observed the opinions and habits of men and accumulated a considerable stock of anecdotes and illustrations. It is social rather than philosophical in its treatment and aim. And if there is not much in it that is fresh, there is next to nothing that will not be read with pleasure in the lazy half-hours, when all the mind needs to refresh it is something to occupy it with ease. Instead of discussing deep problems of consciousness, or the mysterious interactions of different faculties, our author singles out a few human tendencies, which are, when duly checked, of benefit to society, and proceeds to furnish us with certain reflections upon them of unequal value. Some are the merest commonplace, but others contribute to the settlement of questions which are now agitating men's thoughts, and all are produced with suitable remembrance of the function religion has always filled in the correction of social faults and the promotion of general goodwill.

The subjects of the first two essays are, what Mr. Kerr calls, castism and sectism. The former term he defines as denoting that milder form of caste which prevails in this country as compared with India; and the latter, as that tendency of churches to separate into groups, the abuse of which goes by the name of sectarianism. In separate chapters he examines the causes of each phenomenon, its abuses and its apology, and propounds the means which should be taken for mitigating its evils. A third

essay follows, entitled, "Contrast Lessons, or the Good of Evil in Human Life." It is chiefly an enumeration of the various uses of adversity and the benefits to character which result from its patient and thoughtful endurance. The twofold influences of bad example and surroundings, in awakening disgust at vice and in inciting to resistance and thereby strengthening the spirit in virtue, are, in our author's opinion, the principal benefits, though he does not omit to point out several other reforming features in the discipline of suffering. The fourth essay is an attempt to define genius by the synthesis of the most frequent characteristics of its possessors. It is, according to Mr. Kerr, "a special aptitude developed by special culture," which may be accepted with Bacon's approval as a sufficiently good working definition, although there may be genius of a high order where there has been no culture, and abundant culture which has yet not developed much aptitude. The same objection lies against what Mr. Kerr regards as the chief characteristic of genius, the habit of taking pains. It is a habit of the excellence of which there can be no question, but so far is it from being in marked alliance with genius, that it has been the general practice of moralists to regard the two as in most instances opposed to one another, and the former as not the less valuable in the long run. It is easy enough to find a few instances of men of great genius who, by taking pains, have managed to fill worthily spheres that were adequate to their genius. But it does not, therefore, follow that the first and most prominent characteristic of genius is such a habit. And until the ever-recurring cases, where a career of much promise is wasted through the very want of industry, are greatly reduced in number, the old problem of genius *versus* industry will not need restating.

The same faculty of hasty generalisation betrays Mr. Kerr into statements that will not bear close examination in many other matters. He often puts old difficulties in an interesting light, as when he is writing about pew-rents or the social gradation of the different churches. But it is necessary to read his remarks rapidly, and not to stop to think clearly about them. To call the religious orders of the Roman Church "sects all but in name" will do, so long as the reader hurries on without comparing the kind of relation which exists between them with the alleged analogies in Protestantism. But it is a new reading of history altogether to trace back the separation between the Greek and Latin Churches to an intense anti-Latinism in the Greek Church. And few close readers of the Bible will agree with the conclusion concerning certain theological dogmas, that "all these are questions in regard to which Scripture utters no certain sound so as to place them beyond the possibility of doubt." On the other hand, the chapter in which Mr. Kerr discusses the best means of bridging the gulf between different classes is worth very careful study;

and much that he has to say about the mischievous effect of sectarianism in foreign missionary work, needed to be said, and ought to lead to yet more strenuous efforts among the missionary societies to come to an understanding on the partition of the area which they seek to cover. There are many subjects of this sort, introduced incidentally by our author, which give his pages a zest that makes them pleasant and not uninteresting reading.

DAVIES'S SERMONS.

Sermons, Homiletical Expositions, and Leading Thoughts on Texts of Scripture. Preached in London by Thomas Davies, M.A., Ph.D. First Series. London: Elliot Stock.

THE sermons number twenty-four, the "Homiletical Expositions" on the first three chapters of Revelation sixteen, the "Leading Thoughts" ten, filling altogether nearly 600 pages. The sentiment and doctrine are good, but the treatment is everywhere commonplace. There are few pages which would not supply proof of this opinion. But as brief quotations might be thought partial, and we have no space for long quotations, we must remit any curious reader to the volume itself.

JENKINS'S ADDRESSES, &C.

Addresses and Sermons. By E. E. Jenkins, M.A., President of the Wesleyan-Methodist Conference, 1880. Author of "Sermons Delivered in Madras," &c. London: T. Woolmer, 2, Castle Street, City Road. 1882.

It is needless to do much more than call the attention of our readers to the issue of this volume. Its contents, with two exceptions, consist of sermons and addresses which it fell to Mr. Jenkins's lot to deliver during the year of his presidency over the Wesleyan-Methodist Conference. Had the volume been expanded by other additions, there are none who are acquainted with the character of his public work who would have had cause to complain. Two of the addresses, and two of the sermons, derive special interest from the mournfulness of the occasions upon which they were delivered. They are the Church's public tribute to the worth of four men who will long be missed—Dr. Punshon, Messrs. W. O. Simpson and L. H. Wiseman, and Sir Francis Lycett. "The Letter to the Young People of the Methodist Connexion," and the very powerful sermon preached at the Liverpool Conference on "Tarrying for Power," are both included, and

will be welcomed in this permanent form by all who have before heard or read them. But it is unnecessary to specify the contents in further detail. In almost all of them Mr. Jenkins is at his best; and Mr. Jenkins's best is, from all points of view, of very unusual excellence. The reasoning is masterly and vigorous, incisive against all perversions of truths or morals, and irresistible in the force which it accumulates as it proceeds. The spirit is that of one who has reverently knelt at the throne as he was receiving its commission, and has thence won boldness to vindicate the ways of God without compromise, and to bear undaunted testimony against sin. And the style is chaste, crystalline, and keen. That is indeed perhaps the most obvious literary characteristic of all Mr. Jenkins's productions. He never wastes a word; and so unerring and uneasily satisfied is he in his choice of words that each word he uses is about the best that could be used. Some men choose words for the luxuriance of their suggestiveness, and some for their bulk and prodigiousness. Mr. Jenkins seems to choose them for their forcible expression of the thought he seeks to clothe. And few who have listened to his clear, almost too clear, enunciation of truths which have evidently taken hold of his own spirit will fail to be grateful for this collection of his utterances. They are timely, aglow with earnestness, fragrant of great kindness, and probably the best memorial of his year of office.

THE HOMILETICAL LIBRARY.

The Homiletical Library. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence, M.A., and the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. Vol. I., Advent, Christmas, The Close and Commencement of the Year. Vol. II., Epiphany, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1883.

THERE must be a demand for and, perhaps, a right use of this kind of pulpit-help, or such an abundance of it would not of late years have issued from the press. And it is certainly better for a preacher to fill up one of these outlines than to draw upon those sources whence it is rumoured ready-made sermons of every type of doctrine and suitable for any occasion may be obtained at a small cost. But a preacher is hardly worthy the name, unless he derives alike his plan and his material from his own study. And only in very exceptional instances would it be wise for him to seek in books of this character more than the merest hints. There are, of course, cases where one man can walk with grace and ease in another man's shoes. But it is as a rule indispensable to

the freshness and force of a sermon, that it be the product of the preacher's own heart and mind, fashioned by his own skill and filled up with matter out of his own crucible. As elementary aids to the young preacher in the earlier stages of his training, collections of outlines are, if of high technical quality, of considerable value. Occasionally he may find in them afterwards some suggestion, which he can appropriate, and which, when brooded over, may prove fertile in apt lessons for the pulpit. Great pressure upon him of other ministerial duties may render it excusable to avail himself more fully of their help. But there is very little further that can be said to their advantage. Of such collections this, the latest, promises to be the best. Its editors have had great experience in similar undertakings, and have admitted into these volumes very little that will not prove serviceable to some of the readers whose requirements they have had in view. No outlines that have appeared in print before have been allowed a place, and some of the most celebrated preachers in France and Germany have been brought under contribution. The list of contributors indeed contains several eminent names, and is a sufficient guarantee of general excellency. The method followed by the editors has been to take each date in the ecclesiastical kalendar, and to provide for it a large number of suitable outlines. In the case of Epiphany, for instance—and Advent is treated in much the same way—there are first twenty-five outlines upon texts selected from the canonical epistle, gospel, and lessons. The various Sundays in Epiphany are next dealt with on the same plan. Last of all come forty outlines on selected texts from any part of the Bible that are supposed to be appropriate to the festival, with a couple of sermons for children. There are twenty-five outlines supplied for the close of the year, and ten for its commencement. Six sermons on the Church Catechism are all classed under the text, "That thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed." In length there is as great diversity as in quality. One outline occupies almost eight pages, whilst others do not require as many lines. Ten pages are devoted to a supplementary list of subjects, in which a suitable text and the lesson that should be enforced are suggested without any amplification. And the usefulness of the volumes is increased by the addition to each of an "index of Scriptures." It will be seen that the work is planned on a very large scale, and that every possible effort has been made in it to minimise a preacher's toil. If the remaining volumes are as well edited as these, the whole will facilitate the composition of sermons and deserve to be called a homiletical library.

BRUCE'S GALILEAN GOSPEL.

The Household Library of Exposition. "The Galilean Gospel."
By A. B. Bruce, D.D. Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace.
1882.

THIS little book is not one to be read and laid aside, but to be read, and read again. It is full of fresh, limpid thought, and a brighter, fresher work of its kind we have not seen for many a day. It will help to raise the growing reputation of the "Household Library of Exposition," and must serve to excite expectation in regard to its promised fellow volume, also by Dr. Bruce, on the Pauline Gospel.

Where many good qualities claim commendation it is difficult to select, but we regard the book as especially valuable for its sound and vigorous teaching in regard to the attitude of the Christian Church to the poor, and to what is known as "evangelistic work," and for its wise thoughtfulness and liberality of tone. The expository skill of the author of "The Training of the Twelve," and "The Parabolic Teaching of Christ," is shown in many places, as for instance in the words of our Lord, "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." "He speaks of a joy in *heaven*, not of a joy in His own heart, though that is what He has to defend and what He really means to proclaim. The reason of this is to be found in the fact that Jesus stood alone in His time in hoping for a spiritual change among the outcasts, and in regarding such a change when it took place with intense sympathy and unfeigned delight. He had no neighbours on earth, like the shepherd and the housewife, to rejoice with Him. His nearest neighbours were in *heaven*. . . . He is fain to declare to His censors: Up in heaven they understand Me, there is sympathetic joy among the celestials over the repentance of even a solitary one of these people whom ye despise, in whom I take what appears to you so unaccountable an interest."

One defect, indeed, the book shares with some other works dealing with our Lord's life—viz., the tendency to put words into His mouth, to paraphrase and expand His sayings, "for the sake of clearness," as Dr. Geikie says. Such attempts are to be deprecated on the ground of the awkwardness of the patchwork which results from uniting sentences of nineteenth-century English with the familiar and venerable words as we find them in our Bibles. But more serious grounds of objection might be urged against the practice.

Dr. Bruce's preface seems to us strangely out of keeping with the rest of this valuable little work, first in its somewhat gratuitous and ungenerous allusion to volumes of sermons which have

formed part of an actual personal ministry, "gleaned from a ministry of sixteen years and strung together by a catching title;" and in the pessimist tone which leads our author to say, "The days in which we live are trying. Unbelief threatens to sweep away all realised religious ideals, creeds, churches, clergy." Unbelief has always threatened many things, but a wise and bold use of the means God has put into our hands has done wonders in the past, and is doing wonders to-day.

GORDON'S IN CHRIST.

In Christ. By A. J. Gordon, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1882.

THIS is an unsatisfactory book. Judged according to the high standard demanded by its subject, it falls far short of what such a work ought to be. It may be described as mainly a series of mystical and devotional musings. But throughout these we miss the vivid application to life which would make the book ethically fruitful. The chapter on "Resurrection in Christ" is especially open to this objection. While he condemns the saying of Dr. J. H. Newman, that "the true penitent never forgives himself," Dr. Gordon seems unable to appreciate that vivid conception of the heinousness of sin which grows concurrently with the believer's growth in the likeness of his Lord. So again in the chapter on "Baptism in Christ," where we have a manifesto from a denominational point of view rather than an exposition of the ethical meaning of the expression.

The doctrinal standpoint of the author is that of a moderate Calvinist. Again and again the germs of Antinomianism may be detected, together with an unreal mode of stating the believer's union in Christ, so that the inherent and personal righteousness of Christ is made to take the place of the personal character of the believer who is working out his salvation. Sometimes a false distinction is made, as when we are told, "he that is in Christ has no sin upon him, though he still has sin in him;" if sin is in him, guilt is upon him; if there be only the remains of the old nature, and the possibility of sin, there is no guilt. The possibility of sin is no more sin than the possibility of holiness is holiness. Sometimes the doctrine obscures the whole moral teaching of the passage, as when it is said, p. 116, the wandering (prodigal) son is not less a son than the one who abides in his Father's love.

The views of sanctification expounded by Dr. Gordon appear very defective, and must hinder the usefulness of his book. He draws glowing pictures of the brighter experiences of God's people, —experiences to be enjoyed only for a time—and then with a sigh

postpones the possession and the joy of holiness until after death. It might be asked, How came the brighter experiences to pass? Is grace unable to keep us from falling? The only answer is a doctrine of sanctification more scriptural and more helpful than that held by the author of this book.

In spite of blemishes and serious deficiencies in the work, there are passages very welcome to the Christian reader, and which remind us of the devout mysticism of Dora Greenwell's *Patience of Hope*, an author to whom Dr. Gordon confesses his obligations.

DANIELS'S HISTORY OF METHODISM.

A Short History of "The People called Methodists," from the Days of the Wesleys to the Methodist Ecumenical Conference held at City Road Chapel, London, in September, 1881. By the Rev. W. H. Daniels, A.M., Author of "D. L. Moody and his Work," &c. Revised, with Preface, by the Rev. Thornley Smith. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1882.

THIS work is an abridgment of a larger volume entitled *The Illustrated History of Methodism in Great Britain and America*. All the illustrations are omitted, and the text is condensed into some four hundred and fifty pages. But in this case such a process has not been attended by its usual consequences. Many parts of the book, such as the short stories of the lives of some of the Methodist leaders and pioneers, are not simply interesting, but fascinating, and no part is dull. The information is generally accurate, and particularly in the description of the first introduction of Methodism into different localities is sufficiently full: and if a certain miscellaneousness sometimes discloses itself, it is perhaps an inseparable feature of a task which has for its object the enclosure within a single volume of materials which require seven, and its inconvenience might have been to a great extent avoided if the English reviser had but added an index. Written in a lively manner, with the frequent introduction of incident and anecdote, and with thorough appreciation of the marvels and heroism of the story that is being told, the book may be read with pleasure by any one who is wishful to learn how Methodism originated and grew to its present proportions.

The first half of the book is practically a short life of John Wesley, with epitomised sketches of his more eminent coadjutors. The second half is entitled "World-wide Methodism," and traces its introduction into the different provinces of the United States, the outline of its fortunes in Great Britain, and the missionary efforts which one after another it was prompted to make. Its

internal economy, and the occasional agitations by means of which its constitution has been developed or its membership disrupted, are not entirely overlooked, although the references to such matters are scanty and inadequate. But, as a rule, the author, adopting the method of one of his predecessors, prefers to devote himself to the representation of the characters and labours of the more notable evangelists. He does not overload his pages with statistics, but confines himself chiefly to those of the American centenary of 1866, the British centenary of 1839, and the first œcumenical conference. The rapid spread of Methodism may be seen at a glance by comparing the figures for the year of its founder's death with those of last year. When John Wesley died he left 550 itinerant preachers and 140,000 members of society scattered over the United Kingdom, British North America, the United States, and the West Indies. There were represented at City Road in the Conference of 1881, 32,172 preachers and a membership of 4,762,944. But to an English reader the most novel parts of the book will be those which describe the foundation, growth, and constitution of Methodism in America. He will thereby learn much which he will be unable to find in any previous history of Methodism that is easily accessible; and the volume will be welcomed both as valuable in itself and as a suitable and useful companion to the *Minutes of the Œcumenical Conference*.

The few paragraphs inserted by the English editor deal with such subjects as the missions of British Methodism and the admission of lay representatives into the annual conference, and help greatly to render the history complete; but there are several misprints which ought not to have escaped his attention, and of which one at least is curious. We are told that when Dr. Brunson was crossing Lake Erie on his way to his station at Detroit, the passengers and crew having given themselves up to enjoyment, he "happened to go on deck, and, looking up, saw a squaw coming down upon them."

BUTLER'S LIFE OF OBERLIN.

The Life of J. F. Oberlin, Pastor of the Ban de la Roche.
By Mrs. Josephine E. Butler. London: The Religious Tract Society.

MRS. BUTLER has done well to revive public interest in the life and work of Oberlin, and we wish for her appreciative little work a large circulation.

No more powerful story, showing the influence of one devoted life, has ever been told than that of the famous pastor of the Ban de la Roche; for the highest prophetic strains declaring the

effect of the Messiah's coming to the people were realised in the marvellous change which came upon the inhabitants of this district. Sunk in the direst barbarism, they were raised to a state of religion such as few districts have realised, and the apostle of their redemption was Oberlin. The story of his work is told by Mrs. Butler with a graphic simplicity which increases the value of her work. The narrative is full of instruction for Christians, the shrewd common sense of Oberlin, and his quaint homeliness, being most suggestive to the active worker, while his radiant piety and sublime devotion are living proofs of the Spirit's sanctifying power in the heart of the believer. We congratulate the Religious Tract Society on the republication of such a life.

II. MISCELLANEOUS.

ARMSTRONG'S GARLAND FROM GREECE.

A Garland from Greece. By George Francis Armstrong,
M.A. London : Longmans, Green and Co. 1882.

Is it a fancy merely that this volume, in its inspiration, seems to carry us back for two generations, to the days when all that was imaginative and chivalrous in Europe burned to rescue oppressed Greece from the impure talons of the Turkish vulture? Those were days when, to the eye of enthusiasm, modern Greece appeared draped in all the antique majesty of the days of old, as the mother of art, of civilisation, of song, a queen in chains, a Promethean spirit unjustly bound and tortured, yet bearing the heaven-lit fire, and able again to hold it aloft as a beacon to men. But, alas, as the years have gone by, and the nations have looked, on the whole, rather vainly for the beacon light, the old separation between the Greece of to-day and the Greece of long ago has again seemed very real. Consciously, or unconsciously, the gulf to most of us is felt to be impassable. The Greece of old retains its glamour. We know and love it, think its thoughts, and glory in its memories. A glow of perennial sunshine lingers there, an undying dawnlight to which we turn again and yet again. But as regards modern Greece, our information is decidedly less precise, and our interest not so affectionate.

For Mr. Armstrong, however, this distinction appears to exist in a very modified degree. To him, as he has gone riding through the land, listening to the

“Tinkle, tinkle, tinkle, tinkle”

of the mule bells, the present, and the past that is only yesterday, have had an attraction almost equal to the past that is of long ago. His verse assumes quite a joyous lilt as he sings :

“How bright were the bays with their burthen of skiffs,
With rowers in sashes of scarlet upstanding,
And little white sails darting onward in whiffs
Of the breeze from Albania! How gay at the landing
The crowds of the gazers in fez and capote,
Fustinellas and slippers,—the white Epirôte,

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And the Greek swaying down with ineffable swagger,
 Ionian and Turk and red Montenegrin,
 Fierce-eyed and alert, with a hand on the dagger,
 Or pistol that peeped from the girdle half seen !

"O the scenes as we passed up the markets and lanes,
 Amid trays of bright oranges ruddy and golden,
 And strawberries cooled by the light summer rains ;
 Amid groups of grave islanders wrinkled and olden,
 And strings of meek mules heavy-laden with fruits
 In panniers a-swinging, and sailors in boots
 And red capes of Naples, and priests with long tresses
 Twined back in their hats ; amid booths and brown bread,
 And stalls with ripe cheese, or Greek prints from Greek presses,
 Till out through the gates to the mountains we sped."

And this Greece of to-day, by how little it stands removed, in Mr. Armstrong's kindly gaze, from the Greece for which Europe fought at Navarino, for which Byron gave his life. Does not the *Brigand of Parnassus*, hale and strong though the weight of ninety years is upon him, cry to whomsoever will hear :

"I handled sword and gun
 When your fathers were but sucklings, ere your mothers saw the sun.
 I have fought the Turk and beat him ; and will fight and win again,
 Win or die ; and Greece shall triumph—not a life be spent in vain !"

Aye so he cries, this somewhat rascally old patriot, with his story of loot, and revenge, and murder in cold blood, and rescue of maidenhood, and thrilling adventure. Ninety years ! Fifty might carry one as far back as the time of Mr. Armstrong's predilection, the time of the *Klepht's flight* from his leagued companions, the time when the *Chiote* loses his wife amid a scene of massacre and blood, loses his child, which

"Lacked the mother's warmth of breast,
 And sank into an icy rest."

and takes vengeance against the Turks on the fire ships of Kanaris,* the time of the *last sortie from Missolonghi*. Less than fifty years would probably take us to the time when the *Hermit of the Cape*, a kind of modern Simon Stylites, is supposed to drain down the dregs of his fevered life.

Thence, by a long leap, Mr. Armstrong carries us back to "A.D. 390 Circiter," and the "closing of the oracle at Delphi ;" and being now near to classic days, speaks through the mouth of "Micanor" of the "Death of Epicurus." This is the old sage's last legacy of wisdom to the world :

"Dream ye as seldom of the listless gods
 As they of you. So shall ye rid your hearts
 Of fears and measureless disquiet. They
 Heed not your tears or scorn, neglect or praise.

* The subject of one of Victor Hugo's early poems.

Far off they dwell, beyond the utmost trail
Of wandering star, and in the cold white heaven
Enjoy their changeless peace."

* * * *

"Think not of them except to emulate
Their calm, and in like quiet be as gods."

So, in lines which one may quote again and yet again, without weariness, does Mr. Tennyson make the dying Lucretius tell of:

"The gods, who haunt
The lucid interspace of world and world,
Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar
Their sacred everlasting calm! And such
Not all so fine, nor so divine a calm,
Nor such, nor all unlike it, man may gain
Letting his own life go."

Does this juxtaposition imply a touch of unkindliness on our part? Let us make amends by saying that it is in this portion of Mr. Armstrong's book relating to the older days or fancies of Greece that we have found most pleasure. The *Satyr* and *Orithyia* seem to us decidedly the best poems in the volume. Such lines as:

"A prattle like rain in the poplars, a laughing of silvery leaves."

or again:

"And over the reefs and the headlands the billows in thunder broke."

have in them a decided gleam, a flash of real poetic fire.

But, as we have already intimated, the originality of Mr. Armstrong's inspiration dwells less in these studies from the antique than in the signs of his affection for the Greece of to-day and yesterday.

AUSTIN'S SOLILOQUIES IN SONG.

Soliloquies in Song. By Alfred Austin. London: Macmillan and Co. 1882.

It was in the consulship of Plancus, now, alas, many years ago, that Mr. Austin's first volume of verse fell into our hands. Fools were then his theme, and satire was his song. And though, as we have said, much time has flown since then, yet still there go darkling in our memories one or two vigorous lines that lashed the follies of "The Season," and—or was that in the pamphlet written in fierce defence of "The Season?"—a rather boyish attack on Kingsley's "erotic poems."

But this, we repeat once more, carries us back to the years long since vanished, when, if our memory does not play us false, Mr. Austin filled high office among a band *quorum pars minima fuimus* who "held debate" on many political matters. Now his Muse is much appeased. She is no longer strident of voice, fierce in invective, scornful of gesture. Or if she at all puts on her more terrible aspect, it is but very fitfully, when, for instance, crying shame on "Prince, Press, and People," for being "like unto mongrel hounds beaten and cowed," who yell "All hail to the Czar!"

No, mainly she is a conservative muse—indeed, this very poem of "All hail to the Czar" but represents her militant conservatism. She is conservative not alone in political opinion, lingering with dire sorrow, and votive flowers of song, in Hughenden churchyard, where—

"Now in an English grave he lies,
With flowers that tell of English skies
And wind of English air,
A grateful sovereign decks his bed.
And hither long with pilgrim tread
Will the English race repair."

But she is conservative also in her general outlook on life, in social feeling, in religious sympathies. She stands as far as possibly may be in the old paths.

Thus "Grandmother's Teaching" is to the effect that the gospel of getting on is fraught only with sorrow and vexation of spirit, that the old homely country life is better than the strain and struggle, the feverish ambition and evil temptings, of the city. Thus, in "A Farmhouse Dirge," there is throughout an echo of the old kindly relations between farmhouse and hall. Thus, in the story of "Brother Benedict," who had slept for a thousand years, and woke, as was indeed to be expected, in a much changed world, we have for final word, for a sort of *envoye*, that the "eternal strain" running through

"To-day, to-morrow, and yesterday"

is "Benedicite." Thus, again, in the poem on George Eliot's death, we find discarded that newer faith to which she clung, the faith in a "choir invisible," whose singing, nay, whose "life," is to be no more than a memory—we find an insistence on the older faith in a life immortal:

"What we call death
Is but another sentinel despatched
To relieve life, weary of being on guard,
Whose active service is not ended here,
But after intermission is renewed
In other fields of duty."

There is a certain healthiness and whole-heartedness in all this not a little pleasing after the poetry of disease which the poetical critic has to consume in pretty considerable quantities. Indeed, there is in the volume nothing that can be described as mawkish or morbid. Even where, as in "Off Missolonghi," we feel inclined to demur to the sentiment expressed—for Byron's death on the bed of sickness was as truly death for the cause of Greece as if he had died on the battlefield—even here we feel that the opinions expressed are worthy of all respect.

BONE ET FIDELIS.

Bone et Fidelis: a Poem. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C. 1882.

UNDER an unfortunately vague Latinised title—*Bone et Fidelis*—this little volume gives us a versified account of the life and labours of a deceased Wesleyan minister, apparently by his son. With the exception of the rhymed preface and two hymns, it is written throughout in heroic couplets. The verse usually possesses a certain smoothness and elegance, though never perhaps rising to poetry. There is too obviously an effort, an intention, as if the author had said to himself, I will write this, I will write that, not because I have in me the uncontrollable divine *afflatus* which bids me sing and inspires me for singing, but because I wish to describe certain things which interest me, and which may as well, perhaps better, be described in poetry than in prose. This mood does not produce great poems, but it may, and in this instance it does, produce agreeable verse, which is usually graceful and often eloquent. As an example of the former quality, we may mention the section headed "Euge, serve bone," or the "Conclusion;" as an example of the latter, "The Evangelisation of the World." The section which deals with "The Orator" (who will readily be recognised by most readers) is too excessive in its praise to delineate with any accuracy the person whom it attempts to describe. He would be a "golden mouth" indeed of whom it might without exaggeration be said that—

"His lips with wreaths of scented flowers are wove,
And graceful fancies o'er his forehead rove;
A halo hovers o'er his head, and light
Laughs in his sparkling eye like stars in night.
His tongue is golden, and his jewelled words
Rival the euphony of singing birds,
And sparkle with the splendour of a gem
On the king's finger, or his diadem;
Or rush with such impetuous force and roar,
The sea seems sounding on the pebbled shore;"

With over fifty lines more to the same effect, ending with—

“Lo! draw near,
God is made manifest! Appear! Appear!”

The author is less ambitious and more natural when he speaks of the Institution, the Superintendent and Circuit Ministers, the Local Preachers, the Class-Meeting, and the Home. Some of these are depicted with a very fair measure of success; and as the subject of the whole—the life and death of a Methodist preacher—is new, to our knowledge, in rhyme, and our author is first in the field, we see no reason to doubt that the book will receive its due meed of popularity and esteem from those who are most intimately interested in the matters of which it treats.

ALISON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

Some Account of my Life and Writings: an Autobiography.

By the late Sir Archibald Alison, D.C.L. Edited by his
Daughter-in-law, Lady Alison. Two Vols. Blackwood.

AT his death Sir A. Alison held the office which he had long filled of Sheriff of Lanarkshire. He had found the office no sinecure. During the year 1838 there was bitter ill-feeling between millowners and cotton-spinners of Glasgow. Assaults on the new hands took place continually, and at last one of them was shot through the back by two hired assassins, “without one of the numerous persons by whom the deed was witnessed venturing to seize the guilty parties.” Convictions were almost impossible, owing to the extreme difficulty of getting witnesses to come forward; convicted persons got a bag of sovereigns to reward them for their imprisonment; and trial by jury was too hazardous to be attempted from the terrors and intimidation of the jurymen. Altogether a state of things not at all unlike that which in Dublin preceded the passing of the Crimes Act. Sir Archibald, by one of the most successful *coups de main* ever made, got hold of the whole secret committee, and, with the aid of twenty police, lodged them in gaol. The process throughout is in many respects like what has been going on in Dublin. A reward of £500 brought out two informers, who detailed the whole plan, gave the lists of those who were to be murdered, explained all the complicated arrangements by which the man told off to do the deed was provided with money, arms, &c. It was then easy to seize the committee, which, all unsuspecting, met at its old haunt. Sir Archibald's firmness destroyed all this network of conspiracy, and three days after he had arrested the committee he had the satisfaction of seeing all the tall chimneys, which had not been lighted for

three months, smoking in renewed activity, and of reflecting that over 30,000 people were suddenly lifted from idleness and destitution to industry and comfort.

What we want to call attention to is, that this well-timed severity made Sir Archibald extremely popular with the working class. The people were tired of the strike; and they instinctively felt they could trust their sheriff's fairness. He, the most uncompromising Tory, was followed everywhere with the applause of the Glasgow Radicals; and at his death the whole of the road between Possil House and Glasgow was lined with the poorest of the population, "all the mill-hands in the neighbourhood sacrificing half a day's earnings to come and pay, with quiet respectful demeanour, the last tribute to the old Tory sheriff so well known to them for thirty-three years."

This is certainly an instance of a man winning the goodwill of political opponents, bitterly hostile to the class to which he belonged, by a steady and undeviating uprightness. The marvel is that Sir Archibald, who thus in his public capacity won golden opinions from men of widely differing views, did not impress other Tory writers with such a high opinion of his merits. He wrote regularly for *Blackwood*. Some of us remember the slashing way in which he upheld the cause of Protection when Free-trade seemed winning all along the line. But, if we remember rightly, he never got anything into the *Quarterly*; of one article he bemoans the sad fate; it was sent for insertion, and never more heard of. Worse than this, the *Quarterly* did not deign to notice his *History*, though an elaborate review of it appeared in the *Edinburgh*. John Wilson Croker was a man who brooked no opposition; and he had in hand a history of the French Revolution which Alison's *History* forestalled. Hence the annoyance which showed itself in contemptuous silence. If, however, he was neglected by a large section of his party at home, he had the satisfaction of seeing his work immensely popular abroad. In America it was largely read; and it was soon translated into half a dozen languages including (we believe) Turkish.

The work before us is a gossiping account of the author's whole life. Here and there its diffuseness seems to warrant Lord Beaconsfield's sneer (in *Lothair* he speaks of "Professor Wady who wrote seven volumes to prove that Providence is on the side of the Tories"); but it is full of freshness, albeit dealing in the chapters about foreign travel with subjects that have since become hackneyed. Then they were not so. The number of visitors even to France was small, and men in Edinburgh society who had been twice to Rome might be counted on the fingers.

Sir Archibald was a believer in heredity, and delights in claiming kinship with what Dugald Stewart calls "the long

and memorable line of the Gregories," and also with Reid, "the father of the Philosophy of Mind." His mother, after her father's death, was adopted by Mrs. Montague, at whose house in Hill Street, Berkeley Square, and during visits with her to Paris, she met all the celebrities of the time, French as well as English. His father, for whose sake Miss Gregory rejected more than one very advantageous match pressed on her by Mrs. Montague, was clergyman of Sudbury in Northamptonshire, where he wrote the well-known "Essays on Taste." Of his college life at Edinburgh, Sir Archibald tells us everything—how one of his translations was marked by the Professor with "Macte virtute, puer; sic itur ad astra;" how he lay awake a whole night trying to solve a problem in conics, and succeeded *in the dark*; how in the dark also he once extracted a square root without a figure wrong to eight places of decimals; how he got the first prize in Greek in 1808, the first year when prizes were given at Edinburgh; how he competed with Edward Irving for the mathematical, and shed tears of vexation at not being able to solve problems while shut up from 9 a.m. till 8 p.m., which he solved in half an hour after he got home at night; and how Professor Leslie, rather unfairly, gave him a second chance the next day. He next took to Political Economy, reading among others Malthus, whose fundamental proposition his father showed to be fallacious, as he afterwards proved at length in his "Essay on Population" of which even at that early age (sixteen) he wrote the rough draft. Edinburgh must then have been a grand educational forcing-house. Listening to Playfair and Dugald Stewart in the day, and at night making a fair copy of his rough notes of each, was hard work; and all that was written down (twenty-six bound quarto volumes it amounts to) might have been found better expressed in books, "but" (asks Sir Archibald) "is the power of writing four or five hours every evening to be found in books?" And this power alone enabled him to get through the mass of his law business at the same time that he was keeping up his literary work. Much intellectual good he got from his father's sermons, though he admits that the author of the "Essays on Taste," never able to rid himself of the poison of Rousseau, had too high an opinion of human nature—"had not enough of the devil in him to find the devil out." It was his father's favourable estimate of his first draft of the "Essay on Population" that turned him to the Bar instead of into a Bank. The work was finished in 1810; and his father, though astonished at its extent and exhaustiveness, begged him not to publish till it was quite matured.

Very interesting is Sir Archibald's contrast between the Scotch and English University system. He had never written a Latin verse nor a sentence of Greek prose; his Latin prose was far from polished; but he had read most of the classics and

knew French and Italian (which latter he recommends to young men—he learnt it in a fortnight), and had gone deeply into pure and mixed mathematics. The Scotch system he thinks the better for those whose fortunes are not already made. Amid all this work he carefully kept up his *physique*, by daily gardening and by walking tours in the Highlands. So good a walker was he that, on the day when the news came of the Battle of the Pyrenees, inspired by the roar of the Castle guns and the intelligence in the *Gazette*, he (with his brother) walked twenty-five miles without drawing breath, and then after five minutes' rest did the remaining ten to Rochester, finishing the whole in nine hours, and coming in in good heart, though footsore. His plan of study was remarkable. In the winter he worked hard at law; in summer he gave two hours to law, and then did some Greek, Latin, Italian, French, English, every day—from one hundred lines to half a book of Homer, half a book of some Latin author, a few chapters of French, fifty pages of Gibbon or Hume, &c. His plan was to economise every moment, and never study more than an hour or an hour and a half at one sitting. He thus had two hours a day for drawing, and the same for both riding and walking. "It is continuity of pursuit, sameness of effort, which wears out both mind and body."

In 1814 he made his first continental trip. Boiling with enthusiasm, as all Edinburghers were, at the idea of the allied armies in Paris, Archibald and his brothers, with several friends, hastened to Paris, noting on the way the extraordinary contrast between England and Scotland in the way of culture; in England it seemed an unbroken stretch from Berwick to Dover, in Scotland there is rarely more than ten square miles of fertile land in one place. In France, more even than the Cathedral at Beauvais, they were struck with a regiment of Russian cuirassiers in the principal square. Outside the Louvre were more Russian troops, while inside were the Apollo Belvidere, the Venus de Medicis and other treasures, afterwards restored to their rightful owners. An introduction to Sir Jas. Wylie, principal physician to Alexander, gave the young Scot access to that Emperor, and through him to most of the celebrities. They noticed the jealousies between the Allies, the way in which the Austrians—*les autres chiens*, as they were called, were laughed at; the difficulty with which Lord Castlereagh, by dislocating Bernadotte's army, prevented a break up of the whole. They noticed, too, the strange and undoubted popularity of the Bourbons and of Wellington.

We wish we had space to tell what he says about the plan of his History; about his entry into politics (how shrewd is the remark that the leaders of the Whigs, though supposed to combine all the talents, were all cut after the same pattern, and with wearying monotony used the same passwords); about his efforts to

ameliorate the artisans, who in those days spent some 70 per cent. of their wages in drink. What he says about the American Civil War will be interesting even to those who do not agree with him in his Southern proclivities. His views about Free-trade are well known; the cotton famine (he said) was a slight warning of the distress which would follow a rupture between us and any of the Great Powers. But the most interesting feature of his later life is the number of prominent men with whom he is brought in contact, from Archbishop Howley, with whom he often dined when in London, to rugged Lord Clyde, who had taken such a fancy to his sons when they were his aides-de-camp in the Crimea. There are, too, in these volumes passages quite equal to anything in the history; the account for instance, of the execution of Doolan and Redding at Bishopbriggs is a grand piece of sustained description. Altogether, though Sir Archibald will not be classed by any except partial friends among our foremost men, his life is full of interest, and brings us on every page into connection with remarkable people; and the easy way in which the writer assumes that his reader will care to know even the least trifle about him, and his ways of thought, makes it delightful reading.

ANDREW FULLER.

Men Worth Remembering. "Andrew Fuller." By his Son.
London: Hodder and Stoughton.

FULLER of Kettering is well "worth remembering," not only for his own sterling character, but also as a type of the Nonconformist ministry of the past. He was emphatically a strong man, physically, intellectually, morally. Born at Wicken, Cambridgeshire, in 1754, his early religious life was spent amid Calvinism of the hardest school. Neither his minister nor fellow-worshippers thought it right to urge the unconverted to conversion. One of his earliest battles was with this extreme Calvinism. With little help from books and none from associations he fought his way to a wider creed. Called at twenty-one to the pulpit at Soham, in the congregation in which he had always worshipped, he trained himself by seven years of labour there for a more than thirty years' ministry at Kettering, with which his name will always be associated. He belonged distinctly to the old school of Puritan expositors, who dealt rather with the matter than the wording of Scripture. Although the old marrowy expositions have gone out of fashion, they will not improbably return into favour. A combination of the old and new methods of preaching will be better than either the old or new alone. Besides his continuous work

as pastor, his labours as one of the founders and the secretary of the Baptist Society were enough for a single life. He had not only to receive and administer, but also to collect the income over the whole area of Great Britain. His journeys for this purpose were frequent, long, and in those days laborious. Fuller will always be remembered as the lifelong friend of Carey and the other Serampore missionaries. He found some of the most generous supporters of missions in Scotland. We are told of two visits to that country, each of which yielded about £1,000. Of his high conscientiousness many proofs are given in the biography. He died on a Lord's day, May 7, 1815, in a room immediately adjoining the sanctuary in which his people were worshipping God. He went direct from joining in the earthly to join in the heavenly worship.

MORISON'S MACAULAY.

English Men of Letters. "Macaulay" By J. C. Morison.
London: Macmillan.

In the present volume the series maintains its high standard of excellence. Both in the subjects and writers the series has been exceptionally fortunate, the subjects covering the best portion of the vast field of English literature, and the writers being specially suited for their task. The series can scarcely fail to promote interest in our best literature. Whether we agree or not with Mr. Morison's praise and blame of Macaulay, both pitched in a high key, we cannot question the ability of the criticism. We quite agree with Mr. Morison in his wish that Macaulay had confined himself entirely either to politics or literature. He did just enough in both fields to prevent his rising to the highest rank in either. If he had given himself entirely to literature, he might have come nearer the goal he aimed at, although as Mr. Morison reminds us, Macaulay would have needed 150 years to carry out his plan on the same scale and at the same rate of work. For all that relates to Macaulay's personal character and for his style Mr. Morison has nothing but praise, praise which often sounds almost extravagant; for all that relates to the substance of his mind and writing nothing but condemnation. We are told again and again that Macaulay was utterly destitute of philosophic power, and that his writings lack depth. He describes but does not explain. As the praise bears only on the form, and the condemnation on the matter, the criticism is very severe. The brilliance is declared to be merely superficial. If so, it is hard to see how Macaulay can retain even the middle place claimed for him by the biographer. His great merit is said to

be that he made history readable, as readable as romance. It is justly said, however, that his essays struck out a new line, and his speeches are masterpieces. To say that, "as to his conduct in his own home he appears to have touched the furthest verge of human virtue," and that "his action might put the very saints to shame," is somewhat strong. To "kill his adversary dead" is also a singular phrase.

CUTTS'S CHARLEMAGNE.

The Home Library. "Charlemagne." By the Rev. Edward L. Cutts, B.A., Author of "Constantine the Great," &c., Hon. D.D. University of the South U.S. With Map. Published under the Direction of the Tract Committee. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

THE Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge does much better with its historical monographs than with its tracts. The latter, even in the opinion of many of its steady supporters, are stamped with dullness, the former are always carefully written and full of information, and sometimes rise to the rank of scholarly works, such as half a century ago would have been ushered into publicity with a great flourish of trumpets.

This is especially the case with the series of works on English History, of which Professor Rhys's *Celtic Britain* is a sample. Then, again, there is the *Fathers for English Readers* series—"Leo, Gregory the Great, Ambrose," and the rest, for 2s. each, and all by men of some note, though not of such European fame as Professor Rhys, or of such renown for captivating style as Mr. Grant Allen. *Ancient History from the Monuments* again, is an excellent series; the names of the late George Smith, who did the volumes on "Assyria and Babylonia," and Dr. Birch, who compiled the "Egypt," being sufficient warrant for its excellence. Such series cannot fail to raise the standard of information among the rising generation, and to cultivate in them habits of intelligent thought on subjects of which their parents were necessarily ignorant. In all this the Society is doing a great work, and one for which all Christians ought to feel grateful. Books of this kind are very different from the slipshod untrustworthy productions, which were often the only books accessible to those who had not leisure to go to original authorities.

And Mr. Cutts's "Charlemagne" is a case in point. We all of us have a hazy notion of Charlemagne's work, but for only a very few is he more than a name, albeit, scarcely so unsubstantial a one as Pharamond or Meroveus. Mr. Cutts does not undertake to throw any new light on the work of the great emperor and administrator. He shows us Charlemagne at home, in his campaigns, among

the scholars with whom he loved to surround himself, he traces his relation to the Pope and his connection with ecclesiastical affairs. But his book is much more than a mere life of Charlemagne. Recognising the truth that in order to understand him one must understand the era that led up to him, Mr. Cutts begins with a description of the Franks, their inroads into the empire, and their banishment to Holland by the Emperor Aurelian, A.D. 242. The way in which these Franks survived their tremendous defeats by the Romans is marvellous. Probus is said to have killed 400,000 of them and their allies. Constantine carried off two of their kings and thousands of their warriors to Treves, where, in honour of his victory, he held the famous *Ludi Francici*, and gave his prisoners to the lions. Salians, by the way, Mr. Cutts takes to mean dwellers by the Sal or Yssel. Meroveus got his kingship by being on the side of Ætius, along with the Visigothic Theodoric, at the great battle of Châlons. His rival was among the allies of Attila. The chapters on the settlement of the barbarians and on Roman Gaul are models of clear and terse writing. The position of a Teuton in Gaul was in some respects similar to that of an Englishman in India; and if a native nobleman in Oude or Rajpootan was to write a set of letters on social matters, they would have much in common with those of Sidonius. The elegant luxurious Roman life was still going on in southern Gaul as if no Gothic king kept his court at Tholouse, as if no Gothic garrisons were established here and there through the land, and no Gothic "guests" (like our "residents") were quartered on the great proprietors. These barbarians, "blue-eyed, fresh-complexioned giants, whom we ridicule, and despise, and fear," dominated the political life of this Roman society. It is not till his fourteenth chapter (the book contains twenty-four) that Mr. Cutts gets to Charlemagne; and after rapidly tracing his wars with Lombards and Saxons, and Huns and Saracens, he leads us to Charles's crowning as emperor by Leo III., and has a few good paragraphs on its significance. The chapter on the revival of learning sets us face to face with Paul the deacon, Alcuin, and Clement of Ireland. The chapter on Charles's ecclesiastical work includes the iconoclastic controversy, and the history of the *Filioque*. In regard to the recent versifying by Lord O'Hagan's son of the song of Roland, it is interesting to read in Mr. Cutts the real story of the Spanish invasion. It was the Gascons (not the Saracens) who fell on Charlemagne's rearguard, slaying among others Egghard the seneschal, Anselm the count of the palace, and Roland, governor of the Breton march. Here is a description of the emperor—one of the grandest figures on the world's canvas:

"His dress was that of his nation, that is to say, of the Franks. Next the skin he wore a shirt of linen, and drawers of the same

material ; over that a tunic bordered with a silken fringe, stockings fastened with narrow bands, and shoes. In winter, a coat of otter or martin fur covered his shoulders and breast. Over all he wore a blue mantle." From the monk of St. Gall we learn that the Franks generally had adopted a short cloak, but that Charles still wore the long and ample cloak of the ancient Franks. "Of what use," he would say, "are these short mantles ? I cannot cover myself with it in bed, and on horseback it does not protect me from rain or wind." Perhaps he was not conscious that the long and ample cloak became his tall and portly figure, and distinguished him like a royal robe amidst his short-cloaked courtiers. "And he was always girded with his sword, whose hilt and baldrick were of gold or silver. Sometimes he wore one enriched with precious stones, but this was only on the most solemn festivals, or when he had to receive the deputies of some foreign nation. He did not like the garb of other peoples, however handsome, and would never wear any such, except at Rome, when first, at the request of Adrian, and then of Leo his successor, he allowed himself to be clad in the long tunic, the chlamys, and the sandals of the Romans. At the great festivals his dress was embroidered with gold, and his shoes adorned with precious stones, a brooch of gold fastened his mantle, and he went crowned with a sparkling diadem of gold and gems ; but on other days his dress was simple and differed little from that of the people."

HASELL'S TASSO.

Tasso. By E. J. Hasell. Blackwood.

TASSO is another volume of the "Foreign Classics for English Readers" series. It is remarkable that, despite the very interesting circumstances of his life, and the deep influence which his great poem had on our own Spenser, our interest in Tasso has not been so great as in several of his compatriots. While Dante has found many translators, the *Jerusalem Delivered* is still chiefly known from Fairfax's version. Even Petrarch and Ariosto have, we fancy, found more translators than Tasso, the reason being, no doubt, that *The Fairy Queen* is so similar in many points to its prototype as to make acquaintance with that prototype seem superfluous.

Mr. Hasell enters very fully into Tasso's life, detailing his early poetic attempts, the *Rinaldo*, for instance, written when he was eighteen years old, its hero being borrowed from Boiardo and Ariosto, and then discussing his life at Ferrara and the episode of Leonora of Este which possibly led to his imprisonment. The relations between the two Mr. Hasell proves were purely Platonic ; and the imprisonment did not take place till

after the poet who had fled from Ferrara and visited several other courts had returned to his old master. The excuse made for his imprisonment was his being mad ; and certainly his most enthusiastic admirers must own that his conduct was often very strange and his temperament melancholy to the verge of being morbid. A consequence of his imprisonment was that he greatly altered (and by no means improved) his poem, cutting out all the parts which had laudatory reference to the Este family. Of the poem Mr. Hasell gives a very complete analysis, with translations, some from Fairfax, some by himself. He also analyses at some length the later poems, including the *Jerusalem Conquered*, and the tragedy of *Torrismonde*, as horrible in subject as the *Œdipus* of the Greeks. He also gives some interesting quotations from Tasso's prose writings. This is the way in which he sums up the case as to the poet's mental condition : " Phrase it as we like, there can be no doubt that Tasso's brilliant and unique talents were hindered from bringing happiness to their possessor by a most irritable nervous organisation, and by the want of calm judgment. His evidently constitutional predisposition to melancholy was aggravated by his beautiful mother's early death, by his father's exile and misfortunes,—in all probability also by his own love placed too high to be happy, and by his consequent exclusion from those domestic joys at which we at times find him casting a regretful glance ; by his experience of human malignity, by his religious doubts, and by the cruel treatment which he met with. And who can wonder that, after his resurrection from the ghastly sepulchre which entombed his manhood at its perfection, and his fame at its height, he shunned the crowds who misjudged him, loved little the life which had disappointed him, and turned more steadfastly than in youth to the only hope which does not shrink in size before sickness and advancing death ? "

We strongly recommend those for whom Dudon and Armida and Herminia and Clorinda and Argantes are mere names, to read the analysis of the great poem. Few things more pathetic have ever been written than Clorinda's single combat with Tancred and her baptism *in articulo mortis* by the lover who has unknowingly given her her death wound. Here is a specimen of Fairfax's rendering. Godfrey is speaking at the grave of Dudon slain by Argantes.

" We need not mourn for thee here laid to rest,
Earth is thy bed and not thy grave ; the skies
Are for thy soul the cradle and the nest ;
There live, for here thy glory never dies.
For like a Christian knight and champion blest
Thou didst both live and die. Now feed thine eyes
With thy Redeemer's sight, where crowned with bliss
Thy faith zeal merit well deserving is."

MUNRO'S ANCIENT SCOTTISH LAKE DWELLINGS.

Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings or Crannogs, with a Supplementary Chapter on Remains of Lake Dwellings in England. By Robert Munro, M.A., M.D., F.S.A., Scot. Edinburgh : David Douglas. 1882.

WHATEVER view is taken of the antiquity of man, the lake dwellings, of which the Swiss are, perhaps, the best known, must remain equally interesting to an archæologist, and Dr. Munro does for those discovered in Scotland what Dr. Keller (well known through his more than translator, Mr. J. E. Lee) did for the Pfahlbauten (stake buildings) of Switzerland, and what Sir W. Wilde (father to Oscar) did some years before for the crannogs of Ireland.

Dr. Munro's book is, like so many others by the same publisher, beautifully got up, the type and paper perfect, and the woodcuts and plan executed with patient care. The Scotch lake dwellings have hitherto been chiefly found in the south-west, and it was the Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archæological Association which, with the help of R. W. Cochran-Patrick, M.P., started the researches. Such pile buildings are spoken of by Hippocrates and Herodotus, though (strangely enough) the Swiss Pfahlbauten, in use at least up to Roman times, are not noticed by any historian. They are found in Borneo, in Malacca, on Lake Maracaybo; while both Cameron and Burton speak of their existence in Africa. It was in 1839 that Sir W. Wilde discovered the crannog of Lagore in Meath, and predicted that others would be found when draining was carried on on a larger scale. This has been the case, and the abundant instances have been described by Reeves, Wakeman, G. H. Kinahan, and other Irish archæologists. They are repeatedly mentioned in the old Irish chronicles, and in Wakefield's "Ireland" (1812) attention is called to them; but Wilde's discovery seems to have been made independently, stimulated by the finding of a canoe ("a dug out"), forty-two feet long, in Lough Owel (Westmeath). No wonder they are largely found in Ireland and Scotland, for in the former they were in full use up to Cromwell's time, while in the latter Edward I. put a garrison in the crannog or "lake isle, with log huts," of Lochindorb, in Moray, which was afterwards relieved by Edward III.; and the crannog Loch Cannor, in Aberdeenshire, in which some beautiful bronze cauldrons have been found, was destroyed in 1628 by order of James VI. Their use is described by an old writer: "In times of trouble or war, children and goods could be easily defended in them." The amount of timber employed in one of these artificial islands may be judged from the fact that piles of from seventeen

to twenty feet long were driven into the lake bottom to within from five to six feet of their whole length, while the enceinte was formed of huge flat beams into which the uprights were mortised. How elaborate was the work may be judged from the following account of the crannog at Lochlee, in Ayrshire, explored in 1878 by Dr. Munro and several friends. It reminded our author of the "strong frames of black oak neatly joined," said to have been found in 1765, when Carlingwark Loch, Kirkcudbright, was drained, though in both cases unbelievers said the remains were only "piles put in in auld time to steep lint."

"Surrounding the rectangular log pavement, and just touching its four corners, we could trace a complete circle of firmly-fixed, upright piles, arranged in two rows from two to three feet apart. They were all made of oak, apparently young trees, and projected several feet above the surface of the pavement, some of which were observed on the grassy surface of the mound before excavations were commenced. The most important thing, however, about them, was the mode in which they were connected together by transverse beams, similar to, but ruder than, those already described as found at the north-east corner of the outer trench. Some of these beams were bevelled at the ends on their upper surfaces, especially the outer ends, and had two holes, one at each end, through which the pointed ends of the uprights projected." It is worth while to describe the mode of working during these explorations. In a square shaft three men were digging, while two pumped out the water. Many layers of brushwood and big trees were found; the trees laid parallel to each other, but transverse to those above and below. They were birch and oak, joined with oak pins, the whole as soft as cheese. Below the lowest logs some hazel brushwood was found embedded in the peaty silt of the lake bottom, this being sixteen feet below the surface of the field over which the lake had once spread. A few sentences will further illustrate the plan of operations.

"At a portion of the outer trench there was found, about a foot under the surface, a rude wooden platform, resting on a completely solid basis, which was then naturally enough supposed to be the surface of the artificial island, and towards the centre a series of at least four hearths one above the other. Now the level of the lowest hearth was about three feet below that of the wooden platform. What was the cause of this difference in level? Did the central portion sink from the weight of the superincumbent mass, or was it originally constructed so? . . . It was evident that nothing short of the removal of a large part of the central *debris* would be sufficient to give a correct idea of the log pavement and its surrounding structures, and disclose the treasures supposed to be hidden in it. Removing the soil between the outer trench and the space cleared in the interior was a work of

many weeks, of great toil and labour, and of much and varied comment by outsiders. . . . Having collected the chief facts about the log pavement, we determined to make a shaft at its lower end, *i.e.*, about the centre of the crannog, to ascertain the thickness, composition, and mode of structure of the island itself."

The finds in these crannogs have been many and various, though by no means equalling the multitude of objects discovered in the Swiss Pfahlbauten. We may remark that it was the Swiss discoveries which set Scotch archæologists on investigating the objects which (as in the case of Carlingwark Loch aforementioned) had been already noted for them in the "old statistic account of Scotland." The earliest Swiss discoveries were in 1853, when the Zurich Lake, being unusually low, the inhabitants of Ober Meilen took in bits of land on its edge, filling up the spaces saved with mud dug out of the shallows. The earliest Scotch explorations were in 1857, on the isle of the Loch of Banchory, where St. Ternan was buried; and were described by Dr. Jas. Robertson in *Chambers's Cyclopædia*. Stone and glass rings, vitreous paste beads, leather shoes with ornamental stamped pattern, a bronze lion forming a ewer, the tail turned back to make the handle; bone needles, some with the eye in the centre, singularly like sewing machine needles; iron saws, horses' bits partly of bronze; fibulæ, leather studded with bronze nails, carved wood, abundance of stone implements, and *moss girdles*, like those of other materials worn by so many savage tribes, and not dissimilar to the *sporrans* of the modern fancy Highland costume. An elaborate bone comb was found in the crannog of Loch Buiston, near Kilmaurs, a place which the sceptics said was "nothing but the site of an old whiskey still." Dr. Munro describes the finds in the Loch of Lotus, Kirkcudbright, and in Tolsta, in the Isle of Lewis, but his longest and most elaborate account is that of Lochlee, from which we have already quoted, and which is illustrated with sketches of the mortised beam arrangement of the log pavement, and the wood structures which surrounded it, &c., whereby the whole thing is brought vividly before our eyes. In the refuse bed were leg bones of domestic animals, containing (as is so often the case) beautiful crystals of vivianite (*i.e.*, phosphate of iron). This, however, proves nothing as to the age of the deposits; for such crystals may be very rapidly formed under conditions proper for the joint decomposition of bone and iron. Indeed, throughout we are struck with the modernness of the finds, allowance being made for the certain fact that stone implements were in use in primitive parts of Scotland (as they were in parts of Ireland) long after they had ceased to be used in South Britain.

Of South British crannogs we hear chiefly in East Anglia. Cheshire does not seem to have been explored, nor the lake district. Saham, Old Buckenham, Hargham (explored by Mr.

Rose, of Swaffham), Barton Mere (by the Rev. Harry Jones), Wretham Mere, out of which Sir C. Bunbury, in 1856, pumped the water to get the black mud. Faircross Pond, on Cold Ash Common, Berks, has also given oak piles and beams, and so has Llangorse Pool, near Welsh Hay, Brecon; and Colonel Lane Fox, in 1866, discovered a great many pile-structures at London Wall. In several of these, pieces of red deer horn, clearly sawn off, were found. Dr. Munro's summary is that these lake islands were used by the Roman provincials against the Angles, and Picts, and Scots, as the Victoria and other Yorkshire caves were by the refugees from the great northern towns. Most of the Scotch examples occur within the limits of the old kingdom of Strath Clyde. The joiner's work is admirable; "modern engineers could not improve on it." Granting this to have been their date, they bear witness to a very rapid change of climate; large oaks growing then where no such trees can now be reared. But this is also attested by the old tithe records, showing that wheat and barley were raised in places like Lesmahago and Glenluce, where none is now to be found.

We close with an extract attesting the enthusiasm roused by the work in a class which in England and Ireland has seldom been encouraged to help in archæological discoveries. The village schoolmaster (Mr. McNaught was one) ought to be the archæologist's chief ally.

Mr. McNaught writes in 1881 respecting the Buiston crannog:

"Talking with one of the farmers in my own house, the conversation turned on furniture, when bog oak was mentioned. He remarked that there was as much lying in Buiston stackyard as would stock the parish. At once I remembered what I had formerly seen, and though the recollection was hazy, on afterthought I felt almost sure that I had noticed mortised holes, and that the beams were identical with those I had seen at Lochlee. Next day, as soon as I had closed the school, I went up to the farm. Mr. Hay was inclined to pooh-pooh the matter, and said that the place was 'just a timmer house ane o' the auld earls had put up to shoot deuks.' Going out to the stackyard I found that the ricks had been built on the old timber, which made excellent 'bottoms.' I looked about for an odd bit, and did eventually get a splinter, but not sufficient for identification. After getting rid of the old man, his youngest son and I set to work at the bottom of one of the ricks, and pulled one of the beams so far out as enabled men to saw off the mortised joint. This I sent to the *Standard* Office, where you saw it on the Saturday morning following. I then went down to the site of the crannog, but it had become so dark that I had to feel my way. I eventually kicked against something that seemed to be an upright sticking through the soil. I went up early next morning, and when I had seen the three uprights

afterwards pointed out to you, and the mortised beams stuck in the side of the drain, I no longer had any doubts. I therefore at once wrote to Mr. Cochran-Patrick, and penned a cautious intimation for the *Standard*, which the editor accepted on trust from me. You know the rest."

RHYS'S CELTIC BRITAIN.

Early Britain. Celtic Britain. By J. Rhys, M.A., Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford, Fellow of Jesus College, and late Fellow of Merton College. Two Maps, and Woodcuts of Coins. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

MR. RHYS'S name is warrant enough that his work is sure to be thoroughly done, and that the etymological and ethnological parts are of exceptional merit. In his preface he apologises for the possible imperfection of this his first historical treatise, humorously adding that "no more severe judgment could be passed on his essay than that it should be found to be as bad as the etymologies made by historians are wont to be." Of his careful minuteness an estimate may be formed from the way in which he finds the men of *Fortrenn* in the *Verturiones*, named by Ammianus Marcellinus. He adheres to the modern notion that Iberians were the earliest inhabitants of this island, and that the Celts came over in two grand divisions—the Gael (*Goidel* is the earliest form of the word), and long after (how long it is no use trying to estimate) the Cymri. As to the old theory of the Phœnician tin-trade, Mr. Rhys says there is not a scrap of evidence that the Phœnicians ever were in Britain at any time, the passage from Festus Avienus, "a somewhat confused poet of the fourth century," about Himilco's visit, being exceedingly unsatisfactory. His remarks on the course of the tin-trade are confirmed by the discovery, to which he does not allude, of a lump of tin in Falmouth harbour, of the exact shape described by Posidonius as carried across Gaul to Marseilles. On the very curious remnants of Celtic mythology embedded in the Irish and Welsh legends, Mr. Rhys is very suggestive. He also enters at length into the traces of the Gael in Wales, whether they were survivals of the Cymric invasion or settlers who streamed back from Ireland. About the Picts of Galloway and the Welsh of Strathclyde, and how the latter were cut off from their kinsmen of Cumberland, when in 946 the Scottish king Malcolm received the former as a fief from Eadmund, he gives careful details. He thinks the Welsh language lingered from the Mersey to the Clyde till the fourteenth century. The early history of the Pictish kingdom is proverbially obscure; and

we have not followed Mr. Rhys through his careful details. Of the strange law whereby the Pictish sovereignty passed to the sons of a sister, he remarks that, in spite of the curious legend invented for it by the Irish and quoted in Bede, it proves a very low state of society—a survival in fact of the polyandry at which Cæsar hints. The word *Scot*, which has been so much discussed, he thinks means “painted or more probably scarred, disfigured man, a reminiscence of old tattooing times. Pope Adrian’s legates, in 787, speak of God as having made man beautiful, but the pagans of that land by a diabolical impulse added to him most foul scars.” He limits the *Scotti* to Ireland, and thinks they were to a great extent a non-Celtic people, often at war with the men of Ulster, which is the real reason why they were so ready to leave their country. His discussion of the meaning of *Firbolg* is very curious; he does not accept the Irish legendary rendering—the men of the bags or sacks. He thinks it an Ivernian, *i.e.* Pictish word, comparing the Scotch Strath Bolgie and Rhoss y Bol and similar names in Wales. His remarks on the Pictish language in reference to the story of St. Columba preaching among them should be read by all who care to enter into the question of how far they and the Scots were a different people. Altogether his book is a thorough contrast to that of Mr. Cutts, and shows that the Society makes provision for all kinds of readers. To a great many Mr. Rhys’s way of dealing with the subject will be thoroughly repulsive. He says little of the old legends, in fact advances nothing that will not stand the test of hard criticism. And we must not forget that there is an increasing number of students who take a lively interest in the Celtic languages and in the ethnology of our islands. To them Mr. Rhys’s book is invaluable. It ought to set at rest a good many popular errors, and is an excellent introduction to Skene and a whole library of similar works. We close with a few sentences on the vexed question of Druids, whom Sir G. Cornewall Lewis taught us to disbelieve in. Noting that the Dee, and Ribble, and Boyne were deified by the Celts, he speaks of their worship as “an elastic system of polytheism, or perhaps, more strictly speaking, not a system at all; and possibly the priesthood it implied did not form a class distinctly marked off from other men; but we have no data, and must pass on to the non-Celtic natives, who had another religion, namely, Druidism, which may be surmised to have had its origin among that race. Druidism possessed certain characteristics which enabled it to make terms with the Celtic conqueror, both in Gaul and in the British Islands; in the latter this applies probably to the Goidelic Celts alone, for there is no evidence that Druidism was ever the religion of any Brythonic people. Thus the men of Britain might perhaps be classified, so far as regards religion, into three groups: the Brythonic Celts, who were polytheists of the Aryan type; the

non-Celtic natives under the sway of Druidism ; and the Goidelic Celts, devotees of a religion which combined Aryan polytheism with Druidism."

We are glad to quote this, for it is a characteristic specimen of Mr. Rhys's style.

CASSELL'S OLD AND NEW EDINBURGH.

Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh ; Its History, Its People, and Its Places. By James Grant, Author of "Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh," &c. Numerous Engravings. Cassell and Co., London, Paris, and New York.

WE suppose by-and-by old Edinburgh will pass away, as old Rouen has gone and as old London is, before our eyes, losing almost the very last examples of its early domestic architecture. The process has been slower in Edinburgh than elsewhere ; there was a greater mass of old buildings to work on. But still those who can compare it now with what it was thirty years ago know how many picturesque bits have wholly disappeared. We therefore feel that Messrs. Cassell are doing a very good work by reproducing, in excellent woodcuts, the features of this most interesting North British capital. Everything is brought before us—the seven-storied houses of the Canongate, that seem as though they were emulous of reaching the height of the castle rock, the dilapidated bits round the Cowgate, the grand châteaux like Moray House, reminding us of the mansions in the noble faubourg in Paris, the churches, the public monuments—all are to be found in this complete picture of Edinburgh as it was and as it is. A plan of the new town, such a startling contrast to the old, reminds us that its transatlantic regularity is due to James Craig, nephew of the poet Thomson, who began it but did not live to see his design carried out. The well-known influence of France, not only on the politics but also on the architecture of early Scotland, is shown in such structures as the Canongate Tol-booth ; and in the difference, plain to an architectural student, between the ecclesiastical ruins of Scotland and those of similar English buildings. Mr. Grant's plan of going from street to street, telling as he goes along the history of each house that has a history, is the best that could have been adopted. How many such houses there are is not astonishing to those who remember their Scott. The Canongate is full of ghastly memories, like that "anes burned, twice burned ; the third time I'll scare ye all." For these Mr. Grant had not only Scott but Chambers ; and so, whether tracing the history of the so-called "Morocco Land," or giving the quaint story of John Paterson, whose house

is known as "Golfer's Land," or telling how in 1531 John Scott, "the fasting man," having fasted to the king's satisfaction, was sent to Rome and thence to Venice, where he got fifty gold ducats to take him to Jerusalem, or giving (under the head of the Scottish Academy) an account of George Watson, P.R.S.A., he is always on firm ground. As a whole Holyrood externally is disappointing; those who go expecting much must not forget the destructive fire of 1650 caused by Cromwell's troops. But it is full of quaint bits, the delight of artists, and is in marked contrast to most of the modern public buildings of the city, which are strictly classical. One of these, the Royal Institution, gives Mr. Grant the opportunity of telling the curious tale of how "the equivalent money," the bribe to Scotland at the time of the Union, was spent. More curious still is the way in which the Lothian Road was made in one day, in consequence of a bet by Sir G. Clerk, of Penicuik. But more interesting than anything about stone or wood or earth are the notices, of which these volumes are full, of such Scottish worthies as Sir James Simpson, Aytoun, Heriot, Dr. John Bell, and the dear old ladies whom we read of in Dean Ramsay and other books. One of the strangest stories in the book is "The Revolt of the Macraes," a Highland regiment that actually stood a siege and held the fencibles at bay for a long time.

On the charters of the old trades—hammermen, cordwainers, &c.,—we have some curious notes. The queer little taverns, like Lucky Fykie's in the Potter Row, frequented by men of importance in society, prove the simplicity of the habits of eighty years ago. In this Potter Row was born Jeffrey; and close by was the square in which used to take place the bickers, or fights with stones, of which Sir Walter Scott gives such a lively picture (one remembers the story of "Green Breeks"). With an extract about Sir Walter's school life we close our notice:

"In 1779," he says in his *Autobiography*, "I was sent to the second class of the grammar school, or High School, then taught by Mr. Luke Fraser, a good Latin scholar and a very worthy man. Though I had received with my brothers, in private, lessons of Latin from Mr. James French, now a minister of the Kirk of Scotland, I was nevertheless behind the class in which I was placed both in years and progress. This was a real disadvantage, and one to which a boy of lively temper ought to be as little exposed as one who might be less expected to make up the lee-way, as it is called. The situation has the unfortunate effect of reconciling a boy of the former character (which since this is a posthumous work I may claim as my own) to holding a subordinate station among his class-fellows, to which he would otherwise affix disgrace. There is also from the constitution of the High School a certain danger not sufficiently attended to. The boys take precedence in their places, as they are called, according to their

merit, and it requires a long while, in general, before even a clever boy (if he falls behind the class, or is put into one for which he is not quite ready) can force his way to the situation which his abilities really entitle him to hold. . . . It was probably owing to this circumstance that, although at a more advanced period of life I have enjoyed considerable facility in acquiring languages, I did not make any great figure at the High School, or, at least, any exertions which I made were desultory, and little to be depended upon."

FROM BENGUELA TO YACCA.

From Benguela to the Territory of Yacca, a Description of Central and West Africa. Comprising Narratives, Adventures and Important Surveys of the Sources of the Cunene, Cubango, Luando, Cuanza, and Cuango, &c., &c. By H. Capello and R. Ivens, Officers of the Royal Portuguese Navy Expedition, organised in the Years 1877-80. Translated by Alfred Elwes, Ph.D. Maps and numerous Illustrations. In Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

SENHORS CAPELLO AND IVENS are not precisely of the stuff of which Livingstones and Camerons are made, nor did the conditions under which they made their exploration admit of any very brilliant discovery. They were told to move along certain river hollows, and they did so, though it was a much more difficult and far less healthy journey than had they kept along the heights. They went under high patronage, and the dedication "to the noble and distinguished lady who embroidered them the Portuguese banner—that beautiful symbol formed of the hues of heaven and the memory of Jesus," adds to their book that touch of mystery which is so dear to Continentals. They quote the letter in which she gave this banner to the President of the Portuguese Geographical Society, begging him not to reveal her name.

Belgium, it was reported, when Cameron made his successful journey, was to be the centre of the great international movement for civilising Africa. France and Germany were both said to be going to do something. Portugal, therefore, thought she would join in the work; Major Serpa Pinto and the two officers named at the head of this notice came forward as volunteers. They did not get on well together, and Major Pinto anticipated our authors in publishing his two volumes. In "a few words of explanation," they strive to refute the charges made in the *Pall Mall Gazette*—

which amount to an accusation of abandoning their comrade in a hostile and dangerous country. This they deny; the country according to them was not hostile, and the Major "showed the timidity natural to one unused to life in the forest." He simply had to go along a beaten track, and ought to have taken it as matter of course; nor did he complain at the time. Our authors were pained and astonished when they saw in his book the record of his feelings. The fact is they all got ill, and therefore lost temper. When Pinto got to the Bi-hé he was suffering from fever and rheumatism, and the other two had had several attacks. We do not know how they manage things in Portugal, but in France or Germany several duels would inevitably follow such an unpleasant recrimination. Our concern of course is only with the work, which is all the more interesting because it is in several ways unlike those English books about Africa of which we have read so many. Their accounts of life in Central Africa are fuller of minute personal detail than those of most English travellers. They put down with cynical frankness all their difficulties with carriers, and all the extortion to which they had to submit from the *sovas* or petty kings. From the former (always the *cruz* of African travellers, unless they have Stanley's determination and make their party feel that it is dangerous to trifle with them) they suffered in an unusual degree. For instance, they were foiled in an effort to reach the headwater of the Cuanza by the desertion of one of their captains, who suddenly decamped, taking with him his wife and a gun, and a hundred dollars advances, and a piece of handkerchief. At this point too they had to throw their superfluous luggage—dressing cases, carpenter's tools, cases of tinned vegetables, &c.—into the river. Moreover they were subject to all kinds of depredations—one fellow stealing 30 lbs. of salted meat, and reselling it to them for a couple of pieces of cloth. One great obstacle to their getting supplies of good trusty carriers was that which gives their book its chief value—the zeal with which they made scientific observations. Among these was a very successful observation of the transit of Mercury; but the people argued: "What do they mean by going about with those instruments, bewitching the roads and rivers, mountains and valleys? They only think of *ocu-soneca* (writing), and measuring and spying about, and don't care for ivory or wax. They must be the white king's sorcerers come to destroy the country." Besides their scientific tables and very elaborate maps, their volumes are full of exceptionally well executed woodcuts, on satin paper, in the style to which the illustrated American magazines have accustomed us. They also give abundant notes on natural history and such like. For instance, one of their men suffered from that mysterious disease hypnosia (sleeping dropsy), of which they give a description; they also give a minute account of the scurvy which followed one of the

attacks of fever, but did not show its full nature till they got back to the coast and to their ordinary fare and to alcoholic drinks. We usually think that a low state of body is favourable to the healing of wounds. This is certainly not so among the negroes, who suffer for months if they get a simple scratch. There are plenty of hair-breadth escapes—from storms, from wild bees, from angry natives, who fired the bush all round and then attacked the party; but our authors met everything with a light heart, and describe quite jocosely the discomforts and the extortion to which they were subject. Some of the chiefs have the head-dresses of upright feathers which middle-aged folks remember on the figures of negroes that used to mark tobacconists' shops. Sometimes the road led through very thick jungle, where the way had to be cut with a hatchet. So impassable was it now and then, that we cannot help thinking the guides must have played tricks on our Portuguese; but not seldom the scenery, as shown in the woodcuts, is beautiful in the extreme, and in one or two places the granitic and basaltic rocks are truly magnificent.

Of such a book as this the conclusion usually is, for those who care to speculate on the future of Africa, the most interesting part of the work. But unfortunately, our authors cannot be regarded as safe guides in reference to the moral and spiritual condition and prospects of the Negro race. What they say about the Arabs is a proof that their judgment is warped by preconceived opinions. With a vehemence that savours of the Middle Ages they speak of the Arab race as the true pest of Africa, against whose baneful influence we in Europe should unite in a permanent crusade. And in their estimate of the Negro's rank in the human family, of the slavery question, of the duties of a missionary, &c., they are equally at fault, putting light-headed assertion in the place of argument.

The volumes will, however, well repay perusal; and they are amusing, for the authors never conceal anything that tells against themselves, as, for instance, how they once took more mead than was good for them, and how (on another occasion) they slept through some of the grand rocky scenery of the Pungo N'Dongo rocks.

HINDU MYTHOLOGY: VEDIC AND PURANIC.

Hindu Mythology: Vedic and Puranic. By W. J. Wilkins, of the London Missionary Society, Calcutta. Illustrated. Thacker and Co., Calcutta, Bombay, and London.

THE difficulty of writing a generally readable book on Hindu mythology is patent to every one. Mr. Wilkins manages re-

markably well. Without admitting anything that could offend, he has put together a very readable volume throwing a great deal of light on the subject. We know how important it is that all who go to India in any capacity should know something about the religion of the country in which they are to sojourn. Mr. Wilkins tells us how he felt the need of such a work as this when he first went out; and the need for his book, he thinks, is not superseded by the classical dictionaries published within the last few years at Madras and in London. He has above all things striven to be impartial, "to keep my mind free from prejudice and theological bias, and to let the sacred books speak for themselves." With this view he refrains from all comment save where it is needed for explanation. The illustrations are made without any attempt at idealising, and are "faithful representations of the drawings of Hindu artists." This is a very valuable feature in the book. It enables us to study the strange faith of our Aryan cousins with eyes guided by those who are sure to be the surest guides as to the externals of their creed. Figures like Vishnu recumbent with the cobra wound round him, and the two demons, who sprang from his ears as he so lay asleep, hanging over him, are very suggestive in their symbolism. Some of the pictures are strangely mediæval in character; others seem so unlike anything European as to make us doubt the Aryan character of those whose gods they figure. We have yet to learn whether the persistent symbolism which gives many heads and arms to the gods and goddesses (even Brahma appearing as a red man with four heads) has any parallel in Greece more complete than that furnished by Geryon and Briareus and Cerberus. The old Greek myths underwent such a gradual beautifying that the original forms are mostly lost. We wish Mr. Wilkins had said more about the relative dates of Hindu myths. What he does say on this subject we subjoin.

"Vaska (probably the oldest commentator on the Vedas) gives the following classification of the Vedic gods:

"There are three deities, according to the expounders of the Vedas: Agni, whose place is on the earth; Vayu or Indra, whose place is in the air; and Surya, whose place is in the sky. These deities receive severally many appellations, in consequence of their greatness or of the diversity of their functions.' In the Rig-Veda itself their number is increased to thirty-three: 'Agni, the wise god, lends an ear to his worshippers. God with the ruddy steeds, who loveth praise, bring hither those three-and-thirty.' This is the number commonly mentioned, though it is by no means easy to decide which are the thirty-three intended, as the lists of the gods vary considerably; whilst in another verse it is said, that 'three hundred, three thousand, thirty-and-nine gods have worshipped Agni.' These deities are spoken of

as immortal, but are not said to be self-existent beings ; in fact, their parentage in most cases is given, though the various accounts of their origin, as found in different parts of the Vedas, do not agree with each other. Agni and Savitri are said to have conferred immortality upon the gods ; whilst it is taught that Indra obtained this boon by sacrifice. An interesting account is given in the 'Satapatha Brahmana' of the means by which the gods obtained immortality, and superiority over the Asuras or Demons. All the gods were alike mortal, all were alike sons of Prajapati, the Creator. Wishing to be immortal, they offered sacrifices liberally, and practised the severest penance ; but not until Prajapati had taught them to offer a particular sacrifice could they become immortal. They followed his advice, and gained the desired boon. Wishing to become greater than the Asuras, they became truthful. Previously they and the Asuras spoke truthfully or falsely as they thought fit ; but gradually they ceased from lying, whilst the Asuras became increasingly false : the result was, that the gods after protracted struggles gained the victory. Of the gods, originally, all were alike in power, all alike good ; but three of them desired to be superior to the rest, viz., Agni, Indra, and Surya. They continued to offer sacrifices for this purpose until it was accomplished. Originally there was not in Agni the same flame as there is now. He desired, 'May this flame be in me,' and offered a sacrifice for the attainment of this blessing, and obtained it. By the same means Indra increased his energy and Surya his brightness."

A TEXT-BOOK OF INDIAN HISTORY.

A Text-Book of Indian History, with Geographical Notes, Genealogical Tables, Examination Questions, and Chronological, Biographical, Geographical, and General Indexes, for the use of Schools, Colleges, and Private Students. By the Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D., Principal of Bishop Cotton's Grammar School and College, Bangalore, Fellow of the Madras University. Third Edition, with Sixteen Maps. W. H. Allen and Co. London.

THIS is an Indian history, or rather introduction to the study of Indian history, which may be heartily recommended to all who have a special interest in the subject. The number of these is continually increasing. While we write, public attention is directed with earnestness almost amounting to intensity towards the Indian Empire ; and it would be hard to say how many are every morning painfully reminded of their ignorance of the main principles of Anglo-Indian politics and the relation of India to

the British Empire. This volume would be very useful to the ordinary reader ; but specially to those who are looking towards the East as their future home, whether going there on the public service or sent by the Christian Church as missionaries. It is a very methodical book ; its analysis is perfect ; and not a word is wasted. Indeed it might be regarded as too nearly approaching the character of a simple register of events to be very popular. But what might impair its popularity and attractiveness as light reading turns to its advantage as a guide to the sound knowledge of India. Here are a few sentences with which the work closes, and they will give a good idea of its style :

"The sad history of the 'Sepoy Mutiny,' in which England had finally to conquer its own rebellious army, and in the course of which the last of the Moguls, and the sole surviving and most unworthy representative of the Peshwās was swept away, and which ended in the assumption by the British Crown of the direct government of India, which until then had been under the administration of the ever memorable British East India Company, closes the eventful history. The romance of Indian history is over. No such wonderful histories as those of Sirajī, Ranjit Sing, and Haidar can repeat themselves in this land, now resting itself after the struggles of a thousand years. May future historians record that in 1859 her millennium of peace and prosperity began !

"The student's attention may be drawn, with propriety, to one or two inferences.

"(1.) It will be discerned, that while in many cases the English have appeared as the liberators of oppressed races, in none have they overthrown a dominion that had existed before their own advent in the East, and which could be called a legitimate and ancient Hindū dominion. The only really ancient states of India which were in existence in the beginning of the eighteenth century, those of Rājputāna and Mysōr, are in being still, and owe their continuance to British protection. This is a fact which the student should minutely examine and verify for himself.

"(2.) The rise and progress of British rule in the East has been what may be termed *spontaneous*.

"Every step has been taken with reluctance, and under the pressure of that imperious necessity which Clive was the first to feel : the last battle was but the necessary corollary of the first.

"(3.) It can hardly be necessary to do more than to direct the attention of the student to the circumstance, that many of England's greatest statesmen and bravest warriors have been concerned in the establishment, guidance, and defence of this Anglo-Indian Empire.

"May it not safely be affirmed that the annals of the world afford no examples of constancy, prudence, and fortitude more

illustrious than those which shine forth in the pages of British Indian history? Hence the value and importance of this study.

"(4.) And lastly, if the provinces of India at any period during the last ten centuries have enjoyed peace, or had any assured hope of development and progress, it has been only as, one after another, they have come under the dominion or protection of Great Britain. Is it not evident that India now beholds the dawn of a brighter day than she has ever yet seen? The analogy of history, and a consideration of the laws which seem to govern human affairs, forbid the expectation that the forms of Indian national life which have passed away should ever reappear. There is no second life for decayed civilisations and nationalities. No Râma will arise to reign, as in ancient fable, over the fifty-six Hindû nations; and Mosalmân conquerors have had their day.

"From shadowy and misleading phantoms of Hindû independence we must turn away our eyes.

"The subjects of the 'Empress of India' are admitted to share the responsibilities and rewards of high office in the Anglo-Indian Empire; and, if no fusion of races is probable, or even possible, nevertheless, in the highest sense, India and rulers may be and must be One.

"India's life in future must be identified with that of the Paramount Power; and we trust that Great Britain has fully recognised, and is conscientiously striving to fulfil, in no selfish spirit, the duties which her guardianship of India involves.

"If these pages shall help the student to estimate aright his own duties, and to endeavour, in his measure, to help forward the great and necessary work of assimilating more and more these Eastern dominions of the Queen to the most favoured regions of the West in all that is helpful and excellent, they will not have been written in vain."

It may be added that all the subordinate matters that go to the completeness and practical value of such a book as this have been well cared for. Maps of peculiar beauty, chronological tables, examination questions, are found in the volume, which seems perfectly to answer its design, and will not be superseded at least in the present generation.

EPISODES IN THE LIFE OF AN INDIAN CHAPLAIN.

Episodes in the Life of an Indian Chaplain. Sampson Low and Co., Fleet Street.

THIS is a highly interesting and unaffected narrative of twenty years' work in India. The writer has suppressed his name; but there are many, both in England and in South India, who can

testify to the accuracy of the narrative, and to the value of the labours of the author ; and there are some who, when they read its dedication, will recall the tombs in the Bangalore Cemetery, where that mother is at rest, and where one of her daughters, suddenly called away, awaits the summons which shall call those that sleep to meet their Lord.

The work of an Indian chaplain is very varied and important, and the very title is hallowed by the memories of Henry Martyn, of Thomason, and of Brown. It is not given to all to do the work they did for the Indian Church, but it may be safely said, that it would be a fatal mistake if anything should be permitted to interfere with an establishment that places in every important station in India a well-educated and refined clergyman of the English Church. Though not, strictly speaking, missionaries to the heathen, they often give very valuable aid to the cause of missions, and their labours are directed to the cultivation, among our fellow-countrymen in the East, of a type of Christianity which may commend our most holy religion to heathen and Mahomedans, "for a city that is set upon a hill cannot be hid." There was a time when it was said, with too much truth, that *our countrymen who went to India, left their religion, if they ever had any, at the Cape of Good Hope, and forgot to call for it on their return homewards.* That time has gone by, and most missionaries can testify that they have been aided and cheered by the Christian sympathy and virtues of pious laymen, and this change is owing, in part, to the labours of Indian chaplains. Indeed, in our Eastern possessions, there is room for every species of labourer, and whatever tends to diffuse a Christian influence is helping forward the regeneration of India. To the author of this volume, indeed, the Mysore kingdom owes the foundation of a large and flourishing orphanage, of a church which more than any other in South India recalls the idea of an English village church, of the Bishop Cotton Schools and College, and the restoration of the Tamil Mission Church. He has retired from the scene of his labours, but his works remain. The volume under notice is one which will have an especial interest for those who have lived in South India, for those who are about to enter upon any work there, and for all who desire to see a graphic picture of the life of a clergyman in that most interesting part of our empire. The author has wisely abstained from any ambitious attempt at fine writing or learned disquisitions. It is the plain record of a simple and uneventful life ; but it is not without many of those touches of nature which "make all the world kin," and which will render its perusal deeply interesting. The writer is a man of careful observation, and of cultivated taste ; and the accounts that he gives of all that was remarkable, with regard to natural objects as well as in the habits and customs of the races amongst whom he dwelt,

are highly valuable. There is thus scattered through the book a multitude of interesting facts which may be more valuable to those who are interested in Indian affairs than the most learned treatises on the antiquities and theological systems of the East. As a specimen of the author's style, we transcribe a part of his account of that most lovely spot in the Madras Presidency called "Ooty," or Ootacamund :

"The climate of Ooty during the month of May resembles that of April in England; the sun's rays, however, are much more powerful, and after eight a.m. unpleasantly warm. The thermometer stands at about 60° in the shade throughout the day, and out-door exercise is at all times pleasant and beneficial.

"There are well-made roads, winding round the foot of the hills, and bridle-paths, which give an endless variety of views to the various places of interest all around.

"The 'sholas,' which are small patches of forest in the gorges between the hills, down which streams of water flow into a boulder-bed at the bottom, covered with ferns of every description, are very pleasing to the eye.

"In these 'sholas' are endless companies of huge black monkeys, with white beards.

"The sides of the precipices, or *kuds*, as they are termed, are clothed with a variety of forest trees, indigenous to the hills, most of them very old, and the mossy branches of many laden with ferns and orchids.

"The rhododendron flourishes in abundance, the arbutus, wild raspberry, blackberry, and bilberry shrubs also abound.

"Banks of soft green moss, wild strawberries, and violets spread over the slopes, with occasionally a lovely bank of maiden-hair fern.

"At the sides of the road may be seen in profusion the wild geranium, blue and white iris, white and pink wild roses, honeysuckle, and the golden yellow blossoms of the furze or gorse.

"In the public gardens at Ooty numerous kinds of flowers flourish and spread in a manner unknown at home: hedges of fuchsias and heliotropes covered with blossom.

"The oak, ivy, heath, box, dahlia, verbena, calceolaria, foxglove, and others, too numerous to mention here, abound; and, of late years, the cinchona-tree has been most successfully cultivated.

"Those who desire to enjoy the climate and scenery of the Neilgherries should visit them, it is said, before the month of June or after September. The rains set in early in the former month, and then thick white clouds of mist obscure the views and detract much from the pleasure of out-door exercise.

"To lovers of ornithology the hills present a perfect paradise of enjoyment.

"Passing over the 'sparrow' and the 'carrion crow' (for the

smaller crow of the plains, with ashy-grey neck and breast, has not as yet found his way up the Ghauts), we find the lovely 'myna' (a starling), with his jet-black plumage and golden wattles.

"Then comes the red-whiskered 'bul-bul,' with his black head and crest, crimson whiskers, light hair-brown plumage, cheerily sending forth his notes on a hideous tuft of tobacco plant.

"Then follow the 'grey tit,' the white-eyed flower-pecker. Then again, though so small—only four inches in length—we find the 'Neilgherry flower-pecker,' hunting as busily as possible for insects. The 'butcher-bird,' the 'black robin,' the 'skylark,' all come in order.

"Then, what is that running across your path; mice?

"No. It is the 'painted bush quail,' which you will not obtain in the plains.

"Then you see the 'Neilgherry blackbird,' very like its European brother, and the 'blue rock thrush,' supposed, from its solitary habits, to be the 'swallow' of the Holy Scriptures, 'that sitteth alone on the house top.'

"These are not all. There is the 'laughing thrush,' the 'blue-necked bee-eater,' the 'green barbet,' and the 'hoopoe,' with his large crest, long curved beak, and quaintly banded plumage.

"But we must pass on from birds to men.

"In our walks we often come across a lovely open space with grass so closely cropped and so fine as to form a perfect carpet of velvet-like moss. Here one stumbles upon a hut in the shape of a straw skep, or the tilt of a wagon, and near it stands a Toda or Tuda. He is described as a fine, tall, athletic-looking fellow, with an open, expressive, ingenuous countenance; a large full eye, a Roman nose, and fine teeth. He has no covering on his head, wearing his hair six or seven inches long, parted from the centre, and forming natural bushy circlets all round. His costume is simple enough, formed of a short garment round the waist, fastened by a girdle, with an upper mantle or blanket that covers the whole person except the head, legs, and right arm.

"Near him stands, looking with all her dark eyes, his wife, the pattern of a 'pretty Jewess.' She has a pleasing and feminine expression of countenance, and is distinguished by her fine form of person and her beautiful long black tresses, which flow in unrestrained luxuriance on her neck and shoulders. Her dress is similar to that of the man, but covers the whole person.

"The Todas, called 'Thodan,' individually do not congregate in villages, but live apart, there not being generally more than four or five habitations together."

We must not forget to add, in conclusion, that the book is very beautifully and faithfully illustrated.

WORKS ON SCIENCE.

Light: A Course of Experimental Optics. By Lewis Wright.
With Illustrations. London: Macmillan and Co. 1882.

A School Course on Heat. By W. Larden, M.A. London:
Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington. 1882.

Synopsis of the Classification of the Animal Kingdom. By
Henry Alleyne Nicholsson, M.D., D.Sc., &c. William
Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1882.

WE hope that no one will be deterred from a careful perusal of Mr. Wright's book by the unattractive character of the first chapter. A professedly practical work naturally commences with a description of the apparatus used in most of the succeeding experiments. Although Mr. Wright opens in so homely a manner, he soon gains our attention, and each chapter adds to the interest, till in the last we are left, wondering, amidst the highest mysteries which the mind of man can contemplate. The author has undoubtedly adopted the right method, and realised the true end of scientific study. The true student cannot learn too soon the fact that a science can be satisfactorily mastered only by the experimental method. Though in all physical sciences exact researches now require complicated and expensive apparatus, it is the aim of works like the one before us to enable the student of moderate means to exemplify for himself the basis facts of science. We well remember the days when chemistry was taught without a single experiment, and the flood of light which in after years a course of experiments threw upon the subject. There are still found those who, having acquired a certain amount of scientific knowledge from books alone, still decry the experimental method as unnecessary, except, of course, in the case of those prosecuting original researches. But we venture to affirm that no mere theoretical knowledge of any science, however imaginative the student, will enable him to realise the marvellous workings of nature. Nor will he be in a favourable position to discuss the true relationship of theories to fact. What has already been done with respect to chemistry, Mr. Wright is attempting to further in the case of his favourite branch of physics, and we hope his book may be successful in accomplishing this object. The bearings of fact on theory in relation to light are well brought out in it; and where verbal description fails in detailing the more beautiful experiments, we find exquisite coloured plates to aid our imagination.

But Mr. Wright does not stop short at mere physical facts and theories. To him the end of a science is not attained in

the acquisition and arrangement of its truths. He regards the physical universe as a revelation, a stepping-stone to higher truths and more exalted thoughts. If the universe has an author, it should reveal that author. The end of all knowledge is God, and the author of this volume has worked under the dominant stimulus of that fact. It is indeed the highest privilege of the scientific worker; if he lose himself in lower ends, his labours lack their crown. As surely as the divinity of the doctrine is revealed to him who does the will of the Father, so surely shall the reverent worker in the domain of nature find there the reflection of its Author.

What is light? A form of energy; one of those varied movements of matter and ether which our sense-organs interpret so differently. Light is the name of the sensation, movement, of special character, the physical exponent. We look in thought on the world outside, and find nothing but waves of matter and ether: no light, no colour, no heat, no sound, only endless movement! Hence, "This light we are studying is not itself a thing, but a revealer of things. It is itself, and by itself, absolutely *invisible*. It *makes* visible to us luminous objects or sources, rays from which actually reach our eyes; but if we look sideways at rays from the most dazzling light, we cannot see them. Space is black. If we appear in previous experiments to have 'seen' the course of the rays in our darkened room, this is only because of the little motes in the air; and Professor Tyndall has shown that, destroying these by heat, and keeping fresh ones out of a glass tube thus cleared, the space traversed by the full beam of an electric lamp is dark as night" (p. 47). The heavens, though flooded with sunlight, display no brilliance by night, save where masses of matter, otherwise invisible, like the moon and planets, reflect the rays, or where the light of distant suns feebly wings its way through the already vibrating ether. What untold wonders would this light reveal had we sense-organs keen enough to receive, and minds acute enough to interpret its finer manifestations. Century after century has the history of each star and illumined planet been thrown off into space. In one unbroken wave it traverses the universe. The secrets of the stars, written in ether waves, are unfolded day by day. Even our own dull earth gives forth a daily revelation to the universe; and were the stellar satellites inhabited with beings who could detect its light, some would be reading the battle of Waterloo, and some the Norman Conquest; others would witness the events of Gospel history, and farther and farther off the pyramids are being built, and the ark is made; whilst in unknown regions beyond the light of Eden still passes on to tell of unfallen man and primeval peace on earth! Wonderful mingling of pasts and presents!

"Let us fully grasp the grand conception ; for there is no grander throughout the entire material universe ! All around us—everywhere—space is traversed in all directions by myriads of waves. Not more surely does a nail take up from a hammer the force of a blow, than does each particle of something take up and pass on the motion of the preceding particle. Heat, light, colour, electricity, all alike are simple propagations of disturbance through that something which we call ether. Invisible themselves, these wonderful motions make all things visible to us, and reveal to us such things as are. Take away from the diapason of these invisible waves those of any given period, and if we lose the dazzling whiteness which results from them all in due proportion, we but increase the soft splendour of the phenomena, as the hues of the rainbow appear before our eyes. Let them clash against, oppose, and so destroy one another, and even their very interferences, though dark shadows may cross our vision, produce amidst these forms and colours of almost unearthly beauty. Motion in the ether accounts for all" (p. 353). Ether ! "No eye has seen it ; no instruments can weigh it ; no vessel can contain it ; nothing can measure it ; and yet it must be there. 'There ?'—yea, here also, and everywhere. Absolutely invisible, it is yet the sole key to all physical phenomena ; and the most recent, most widely received, and altogether most probable theory about matter itself, is that its atoms are but vortices in its infinite bosom" (p. 353). The presence of ether is disclosed by light, which is therefore "a revealer of all nature, both visible and invisible."

"Another step further yet. The inquiry is irresistibly suggested, whether the comparison and the analogy may not go further, and afford us some revelation deeper still. That inquiry is strictly legitimate. If our universe be in truth an objective and conditional manifestation of any absolute source of all being it should be thus: the actual ought, in its limited measure, to reveal to us truly the essential and eternal" (354). What, then, do physical science experiment and speculation teach us ?

"1. They tell us of an intangible, invisible ether, which cannot be touched, or tasted, or contained, or measured, or weighed, but yet is everywhere ; which contains within itself the most essential properties of matter, fluid and solid ; and yet which is not matter, though it can communicate its own motions to matter, and receive motions from it.

"2. They speak to us next, according to the latest and most widely received vortex theory of Sir William Thomson, something vaguely about this ether taking form. They suggest to us how vortices in it may appear to us as the atoms of matter which we do see, feel, and handle, and which in this form *can* be limited,

and contained, and measured, and weighed ; and in which the ether may become, as it were, incarnate and embodied.

"3. They tell us, in the third place, of a mysterious energy, which also takes Protean forms, but which in one form or other is doing all the physical work of the kosmos. Through it ether acts upon matter, and matter reacts upon ether or upon other matter.

"And this is all, and our light embodies them all and reveals them all. It is motion, a form of energy ; it is motion *in* the ether ; and it is invisible, inconceivable, unknown to us, *unless* matter, to make it visible, be in its path. There are these three and these only ; each distinct and separate ; and yet the three making up one, a mysterious unity which cannot be dissolved.

"So far the purely physical philosopher. Pondering attentively this wonderful triune splendour which he has put before us, it may seem strange that he at least should sneer at *any* other Trinity in Unity, seeing the kindred mystery in which he himself acknowledges that he dwells" (355-6). For from an old book the Christian has "gathered a like conception, and even framed it into a set theological formula."

"1. He tells us, first, that he believes in an eternal, immortal, invisible, inconceivable, infinite essence, the one Source and Father of all.

"2. He believes that this first essential Being has in a mysterious way become embodied in a second, in some inconceivable manner co-existent with and yet derived from Him, who is the brightness of His glory and the visible image of His person, and in whom and by whom all things were made.

"3. He affirms that these two work or act by and through a third, an equally mysterious energy ; whose operations assume many forms ; who does all things, alike in matter and in spirit ; and who is as the wind, blowing where it listeth ; and who finally brings all conscious agencies that yield to Him into harmonious relation and equilibrium with all that surrounds them.

"That is the creed of the Christian, however he came by it ; more particularly, indeed, it is the special creed of the Trinitarian Christian, so much derided during the last twenty years. He also says and believes, like the other, that, although he cannot explain it, any more than the physical philosopher, these Three are One. And, strange to say, he too goes so far as to affirm that the motions of the third originally produced that light which we have found such a fascinating study ; and that to him, also, that is an express symbol and revelation of the Three.

"This is but a suggestion and inquiry, and dogmatism is not pretended from either side. But *if* there should be reality and facts

behind the belief of both parties as we have listened to them, is there not here indeed an obvious, deep, fundamental, marvellous agreement?" (357).

We have quoted from this last remarkable chapter at some length, doing, however, some injustice to Mr. Wright by our omissions. The book and its conclusions are both worthy of thoughtful study. The Bible awaits the advance of science, not only for the verification of its facts, but also for the illustration of its mysteries. Explain them it never will; but its dim light may help faith to grasp what reason cannot approach. No doubt, as time goes on, this light will become brighter and brighter, till all sciences shall combine to show that the Book of Revelation and the Book of Nature are the work of One Divine Author.

The majority of school courses are not very palatable, and the reviewer who does more than taste them must have a keen relish for such diet. Mr. Larden has, however, made us read his book through, and we must pronounce it excellent. Not only can we recommend it as a school course on heat, but to all private students who wish to undertake a practical course of physics. It presupposes no knowledge of physical science, and yet does not fail to give the reader clear ideas of the modern theory of energy and the molecular constitution of matter. Many writers on this subject carefully describe the elaborate and costly apparatus by which exact researches have been made, but make no attempt to explain how the student may himself perform the experiments in a simpler manner. Such experiments form an essential part of the book before us. The reader is not assumed to possess an overflowing purse or unlimited ingenuity. On the contrary, Mr. Larden shows that many interesting facts may be illustrated by the simplest apparatus, gives all hints necessary for their performance, and explains why any given experiment is liable to fail. Though so eminently practical a work, the mathematical side of the subject is not forgotten. All calculations involved are carefully explained, and each chapter is followed by a series of examples which are unusually good. The paragraphs are, moreover, so arranged that by the omission of certain marked sections a more elementary course can be taken. The book itself is elegant, well printed, illustrated, and bound, and does credit to all concerned in its production. Mr. Larden has embodied in it all the most recent discoveries, and where the limits of the work forbid detail, he thoughtfully refers the reader to the best treatise on the subject. As an illustration of his style we will quote the paragraph on the air thermometer and absolute zero of temperature, premising that a gas when heated expands for every degree centigrade $\frac{1}{273}$ of its volume at zero. If, therefore, we take a graduated tube containing 273 volumes of air at zero, it is

evident that the air will expand or contract one volume for every degree centigrade its temperature is raised or lowered.

"Now it is clear that a tube so marked and containing a volume of air that fills 273 divisions at 0° C. is a thermometer; the mark '273' answers to 0° C., 283 answers to 10° C.; so that we could mark it on one side according to the centigrade scale, and on the other side according to another scale which differs from centigrade only in beginning from a zero which would be -273° C.; and so any reading in this latter scale equals the centigrade scale with 273 added. Let us now consider further what the '0' on this scale, which answers to -273° C., means.

"As we cool the gas degree by degree, its volume is diminished division by division, till at -272° C. it would occupy one division, and at -273° C. it would (always supposing, as we have done, that the gas continually follows this same law of contraction) occupy no volume at all (note *infra*). Now, what temperature must that be at which a gas can maintain no volume at all? Let us remember that the gas is all the time under the pressure of the atmosphere, and that it has to keep its volume against this pressure. We shall see later on that a gas is composed of a vast number of little particles flying about with great velocity, and that the gas exerts a pressure, not by these particles being pressed so as to touch each other and then pressing back by reaction, but by the particles bombarding the sides of the vessel in which the gas is, and exerting a pressure on it in the same way as a steady bombardment of bullets on a rifle target would exert a pressure on that target. We have already seen that 'heat is motion,' and so the vigour with which these particles fly about and bombard the sides of the vessel depends on the temperature. As the temperature falls they bombard the vessel more weakly, and the gas is therefore pressed into a smaller volume by the pressure of the atmosphere, which is steady, we suppose, all the time. When the gas is unable to maintain any volume at all (or rather when the particles are actually in contact), we must, according to this, suppose that the motion of the particles has altogether ceased, or that the temperature of the gas is really zero. Other considerations confirm this idea, and hence we come to the conclusion that . . . *At -273° C. we have absolute cold, or -273° C. is the absolute zero or '0' of temperature.* The foregoing is, of course, not a complete proof. If, then, we mark our thermometer with degrees of the same size as the centigrade degrees, but begin to count from 273° C. as '0,' so that freezing point is 273° , we shall never have to use minus numbers at all, since there can be no temperature colder than absolute cold. When a thermometer is marked in this way, it is usual to call the scale '*the absolute scale of temperature,*' and to designate readings in this scale by the letter 'T'" (101-2).

This remarkable conclusion, that there is an absolute zero of temperature, we believe was first announced by Sir William Thomson, and has already proved valuable to the physicist.

Dr. Nicholson's name is so well known in connection with his valuable works on zoology and palæontology that encomiums are unnecessary. His last production is intended to be a "guide to a line of study," "a skeleton, which the student must endow with life by his own work," and as such it will be a useful addition to the library of the zoologist. Numerous references to special treatises and papers will enable the student to accomplish the object Dr. Nicholson aims at. Classification in biology has passed through several important phases during the last century. As knowledge increased, some fixed centres round which the facts could be grouped were found to be indispensable. The earlier attempts to arrange living creatures into classes were based on the peculiarities and variations of some one special organ, or mere external feature, as if men should be divided into tribes according to the colour of their hair or eyes. This method, being purely artificial, was soon found to be inconvenient, as it often led to the wide separation of animals which were evidently closely allied. In time, however, a more accurate knowledge of anatomy led to a more natural classification. The animal was now viewed as a whole, the general arrangement and structure of all the organs were taken into consideration, and classes formed on the ground of the largest number of essential points of resemblance. Still another basis of classification is now popular, which, however, does not differ seriously from the last in its results. Taking evolution as proved, many zoologists hold that in the developmental changes undergone by every animal, we have an epitomised history of the development of the species—a sort of genealogical tree. They believe that each embryo will in turn assume the forms which, now only temporary, were permanent in its ancestors. Ontogenesis, or the development of the individual, is supposed to be a reflection of phylogenesis, the pedigree of the species. This embryological basis is, no doubt, of value, but it has in some instances been pressed too far. It does not yet authorise us to create imaginary classes of animals, of which palæontology says nothing, to fill up the missing links in the evolution chain. Dr. Nicholson is not a speculative zoologist. He still places the tunicates among the molluscs, though referring in a note to the opinion which would regard them as degraded vertebrates.

Though the author refers to his book as a skeleton, everything has been done by means of illustrations to make the skeleton lifelike. The woodcuts are numerous and well executed, and add to the interest and value of the work. With these before him, the most superficial reader cannot fail to be struck with the remarkable variety in the forms of animal life, though the

general types are so limited in number. Indeed it is probable that, even in the same species, nature rarely, if ever, produces two individuals precisely alike. Though the outward form and the internal structure of the animal kingdom are partially known, thy physiological working of these wonderful automata is in great measure undiscovered. What senses they possess, other than our own, we neither have nor can have any conception. Their eyes may see beauties in each other which our duller senses fail to perceive. As we once heard a little girl observe on seeing the lovely scales of the wing of the Burnet moth under the microscope, "How beautiful they must seem to each other!" Nature in this, as in all its branches, is infinitely complex, and we miss its true end if, with natural egotism, we regard it as made for man alone.

BALLARD'S PYRAMID PROBLEM.

The Solution of the Pyramid Problem; or, Pyramid Discoveries, with a New Theory as to their Ancient Use. Pp. 109.
By Robert Ballard. New York: Wiley and Sons. 1882.

THE author of this little book is a member of the English and American Institutes of Civil Engineers, and chief engineer of one of the Australian railways; and as such is fully competent to deal with the important problem which he has undertaken to solve. He displays throughout a familiarity with geometrical principles and details which could only be acquired through a long professional career; and the general reader may perhaps be disposed to lay the volume down as too technical and abstruse. If he will take the trouble to read it carefully, however, we think he will be amply repaid. He will be able not only to understand its general scope, but to master most of the details, and, if we are not mistaken, he will be satisfied that Mr. Ballard has established his point. His theory is that the Pyramids of Gizeh formed a central group, to which all the other pyramids and obelisks of Egypt were subordinate, and that they were erected chiefly as landmarks for the trigonometrical survey of the country. He believes that in ancient times there was an uninterrupted series of these monuments all the way from Babylon to Ethiopia. It would not be possible for us, in a few pages, and without the aid of diagrams, to unfold the author's system fully; but we will attempt to give a brief description of its main features. He thus explains the first impression which a sight of the pyramids of Gizeh produced upon his mind: "About twenty-three years ago, on my road to Australia, I was crossing from Alexandria to Cairo, and saw the pyramids of Gizeh. I watched them care-

fully as the train passed along, noticed their clear-cut lines against the sky, and their constantly changing relative position. I then felt a strong conviction that they were built for at least one useful purpose, and that purpose was the survey of the country. I said, 'Here be the Theodolites of the Egyptians' (p. 111). The trigonometrical system of the ancient Egyptians included only right-angled triangles; and Mr. Ballard shows that the three pyramids of Gizeh, which he economically calls "Cheops," "Cephren," and "Mycerinus," are based on two of these triangles, whose proportions can be expressed in whole numbers. The first is the celebrated Pythagorean triangle whose base, perpendicular, and hypotenuse are in the relation of 3, 4, and 5. This, he thinks, Pythagoras did not discover, but learnt at the Egyptian College from whence he obtained his M.A. degree! The second is a triangle of wonderful properties, whose sides are in the proportion of 20, 21, and 29, though it is drawn on a much smaller scale than the other, and its hypotenuse is little more than half the length of that of the 3, 4, 5 triangle in the author's diagrams. Cheops is built on the acute angle of the first triangle, and Mycerinus rests on the greater angle formed by the hypotenuse and base. Cheops also rests on the acute angle of the 20, 21, 29 triangle, and Cephren on its greater angle. The bases of the two triangles are parallel, and the perpendiculars are formed by the same straight line. Cephren is the middle pyramid, and the centre of its base lies a little to the west of the hypotenuse connecting Cheops and Mycerinus. There are also twelve small pyramids in the group, but, with one exception, Mr. Ballard had not sufficient data to enable him to establish a connection between them and the larger ones. He has shown, however, that a small pyramid to the S.E. of Cheops rests on the acute angle, and Cheops itself on the greater angle of a 3, 4, 5 triangle, the perpendicular side of which is equal in length to the versed sine of the angle formed by the hypotenuse and base of the 20, 21, 29 triangle, and he is satisfied that the other eleven are parts of the same system.

He explains how geometric lines could be laid down with the greatest nicety, taking the Gizeh group as the centre of operations; but we can only give a few examples. Supposing the observer to be placed at a distance of, say, 20 miles, when Cephren exactly covered Cheops the observer's position would be S. 21°, W. 20°, and the hypotenuse of the 20, 21, 29 triangle would be prolonged, bearing 223° 36' 10.15". Other lines might be drawn. 1. When the apex of Mycerinus appeared exactly under that of Cheops, which would be an extension of the hypotenuse of the 3, 4, 5 triangle; 2. When the diagonal lines of Cephren and Mycerinus corresponded; 3. When the apex of Mycerinus was exactly under that of Cephren; 4. When

the base corners of Cheops and Cephren appeared to touch ; 5. When the base corner of Mycerinus appeared to be exactly under the apex of Cephren, &c. The surveyor in all cases is supposed to be furnished with a string and stone, to be used as a plummet, and to make use of the rising, setting, or meridian sun. "The surveyors would be stationed at suitable distances apart with their strings and stones, ready to catch the sun simultaneously, and at the very moment he became transfixed upon the apex of the pyramid, and was, as it were, 'swallowed up' by it . . . Surely such lines as these would be as true and as perfect as we could lay out nowadays with all our modern instrumental appliances" (pp. 47, 48). But here the author has fallen into a slight mistake. One of his diagrams represents the sun as just disappearing behind the top of Cheops; but the base of this pyramid would only be 24' of a circle having a radius of 20 miles, whereas the sun's diameter subtends an angle of $31\frac{1}{2}$ to $32\frac{1}{2}$ according to his distance from the earth, so that the entire pyramid would appear on the upper half of the rising or setting sun with more than 100 feet to spare at each base corner, and about six feet to spare above the apex. The pyramid, and not the sun, would be "swallowed up!" One of the most splendid sights we ever witnessed was the transit of a large mail steamer across the disc of the setting sun in a cloudless tropical sky—the stem and stern just touching its northern and southern limbs, whilst the entire vessel stood out upon its face in glorious relief. A very pretty object, also, is a windmill on a hill several miles away, with the rising or setting sun behind it. The author's theory explains the reason why Mycerinus was cased with red polished granite. If it had been covered with white limestone like the others, it would have been completely lost to view when it stood between the surveyor and Cephren. He urges in support of his views that, in a country where the boundaries of the land were liable to continual disturbance through the annual overflowing of the Nile, large and immoveable objects like the pyramids and obelisks were essential to the security of property. He adopts as his unit of measurement a cubit closely resembling the Royal Babylonian cubit, and containing 20·2208 British inches, or 1·685 British feet. Sixty of these cubits = one plethron or second ; six seconds = one stadium ; ten stadia = one minute or geographical mile ; sixty miles = one degree ; and 360 degrees = the Polar circumference of the earth.

Not less interesting are his measurements of the three pyramids themselves—the base side of Mycerinus being 210, that of Cephren 420, and that of Cheops 452 Royal Babylonian cubits. But Cephren, the middle pyramid, stands on higher ground than Cheops, and on lower ground than Mycerinus. He therefore takes the base of Cephren as his plan-level, and finds that its base line

produced cuts Cheops at the top of the tenth course of masonry, where its side is also exactly 420 Royal Babylonian cubits in length. If Mycerinus were built on the same level as Cephren its base would be 8 cubits more, or 218 cubits in all. This reduction of the three pyramids to a common level has an important bearing on the author's theory. He shows further that the heights of the three pyramids were determined by the triangles on which they stand, and in this respect his theory exhibits a marked superiority over that of Professor Piazzi Smyth, who almost deifies Cheops because its altitude is to the periphery of its base as π , or the proportion of the diameter of a circle to its circumference—regarding the other pyramids of Egypt as imitations more or less clumsy, and treating them with respect or contempt according to their approach to or deviation from the π relation. In view of the above fact it appears not unlikely that the pyramid builders, in determining the height and base of Cheops, were not aware that they were practically squaring the circle; or that, even if they knew it, it was not their dominant idea.

Though it was not part of the author's design to explain fully the uses of the interior passages and chambers of Cheops, he throws out some valuable suggestions which may hereafter bear fruit. He believes that the subterranean chamber was connected with the Nile, and that it was intended to supply the builders with water, which might have been "slided" up the passages in troughs; or that the chambers and passages were parts of a stupendous hydraulic system. We can discover some weak points in the latter hypothesis; but that the water was conveyed up the passages in troughs, or by means of the cochlea or water-screw, seems very likely. He further suggests that after the pyramid was completed, the king buried, and the entrance closed, the ancient priests had access to its passages and chambers by some subterranean entrance, and practised their secret rites there without fear of disturbance. He is convinced that vast caverns, hewn out by the priests, will yet be discovered beneath the pyramids, in the Gizeh hill, and that other chambers and passages will hereafter be found in the pyramids themselves. A good diamond drill and two or three hundred feet of rod, he says, are all that are required in prosecuting the search which he recommends. The so-called air passages in the King's and Queen's chambers of Cheops, with their thin screens of stone, he thinks, were auditory passages for the conveyance of sound to chambers not yet explored. Were the ancients acquainted with the telephone also?

He advises the adoption of the Egyptian system of measurement by right-angled triangles, whose proportions can be expressed in whole numbers—not to supersede but to supplement our modern

methods of triangulation, and thus describes some of the advantages which would be derived therefrom. "Primary triangulation would be useful to men of almost every trade and profession in which tools or instruments are used. . . . Such a set of tables [*i.e.* of primary triangles and their satellites] would be a boon to sailors, architects, surveyors, engineers, and all handicraftsmen; and, I make bold to say, would assist in the intricate investigations of the astronomer. . . . The architect might arrange the shape of his chambers, passages, or galleries, so that all measures, not only at right angles on the walls, but from any corner of floor to ceiling should be even feet. The pitch of his roofs might be more varied, and the monotony of the buildings relieved with rafters and tie beams always in even measures. The one solitary 3, 4, 5 of Vitruvius would cease to be his standard for a staircase; and even in doors and sashes and panels of glass, would he be alive to the perfection of rectitude gained by evenly measured diagonals. By a slight modification of the compass card the navigator might steer his courses on the hypotenuses of great primary triangles" (pp. 82, 84). Similar advantages are pointed out in designing trussed roofs or bridges; in earthwork slopes, and especially in land surveying.

The last chapter—on the pentangle, or five-pointed star—is one of the most profound and at the same time one of the most interesting in the book; but we take exception to the first sentence which appears to attach mystic properties of a moral and spiritual kind to a mere geometrical figure. We do not see how "from time immemorial" it can have been "a blazing pointer to grand and noble truths, and a solemn emblem of important duties!" The author's design, however, is to set forth its geometric significance, and we are not sure whether the words quoted are intended to express his own views or merely those of the ancients. We are now reluctantly compelled to take leave of this little volume, the study of which has given us more than usual pleasure. Of course his theory is quite consistent with much that has been previously written on the pyramids, but if we are not mistaken it will prove fatal to some of the wild speculations which have been put forth with reference to Cheops. We heartily wish that Mr. Ballard may at some future time find leisure to follow up his investigations; and, if not, that some other explorer with equal qualifications may carry on the work which he has so worthily begun.

THE "CITIZEN" SERIES.

The State and the Church. By the Hon. Arthur Elliot, M.P.
London : Macmillan and Co. 1882.

The State in Relation to Labour. By W. Stanley Jevons,
LL.D., F.R.S. London : Macmillan and Co. 1882.

The State in Its Relation to Trade. By T. H. Farrer.
London : Macmillan and Co. 1883.

THE first of these volumes deals with one of the most important and exciting topics of the day—the Church in its relation to the Civil Government ; but it is treated with perfect fairness and impartiality. There is no expression of the author's views as to the desirability or otherwise of retaining the connection between Church and State, and the question of disestablishment is not discussed at all ; but the nature of the connection and the whole machinery of the National Church are so clearly and fully described, that all parties will find in its pages valuable information which cannot fail to simplify the discussion, and aid in its final settlement. In the first chapter the rise and progress of the Establishment are traced from the earliest times ; and the principle which underlies its past history and present relation to other religious bodies is unfolded in the opening paragraph, as follows :—
"In early times the mere conception that various religions and churches could grow up side by side and flourish within the same State would have seemed an impossible one. Throughout Western Christendom, up to the date of the Reformation, there was but one religion and one Church, and for many years after the reformed faith had prevailed over a large portion of Europe, the form of religion decided upon and 'established' in each State became the State religion, all others being actually persecuted or subjected to civil disabilities of a greater or less degree. When the universality of the prevailing form of Christianity was forever destroyed by the Reformation, it was found, doubtless to the surprise of many reformers, that the assertion of the right of private judgment against the claims of authority was as antagonistic to the pretensions of the newer hierarchies as it had shown itself to papal decrees or episcopal councils. The transition from the conception of one religion throughout Christendom to that of one religion for each State was a considerable one ; but the later transition, which has been less noticed because more quietly accomplished, from a state of things where a 'national' religion was alone professed and tolerated by each nation, to a condition of society where all religions are treated by the State as exactly on the same footing . . . is as wide a transition as

the former, and the consequences which its complete accomplishment will bring about, it is for the future fully to reveal. . . . In some countries this principle (of complete religious equality) has already triumphed ; and it cannot be doubted that in all countries it is gaining ground." In the author's view, therefore, the outlook is towards the complete emancipation of all forms of Christianity from State patronage and control, though the time and mode of separation will be determined by the peculiarities of each case.

The principal characteristics of the connection between Church and State in England are thus summed up : 1. The Royal Supremacy ; 2. The Subordination of the Church to Parliamentary Control ; 3. The Presence of the Archbishops and Bishops in the House of Lords ; 4. The National Endowment of the Church ; 5. The Accessibility of the Church to all who may wish to avail themselves of its Ministrations (p. 16). The Royal Supremacy forms the subject of the second chapter, which is a very brief one. By virtue of this supremacy the Sovereign convenes, regulates, and dissolves all ecclesiastical convocations, which without her commission could not lawfully assemble for the transaction of business ; she nominates the higher dignitaries of the Church ; and a final appeal lies from all the ecclesiastical courts to the Queen in Council. The third chapter is on the clergy and laity. After discussing the conditions of lay membership, the author adopts, as the best for all practical purposes, the general definition that all are laymen of the Church of England who signify a general assent to its doctrines and practices by customarily using its ministrations (p. 24). It is clear, however, that a Church which acknowledges this standard abandons all moral tests of membership, and all right to exclude unworthy persons from its communion. Mr. Elliot estimates the number of churchgoers roughly, by the number of sittings provided, which in 1876 was about 6,000,000 in 16,000 churches. The number of the clergy of all grades in the same year was nearly 25,000, though, as the author points out, they have not increased during the last sixty or seventy years in anything like the same proportion as the population ; for in 1811, with a population of 11,000,000 in England and Wales, there were 16,000 active clergy, whereas in 1871, when the population had increased to 22,000,000, the number of active clergy was only 19,000. As the clergy work much harder than they did in former times, however, the disproportion is perhaps not so great as it appears at first sight. The author quotes and endorses Dean Stanley's statement that the Divine right of Episcopacy has no sanction either in the New Testament or in the constitution of the Church during the first century, and observes that it was probably unheard of in the Reformed Church of England till the end of Elizabeth's reign ; but that it was loudly asserted and finally triumphed under the Stuarts. In these days of prelatie assump-

tion and clerical intolerance, it is well that these points should be kept steadily in view by the British public. In this chapter we have also a detailed account of the different ranks and titles of the church dignitaries and clergy; of the position of the archbishops and bishops as spiritual peers; and of the constitution and functions of Convocation.

The next six chapters treat of Church Law and Church Courts; the Parochial System; the Prayer Book and Thirty-nine Articles; the Revenues of the Church; the Church Building Commission, and Ecclesiastical Commissioners; the Appointment of Dignitaries, and Patronage. Each of these opens out topics of interest on which we would gladly dwell; but we must refer our readers to the book itself. We only notice one subject in passing. The author points out that the National Church is not a corporation, though it includes many corporations within its bounds, and that it is incapable of holding property in its own right. All its property and revenues, from whatever source derived, belong to the nation, and are under the absolute control of Parliament. It is clear, therefore, that such terms as "robbery" and "spoliation" cannot be fairly applied to the advocates of disendowment. The only question that can ever arise is, "What is best for the nation?" On this question, when it does arise, there will probably be marked diversity of opinion. We make the remark, not as advocating disendowment, but in the interests of free discussion and fair play. The tenth chapter is on Established and Free Churches; and the two concluding chapters, on the Established Church of Scotland, are especially interesting. There is a freeness and freshness about them which were perhaps hardly attainable whilst the author was writing about the Anglican Church. We have no doubt that this volume will be welcomed by all parties as a valuable *vade mecum*.

The second book at the head of this notice—on "The State in Relation to Labour"—possesses a melancholy interest from the fact that its gifted author was drowned whilst bathing at Brighton, in August last. Though only in the prime of life, he had laid the foundations of enduring fame by his works on logic and political economy; and he will long be remembered as the inventor of an ingenious little "reasoning machine," by which he reduced induction almost to a mechanical process. The volume before us touches on vital questions which will engage the attention of philosophers and statesmen for many years to come. The problems to be solved are so intricate and so many, that the author seems conscious, after his task is completed, that his work is hardly satisfactory. At all events, he fears that it will be so regarded by many of his readers, for both in the preface and in a concluding chapter added for the purpose, he deems it necessary to account for apparent contradictions. In the preface he says, "The all-

important point is to explain, if possible, why, in general, we uphold the principle of *laissez faire*, and yet in large classes of cases invoke the interference of local or central authorities. This question involves the most delicate and complicated considerations, and the outcome of the inquiry is that we can lay down no hard and fast rules, but must treat every case in detail upon its merits. . . . In order, however, to prevent the possible misapprehensions into which a hasty reader of some of the following pages might fall, I may here state that I am a thoroughgoing advocate of Free Trade" (Pref., pp. v., vi.). In the opening paragraph of the last chapter, also, he says, "On reviewing the arguments given in the little treatise now brought to a close, it may perhaps seem to the reader that the results obtained are hesitating and conflicting, if not positively contradictory" (p. 164). Notwithstanding these modest disclaimers, however, we think that the public will regard this volume as one of the best expositions of some of the most difficult, social, and industrial questions of the day. There is the stamp of the author's genius upon it, and whilst his treatment of some points is racy, we feel throughout that we are under the guidance of a profound thinker who has thoroughly studied his subject. The book fully maintains the interest and value of the Citizen Series, as it will also maintain, if it does not increase, the literary fame of the late Professor Jevons.

The third volume on our list appropriately follows that of the late Professor Jevons. The author says, in the preface, that when he was asked to write this treatise, he hoped to be able to consult with Mr. Jevons as to the line to be taken by each, where their kindred topics touch upon, and occasionally overlap each other, but had no opportunity of doing so before his untimely death. On one point his views are slightly divergent from those of Mr. Jevons. The latter thought that State interference with trade and labour should be mainly through the central government, whereas Mr. Farrer thinks that it should be principally through the local governments of the country. He accounts for the difference by the fact that Mr. Jevons was better acquainted with local government and wants than he, whereas he has had wider experience of the difficulties and weakness of central government; so that in each case "'tis distance lends enchantment to the view!" Both are agreed, however, that within limits which it is not always easy to define, State interference is absolutely necessary to the well-being of society.

We have so long been used to the idea of Free Trade that those whose attention has not been directed to the subject of which this volume treats, might suppose that the Government has for many years been gradually withdrawing from all interference with trade and commerce; but if any have indulged this thought, the perusal of it will completely disabuse their minds.

Free Trade means simply the abolition of customs duties on articles of import and export ; but beyond this there is a system of State interference and control so vast and complicated that the smallest and most ordinary act of barter, either amongst ourselves or with other countries, is fenced in by a multitude of laws and guarded by the ever watchful eye of the national administration. The first and most obvious action of the Government is to fix standards of measurement on the one hand, and of value on the other ; and the chapter on weights and measures, gold and silver money, &c., will prove one of the most interesting, because it brings out facts with which the general public have little acquaintance. The following condensed paragraph may serve as a sample of the author's method :—" In the simplest and rudest form of trading, one article would be exchanged against another, . . . an apronful of corn against an armful of meat or a hewn tree or stone ; but there would be nothing by which the quantities of any of these articles could be known, . . . nor would there be any common measure of value to which each could be referred. . . Contrast this with the sale by the butcher of so many pounds of beef at so many pence a pound ; the purchase by the miller of so many bushels of wheat at so many shillings a bushel, &c. The facilities of dealing in the latter case as compared with the former are obvious ; but these facilities would be impossible if we did not know, accurately and universally, what was meant by a pound, a foot, a bushel, a shilling, and a penny. And, in order that they may be accurately and universally known, they must be determined in such a way that all persons must accept them ; and this can only be done by the authority of the State." "The ultimate English standard consists of a bronze bar on which a yard is marked, and of a platinum pound weight, kept in the standard department of the Board of Trade. These are called the imperial standards. From them four exact copies have been made, of which one is kept at the Mint, one at the Royal Society, one at the Greenwich Observatory, and one is immured in the walls of the Houses of Parliament. These are called the Parliamentary standards. From these two original measures all other legal weights and measures, whether they denote weight, length, area, or capacity, are derived by combination, multiplication, or division."

Gold, like every other article of commerce, obeys the law of supply and demand, and rises or falls in value ; and no acts of Parliament can set aside this universal law ; but the Mint value of gold is nevertheless fixed at £3 17s. 10½d. an ounce. The sovereign and an ounce of gold, therefore, bear an invariable relation to each other, and the Mint authorities are bound to give sovereigns at that rate for all the gold brought to them to be coined. In like manner the Bank of England is bound to pur-

chase all the gold brought to it at the rate of £3 17s. 9d. an ounce, payment being made in bank notes. The value of silver also fluctuates, and yet a fixed relationship between gold and silver coins has to be maintained. At the present time a shilling is only worth about tenpence, but this is a matter of little consequence, as more than forty shillings in silver is not a legal tender. For much interesting information on this and kindred topics, such as bank notes, bills of exchange, &c., we must refer our readers to the book itself.

The headings of its twenty chapters give a tolerably comprehensive view of the relations between the State and trade, but we can only give a few of them. The State enforces, explains, and adds to contracts; it interferes between debtor and creditor; it regulates partnerships, joint stock companies, shipping, insurance, &c.; and it has to do with harbours, navigation, light-houses, railways, gas and water companies, and a host of other undertakings which are wholly or in part monopolies; it tests the qualities of articles, and brands them as a guarantee of genuineness; it registers trade marks, and prohibits adulteration. It places restrictions on unwholesome trades, and takes the oversight of buildings, the width of streets, drainage, and other sanitary matters. In short, its interferences are innumerable and constantly increasing. Mr. Farrer has brought fully to our view the fact that, in trade and commerce as in all other things, we are truly "a much governed people;" but the general effect is beneficial, and the utmost freedom of enterprise is combined with the protection of the community and the promotion of its welfare. We welcome this volume as a seasonable and valuable addition to our literature on political economy.

GRAHAM'S ROUSSEAU.

Foreign Classics for English Readers. Edited by Mrs. Oliphant. "Rousseau." By Henry Grey Graham. Blackwood.

THERE are plenty of lives of Rousseau; indeed, in his Confessions, Dialogues, and Reveries, "the self-torturing Sophist" has left a very minute, though unfinished, autobiography. But it is not every one who has time to read St. Marc Girardin or Mr. Morley; and Mr. Graham has gone also to German authorities, and has, moreover, studied in the library of the Royal Society of Edinburgh the Hume and Rousseau correspondence which records the deadly quarrel between the Scotch historian and the French essayist. We are glad Mr. Graham's space did not allow him to give more details about this sad business. No biographer of Rousseau can omit to mention it, but few (we think) who go below the surface

will acquiesce in Mr. Graham's crushingly severe verdict that "Rousseau shows himself a man who never acted from duty if it clashed with his interests, ungrateful by nature, suspicious in temper, who would by churlish refusal wound the feelings of any who confer a favour rather than with courtesy receive an obligation which might lessen his freedom, . . . a man who is proud with the pride of a lackey, who has given up his place and is anxious to show his independence." Of course, every one of these charges can be sustained out of Rousseau's own writings; for, while sometimes absurdly egotistic, he is at other times full of every form of self-accusation; but to make them in connection with the Hume quarrel savours of the wish to support a fellow-countryman at any and all hazards. The impartial observer sees at once that Rousseau was out of his mind. His mental balance was never of the steadiest. Every now and then during his hot friendship with Hume, he would think (perhaps not without reason) that the historian "was eyeing him with a sardonic look." On one such occasion he fell on Hume's neck and embraced him, choking with tears and crying, "No, no; David Hume is no traitor"—an outburst that must have considerably astonished that cold-hearted philosopher. The quarrel broke out while Rousseau was at Wootton in Derbyshire—at a house placed at his disposal by a Mr. Davenport, but where "with his lackey spirit of independence," he insisted on paying £30 a year as board for himself and Thérèse. He was very poor; and Hume tried to get him a pension of £100 a year. But Rousseau wished it given privately, about which there were difficulties. Rousseau got sleepless. Wootton, at first as delightful as his native Jura, and charming his botanical tastes with its variety of wild flowers, became dreadfully dreary during a cold wet winter. He grew suspicious. An ironical letter published in Paris by Horace Walpole galled him; and he complained that Hume had introduced him to Walpole well knowing him to be the author of the letter. Hume, instead of treating his violent letter "written in the most beautiful hand, and full of the maddest charges," as a proof of cerebral disturbance in one of whom he had once said "he is so sensitive as to be like a man stript not only of his clothes but of his skin," at once wrote off to D'Holbach and D'Alembert desiring them to tell Neckar and Voltaire that "Rousseau is a villain." Meanwhile poor Rousseau showed his villany by getting more and more certain that a conspiracy was closing in round him; and, at last, he disappeared and made his way round by Spalding to Dover, writing on the road to the Lord Chancellor and also to General Conway begging that at his own expense he, "herbalist to the Duchess of Portland," might have a guard to conduct him safely out of the kingdom. Strangely enough, the moment he landed

at Calais all these symptoms disappeared for a time. To the close of his life, henceforth a very gloomy one, he was however subject to delusions. By-and-by, Thérèse, always coarse, became unkind and vicious. Rousseau's end, quite sudden, was not without strong suspicion of suicide. We have dwelt long on this sad episode because it is so much less known than the earlier incidents—the youthful adventures, the life at Andécy and Chambéry and les Charmettes, the music projects, the coming to Paris (he was so ignorant of the usages of society that, at his first dinner, when a helping was offered him, he modestly took out the smallest bit and handed the plate back), the rise to fame (comparable with that of Burns).

Any life of Rousseau must be deeply interesting to students of physiology as well as of literature; but we do not think Mr. Graham rises to the height of his subject in the way in which some of his fellow writers do. He has not the same sympathy with it that Miss Thackeray has with Madame De Sévigné for instance. Of Rousseau's influence in bringing about the French revolution, many will doubt whether it was salutary or the reverse; for having been the harbinger of that love of natural scenery which is such a characteristic of modern times, he has earned the gratitude of mankind. Like Wordsworth he could truly say, "my heart leaps up" at sight of wild or mountain. Even in his desponding old age the country always cheered him. He hated Paris.

CUMMING'S FIRE FOUNTAINS.

Fire Fountains: the Kingdom of Hawaii, its Volcanoes, and the History of its Missions. By C. F. Gordon Cumming, Author of "At Home in Fiji," "A Lady's Cruise in a French Man-of-War," &c. Two Vols. Illustrations and Maps. Blackwood.

MISS GORDON CUMMING is always a delightful writer, and in the volumes before us she not only luxuriates after her wont in descriptions of native manners and contrasts between the luxuriance of tropical vegetation and the gloomy Aden-like look of the volcanic rocks, red, brown, ashen grey, among which in the Sandwich group this vegetation manages to find a home, but she also gives a very interesting and tolerably complete account of the wonderful story of the conversion of these islands, resulting as it has done in making Honolulu the capital of one of the civilised kingdoms of the earth. The only drawback to enjoying her book is the feeling that we are reading about a dying race, and a race which in these days of threatened monotony the

world cannot well afford to lose. There is much good in the simple-hearted people whose chief amusement was surf-riding, and whose language and thoughts were full of poetry. What more poetical than that, when the great Kamehameha died his daughter took a name which meant his shade (his own name, by the way, means "the lonely one"), and one of his chiefs who had just lost a favourite wife called himself "twice blind," his king being one eye, his wife the other? The readiness with which they adopted Christianity and clung to it on the whole faithfully, despite a series of trials far harder to withstand than the persecutions of pagan Rome, speaks well for their character. The shame of their occasional backslidings is wholly at the door of the white man, the devil's missionaries, who strove in every way to counteract the work of the teachers of the Gospel. *Papalang*, "those who have burst through the heavens," was the name given by the islanders to those who, coming in "the great canoe with wings," seemed to them supernatural beings. Alas, they soon had occasion to doubt the divinity of their new visitors. Captain Cook's extraordinary style of bartering was followed by a systematic attempt on the part of whalers and other ships, American and English, to make the islands an organised hell upon earth. After the missionaries had inspired these poor creatures with a sense of decency and some love of purity, one whaler was barefaced enough to threaten armed force because the bevy of damsels which used to swim out on the arrival of a ship was not forthcoming. To their endless shame "the authorities" not seldom threw their weight into the devil's scale. Consul Charlton stands conspicuous for opposing all attempts to check immorality, to regulate drink, &c. His conduct was at last so outrageous that he was dismissed by the Home government. Even on his way home he persuaded Lord George Paget, commanding H.M.S. *Carysfort*, to land and depose the king, the result being that no laws could be enforced and that all barriers to wrong-doing were set aside. Fortunately, Rear-Admiral Thomas arrived unexpectedly from Valparaiso (July, 1843) and undid as far as possible the mischief wrought by the captain of the *Carysfort*. But all this, as well as the shameful story of the young king being invited on board a ship and, at a state dinner, entrapped into breaking his temperance vow by having an unknown drink, cherry brandy, set before him, and the wild orgies which his falling away caused throughout the island, is known to readers of missionary reports. So, too, is the story of French interference, and the establishment by force of a Roman Catholic mission, as well as the enforcement of a treaty in favour of French wines and brandy. So, also, is the not very creditable account of the establishment of episcopacy—a clear case of entering into other men's labours, brought about by the zeal of

foreign minister Wyllie, a Scotch episcopalian, and as bigoted as the late Bishop of Brechin himself. The young king and his brother had been to England, and had attended service in Westminster Abbey; so that Mr. Wyllie's promptings fell on ears already prepared to listen. Queen Emma, too, granddaughter of John Young, boatswain of the American ship *Eleanor* (nobility following on the mother's side in these islands), favoured the new form of worship; but it is only the state religion. The mass of the people are true to the old teachers.

We heartily recommend the book to any one who wishes to know how this interesting group is faring now. It has a complete court, and all governmental arrangements on the most advanced European plan. The laws are wise and well carried out; in sacrificing the growing revenue from opium (there is a large Chinese population) the Government has set a pattern to us in India. Curiously like the attempts of Augustus to make marriage popular at Rome are the rules which secure a premium on children and exemption from taxes to large families. But, in spite of good laws, and the efforts of missionaries, and devoted American ladies, who have for forty years been at work at girls' schools, the race is rapidly dying out. In 1832 there were 130,000; in 1850 only 84,000, the deaths being in excess of the births. In 1872, 49,000, which in 1878 had sunk to 44,000, the remainder being Chinese 6,000, half-castes 3,400, &c. Here is a race ruined by imported vice, as the Maoris have been (according to the latest authorities) by imported engines of destruction—Hongi's muskets. "That a single Hawaiian has survived this inroad of foreign vices grafted on natural depravity is due to the preserving control of the Gospel." No one who reads Miss Cumming can ever venture to lift up his voice against missions; her testimony is overwhelming, and it is that of an outsider. We have said nothing about the volcanoes, her trips to which (some of the craters as big as those which astronomers measure in the moon) and her accounts of famous eruptions fill a large part of her work. Indeed, the mind is in a whirl amid all these fire rivers, fire cataracts, displays altogether so out of proportion to the small stage on which they take place. Neither have we space to do more than call attention to her account of extinct native manufactures—*e.g.*, the feather cloaks and helmets which were the insignia of high rank; but we hope readers will take up the book for themselves. It will well repay study, and suggests practical questions as to whether the isles are to become merely cattle ranches and sugar farms of San Francisco, or whether a better fate is in store for them.

THE CHINESE OPIUM SMOKER.

The Chinese Opium Smoker. Twelve Illustrations. Facsimiles of Native Drawings. With a Translation of the Original Chinese Text, and Appendixes. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 9, Paternoster Row.

THE title sufficiently explains the nature of this little publication, which shows by characteristic language and equally characteristic illustrations what the Chinese think about opium. Both are exceedingly effective, not to say touching. We trust the plea of a heathen nation with a Christian one on behalf of the first principles of morality will not go long unheeded.

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THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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- ART. I.—1. *A Text Book of Geology*. By ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, LL.D., F.R.S., Director-General of the Geological Survey, &c. London: Macmillan and Co. 1882.
2. *Physical Geology*. By A. H. GREEN, M.A., F.G.S., Professor of Geology in the Yorkshire College of Science, Leeds. London: Daldy, Isbister and Co. 1877.
3. *The Chain of Life in Geological Time*. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., &c., Principal of McGill College and University, Montreal. Religious Tract Society. 1883.

GEOLOGY has become one of the most fascinating branches of natural science. Far is it from being what the casual observer might judge it to be, a mere assemblage of hard names and dry facts, for some of the most interesting problems in cosmology, zoology, and anthropology, are vitally associated with the discoveries and doctrines of the geologist. The laws by which the Creator has brought our globe from primeval conditions to what it now is, the origin and history of life, the age of man and the surroundings of his earliest existence, as well as many facts that have an important bearing upon his material wealth and comfort, are all embraced within the domain of geological research and speculation.

Although one of the newest of the sciences—for many who still live are old enough to remember William Smith, “the father of geology,” the humble land surveyor who in

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1815 published the first geological map—yet it already covers so vast a field, and includes such a diversity of subjects, that not even the specialist, who devotes the whole of his strength and time to its study, can hope to become completely master of all its branches. The chemist's skill is needed in examining the nature and composition of rocks, the laws of physics have to be applied to the deposition of strata, the minutest facts of botany and comparative anatomy must be familiar to the successful student of fossils, while the diversified knowledge of the antiquarian is essential to the full appreciation of those discoveries which bear on the origin of the human race. Some of the subdivisions of geology, such as mineralogy, petrology, and palæontology, are rapidly assuming the aspect and proportions of separate sciences, for it is being recognised that no one man can now push his inquiries to their furthest limits, unless he more or less concentrates his attention upon a narrower field than that which could have been easily traversed by him in the days of Sidgwick or Murchison. The divisions of Mr. Geikie's ponderous book are cosmology; geognosy, which has to do with the chemical composition of the earth's crust; dynamical geology; geotechnic or structural geology; palæontology; stratigraphical geology; and physiographical geology. With such an array of subjects to deal with, it is not very surprising that towards the end of the volume the author should seem to grow somewhat weary of his task, but it is nevertheless unfortunate that his treatment of the fossil contents of the various strata, the most essential portion of geological science, should suffer. Theoolitic series, and especially the tertiary formations, seem to us to have received far less attention than their importance demands.

Mr. Green, in his present book, deals only with the physical aspects of geology, and intends shortly to supplement it with a volume on the life history of the strata. In the domain to which it is limited, Professor Green's work is most satisfactory, and, as we shall have occasion to show further on, he has had the courage to break free from that fascination of authority which has long held geological writers enchained, and which has manifested an enormous craving for long periods of time in the various changes which the earth's crust has undergone.

Professor Dawson's little work is an admirable exposition of the fatal difficulties in the way of modern theories of

development and descent which are presented in the geological chain of life.

A knowledge of geology has many advantages. In agriculture it is well known that soils depend largely on the nature of the subjacent strata for those constituents which determine their fertility and their fitness for certain kinds of vegetable produce. The cornbrash of the oolitic formation is well understood to be peculiarly fitted for the production of wheat, and the sandy soils of triassic Cheshire are specially suitable for the potato. Some species of plants seem to require certain kinds of deposits, and are rarely found elsewhere. The *Arenaria Norwegica* is confined in the Shetlands to serpentine rock, and the *Erica vagans* in Cornwall is mostly found along the course of metalliferous veins. In mining industry more especially geological knowledge is essential. For lack of it many unsuccessful ventures have been made and much capital lost. In Great Britain coal is almost entirely limited to the carboniferous strata, the only slight exceptions being the oolitic coal of Brora and the miocene of Bovey Tracey. Mistakes with regard to these strata and the laws of superposition of rocks have often been made in the search for coal, and have resulted in expensive failures. Not long ago a speculator, one of those "practical" men who are in the habit of assuming a lofty superiority to the principles of science, spent a considerable sum of money in working for coal in the dark-coloured Silurian shales of Tullygirvan, notwithstanding that every blow of the pick turned out a crowd of graptolites, which would have informed any tyro in geology that those rocks had been deposited countless ages before the carboniferous forest begun to grow. Some years ago Lord Londonderry bored for coal in the old red sandstone at Mount Stewart, where any geologist could have told him, from the position of the mountain limestone, that the search would be in vain.

On the other hand, coal has often been discovered where no signs of its presence were visible near the surface, simply from observation of the outcrop and inclination of neighbouring rocks. In Somersetshire it was believed that the Permian formation was absent, and that consequently the coal deposits would lie immediately under the new red sandstone, which was actually found to be the case. One of the most remarkable instances of this kind of geological induction is the familiar prediction of Sir R.

Murchison, that gold might be found in Australia. In *Siluria*, Sir Roderick writes :

“Having, in the year 1844, recently returned from the auriferous Ural Mountains, I had the advantage of examining the numerous specimens collected by Count Strzelecki along the eastern chain of Australia. Seeing the great similarity of the rocks of those two distant countries, I could have little difficulty in drawing a parallel between them ; in doing which I was naturally struck by the circumstance that no gold had yet been found in the Australian ridge, which I termed in anticipation the Cordillera. Impressed with the conviction that gold would sooner or later be found in the great British colony, I learned in 1846 that a specimen of the ore had been discovered. I thereupon encouraged the unemployed miners of Cornwall to emigrate and dig for gold as they dig for tin in the gravel of their own district. These notices were, as far as I know, the first published documents relating to Australian gold.”

Geological studies are valuable, not only from a practical and utilitarian point of view, but also for educational purposes. As a means of cultivating the faculty of observation, geological research is unsurpassed ; and if it is not quite so effective an instrument in training the reasoning powers as mathematics are usually said to be, yet the imagination, which is the fountain of ingenuity and invention, is continually occupied by it in a manner that is impossible in the case of some of those studies which constitute the staple of the time-honoured curriculum of most of our leading colleges. The full-orbed mind cannot of course be developed without the severe reasoning required by mathematics, and there must also be the cultivation of taste by the study of classic elegancies, but the perfection of mental life demands, as Clerk Maxwell expressed it, “a mystery to move in,” which cannot be afforded by the inanimate vocables of language, nor the fixed demonstrations of mathematics, but is supplied by the vast unsettled problems of such sciences as geology, which have not yet been worked out into crystallised propositions and stereotyped definitions. The very stones beneath our feet, if interrogated, become eloquent with exciting stories of primeval times and archaic modes of life ; the frowning peak of basalt towering over the richly-wooded glen, reveals the stupendous nature of those convulsions which burst the rock ribs of the pre-Adamite earth ; the long diversified

ridges of limestone, crowded with marine fossils, awaken wonder at the marvellous upheavals of continents which have taken place since those picturesque mountains lay under fathoms of water; the thickly strewn boulders, now variegated with lichens, bear silent witness to the terrific force of those vast ice rivers which bore their rocky burdens from far off regions to the valleys which they stud; and the endless forms of minute organisms in almost every kind of rock and earth declare unmistakably that even "the dust we tread upon was once alive."

The geologist then may, without presumption, claim a more dignified function, and a far nobler mission, than belong to the mere stone-breaker or babbler of jargon. The conception of him given in the following lines from the *Excursion* is as remote from accuracy as anything well could be, and Wordsworth would have been among the first to admit this, had he lived to see the recent developments of geological science :

"You may trace him oft
By scars which his activity has left,
He who with pocket hammer smites the edge
Of every luckless rock or stone that stands
Before his sight, by weather stains disguised,
Or crusted o'er with vegetation thin
In its first growth, detaching by the stroke
A chip or splinter, to resolve his doubts,
And with that ready answer satisfied,
Doth to the substance give some barbarous name,
Then hurries on, or from the fragments picks
His specimen."

The birth of geology was a necessary consequence of the growth of human intelligence. Men could not go on for ever believing that thousands of feet of limestone, built up of coral and mollusca, as well as enormous deposits of coal, with its huge sigillariæ and lepidodendriacæ, were produced by the Noachian deluge; nor could the human mind always remain satisfied with such explanations as that ammonites were ancient serpents, beheaded and petrified by some beneficent Romish saint. The wonder is that men, having facts and materials at hand for forming better opinions, should have failed so long to decipher nature's great stone book. At the beginning of this century two rival theories concerning the method of stratification

prevailed—the Neptunian, originated by Werner of Fribourg, which attributed everything to the agency of water; and the Plutonic, founded by Dr. Hutton, which recognised igneous action as the chief factor. Then followed the sustained and noble labours of Adam Sedgwick, Murchison, Hugh Miller, Sir H. de la Beche, Sir C. Lyell, Ramsay, W. Boyd Dawkins, and a host of others, by whom geology has been brought to its present state of comparative perfection. Professor Huxley has arranged geologists in three classes :

(1.) The Catastrophic school. Its disciples held that each formation was terminated by a stupendous cataclysm or series of convulsions, followed by a new creation of life adapted to the altered condition of the earth.

(2.) The Uniformitarian school, which is most adequately represented by Sir C. Lyell. Hutton had already laid it down in his *Theory of the Earth* that “no powers are to be employed that are not natural to the globe; no actions to be admitted of except those of which we know the principle; and no extraordinary events to be alleged in order to explain a common appearance.” But it was not till Lyell revived this doctrine, and brought to bear upon it an unprecedented assemblage of facts, that it became generally adopted. It was soon perceived, however, that even geologic time could not suffice for all the demands made upon it, if the forces of nature always worked precisely as they do now, especially as some of the most revolutionary changes in strata and life had to be compressed into the briefest epochs. Hence arose

(3.) The Evolutionist school, whose distinctive tenet is that the life history of a species begins with its lowest forms in the earlier strata, and goes on developing into other types through all succeeding ages, thus corresponding with the growth of the individual, from the ovum to the adult. This school may be regarded as an amalgamation of the other two, for it supposes volcanic and other agencies on a vast scale as a solution of the difficulties which press upon the Uniformitarian in regard to the distribution of geologic time.

We cannot, within the compass of our space, glance even superficially at all the topics embraced in geological science: we shall confine our attention to those of its problems which have become prominent during the last quarter of a century.

The subject which furnishes the most natural starting

point is of a cosmological character, and is concerned in the origin of the earth. The earlier geologists aimed only at an examination of the materials of which the earth's crust is composed, but it was not long before many significant facts were brought to light which bore upon the primordial condition of the globe. Hutton held that it was not within the province of the geologist to discuss the origin of things, and he maintained that in the sources from which cosmological evidence is derived there could be found "no traces of a beginning, no prospect of an end." Hutton, however, was but a pioneer in this domain, and confessedly took a narrow view of the scope of geology, though his labours were of the highest value. As the laws of superposition of strata became more perfectly understood by the study of cliffs, river beds, quarries, and mines, in which deposits lie at varying angles of inclination, it was perceived that, as Playfair expressed it, "men can see further into the interior of the globe than they are aware of, and geologists are reproached without reason for forming theories of the earth, when all they can do is but to make a few scratches on the surface."

The human mind is not satisfied with any investigation which stops short of the beginning of things ; and it is only natural that, having acquired some knowledge of the earth's crust, men should go on to ask whether our planet always had a crust, and how it assumed its present condition. The nebular hypothesis is the answer usually given to these inquiries. After the inception of this theory in the imagination of Kant, it was shown to have some probability by the astronomical researches of Laplace and Sir W. Herschel, and still more by the spectroscopic investigations of Mr. Lockyer, which show that the chemical constituents of the earth's crust include all the elements known to exist in celestial bodies, and that many terrestrial substances occur in a state of incandescent vapour in the sun. M. Plateau has also demonstrated that the earth's flattened poles are consistent with the supposition that it was once a rotating fluid, for he has obtained an oblate spheroid with small satellites from the circular motion of isolated bubbles of oil.

Admirable as this theory may be as a working hypothesis, we cannot disguise the fact that it is far from presenting a complete explanation of all the phenomena concerned. Professing to begin at the beginning, it

postulates an actual universe. The nebula is assumed, not proved nor accounted for, neither is any light thrown upon the origin and nature of that rotary motion which is said to have resulted in the formation of outside rings which, by continued condensation, at length broke off from the central mass of fire-mist, and constituted in succession the various members of the planetary system. The retrograde revolution of the satellites of Uranus and Neptune tells against the theory, though it has been suggested that this anomaly might be accounted for by the contact of some vast mass foreign to our solar system, which may have swept through those planets while in their nebular state, begetting local eddies of a contrary direction to that in which the planet itself rotated. As regards the oblate shape of the earth, it is felt by many that there ought to be a greater flattening at the poles than is the case, if our globe had cooled from a highly gaseous condition through long epochs of time. The densities of the different planets also constitute a difficulty; for although Jupiter, according to the theory, must have been thrown off long ages before those periods of time, almost infinite, which geologists demand for the deposition of the earth's strata, yet his density is only about that of water. The vastness of his bulk, which is assigned as a solution of this difficulty, hardly touches the case, for the sun, which is the residuum of the primitive nebula, and which is of far greater size than Jupiter, is yet heavier than it. We might also ask how heat could be given off from the original fire-mist if all space were equally pervaded by it. And if it be said—as, however, no scientific person would say—that beyond the nebula was a vacuum into which the heat was given off, it is enough to answer that radiation is impossible in a vacuum, and can only occur where there is matter or ether unequally heated. To make the nebular hypothesis scientifically perfect there must be assumed an external force, or source of energy, by whose agency the primordial gas was called into being, and then compressed so as to produce the heat and the motion postulated.

A question closely allied with this of the earth's primordial condition is that which refers to the character of its inaccessible interior. This is a fascinating inquiry, and is not one of idle curiosity. If we could understand what is transpiring in the bowels of our planet, we should

obtain truer conceptions of the nature of those vast forces which have caused the contortion, upheaval, and faulting of strata; we should probably be able to estimate more accurately the duration of the geological epochs; and possibly we should better understand those mysterious organic revolutions which the fossils of the various formations record, but do not explain. Till very recently the belief has prevailed that the temperature of the earth's crust increases so rapidly the deeper we penetrate that it may be supposed impossible for any substance to remain in anything but a vaporous condition. Now, however, it is being accepted that the pressure of the superincumbent strata, added to the fact that during the cooling of the primeval gas the heavier particles would sink towards the centre, requires that we should regard the earth as practically a solid globe.

As an instance of the value of certain kinds of evidence, it may be noticed that the nebular theory lends itself admirably to either of these inconsistent hypotheses. The centre of the earth is undoubtedly heavier than the more superficial portions, even if it be not solid; for the density of the globe, as a whole, is double the average density of the outside rocks. After alluding to the treatment of this problem by Professor Stokes, Mr. Hopkins, and Sir W. Thomson, Mr. Geikie sums up his elaborate comparison of the various theories advanced by saying:

"It appears highly probable that the substance of the earth's interior is at the melting point proper for the pressure at each depth. Any relief from pressure, therefore, may allow of the liquefaction of the matter so relieved. Such relief is doubtless afforded by the corrugation of mountain chains, and other terrestrial ridges. And it is in these lines of uprise that volcanoes and other manifestations of subterranean heat actually show themselves" (p. 54).

The methods by which the age of the earth and of its different strata may be approximately estimated are recognised as a very important object of consideration by geologists; for upon their reliability depends the value of much of the evidence that bears on the history and development of life upon the earth.

It seems almost incredible now that only fifty years ago it was generally believed that the earth was no more than six or seven thousand years old. When Adam

Sidgwick preached his famous sermon before Cambridge University in 1832, in which he urged that "the manifestations of God's power upon the earth have not been limited to the few thousand years of man's existence," a perfect storm of opposition was aroused. One brother clergyman, in a seething pamphlet, made the belief in the recent origin of the globe a sort of *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*, and quoted the following note from Luther's *Commentary on Genesis*, in a way that showed his intense conviction of its accuracy, "Nos ex Mose scimus, mundum, ante sex millia annorum, nondum extitisse. Id philosopho homini nullo modo poterit persuaderi."

The ordinary method of approaching this subject is by observing the rate at which changes of a geological character are progressing at the present time. Dr. Croll, in *Climate and Time*, calculates that the sedimentary deposits of the earth's crust could not have taken less than 60,000,000 years, and may have occupied much more. Dr. Haughton, estimating the present rate of deposition at one foot in 8,616 years, and supposing former stratification to have proceeded ten times as rapidly as now, obtains a minimum of 200,000,000 years as the entire geologic duration. Sir W. Thomson has looked at the problem in the light of physical law, of which he considers three kinds.

(1.) The internal heat and rate of cooling of the earth. By means of Fourier's theory of thermal conductivity, he calculates that the superficial consolidation of the globe could not have occurred less than 20,000,000 years ago, or the internal heat would be greater than it is, nor more than 400,000,000 years ago, or there would be no increase of heat at greater depths, and concludes that the limit is probably within 100,000,000 years.

(2.) The tidal retardation of the earth's rotation. If the globe had become solid at any higher antiquity than about 100,000,000 years the friction of the tide wave would have ceased sooner, and consequently the earth would have rotated more rapidly than it has done, which would have resulted in a greater flattening at the poles.

(3.) The origin and age of the sun's heat. It is supposed that if the sun has cooled at a uniform rate it could not have supplied the earth for more than about 20,000,000 years. Thomson does not concur in the views of extreme Uniformitarian geologists, and consequently objections of this nature have no weight with him. Professor Green

has had the courage to break loose, though not so completely as we could have wished, from the spell of authority, and to modify the enormous demands for time which geologists have, for the most part, made. He declares it to be impossible that Uniformitarianism can be true, even for a limited time, and points out that when the earth was hotter than now, all phenomena which depend on heat, such as metamorphism, volcanic energy and con-tortion, must have been more energetic; and that, if the sun was also hotter, all operations depending on meteorological conditions, such as denudation, must have proceeded on a far larger scale than now.

It must be long before this branch of geological inquiry can be regarded as anything more than fascinating speculation. Only after prolonged and laborious investigations will satisfactory conclusions be reached, and hence, as Mr. Green observes, we ought to be "very careful how we take our own epoch as necessarily the type of all time, past and to come" (p. 522).

More practical is the subsidiary part of this subject, which has to do with the determination of geologic measures for the various strata of the tertiary period, for the purpose of estimating the ages of living animals, and especially of man, though here also there is room for the wildest speculation. These measures may be regarded as of four kinds,—Climatological, Geological, Palæontological, and Geographical.

Changes of a climatal character are known to have occurred on our globe from the fact that the fauna and flora of different periods are shown by their fossil remains to have been distributed in such ways as indicate, at one time, tropical heat, and, at another time, Arctic cold in the same region. During the pleistocene age there is evidence of an incontrovertible sort that ice must have been a far more energetic agent in north and middle Europe than is now the case, and hence we have what is called the glacial period, further subdivided by some geologists into glacial and interglacial ages. These glacial deposits consist of beds of clay and coarse gravel, together with huge fragments and boulders, many of which seem to have no connection with the neighbouring rocks, but which have evidently been conveyed by glaciers from districts more or less remote. It is supposed by most geologists that at the close of the pliocene age, and after the forest bed of

Cromer had been laid, the cold in Northern Europe and America became far more severe than at present; and that Scotland, Cumberland, and Wales, and eastern England, as far south as Norfolk, were enveloped intermittently in vast ice-sheets, such as now exist in the interior of Greenland. The moraines, the Scotch "till," or boulder clay, the *roches moutonnées*, and the striated rocks, such as can be seen in the Pass of Llanberis, date from this period. On the Norfolk coast are found the remains of Arctic plants, *Salix polaris*, *Betula nana*, &c., showing that since the deposition of the forest bed, there must have been a lowering of at least 20° in the average temperature of this district, a difference as great as that which now exists between Norfolk and the North Cape. These glacial beds, Mr. Geikie affirms, are split up into various "inconstant and local interstratifications," representing a group of deposits of different ages, and formed under varying conditions. These "interglacial beds," as he calls them, are regarded by him as proving a series of alternations in climate during the pleistocene age. Various suggestions are offered in explanation of these supposed alternations of heat and cold. Mr. James Geikie, in his *Great Ice Age*, accounts for them by the varying inclination of the earth's axis causing the relative position of the two poles with respect to the sun to be reversed at different periods. Others have thought it possible that the solar system, which is known to move in the heavens, has passed through hotter and colder portions of interstellar space. Mr. A. Geikie prefers to attribute all such changes to the alterations which may have taken place in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit. Dr. Croll has carefully developed this whole subject in his *Climate and Time*. The earth is about 14,000,000 miles farther from the sun when in aphelion than when in the perihelion of its orbit. If from the precession of the equinoxes winter in the northern hemisphere should happen when the earth is in the aphelion, the heat received from the sun would be one-fifth less during winter, and one-fifth greater during summer than now. If, on the other hand, winter came when the earth was in perihelion it would be $14\frac{1}{2}$ million miles nearer the sun in winter than in summer, and the difference of temperature between winter and summer in our latitudes would be almost obliterated. This is not of itself, however, considered sufficient to account for the excessive cold of the glacial age,

but other agents, such as ice, snow, and fogs, are held to have completed all the conditions necessary. Upon these considerations Mr. Geikie has based his theory of interglacial periods. The precession of the equinoxes, according to the present rate of motion, would have reversed the state of things every 10,500 years. It can be seen, then, how important is the question of these "interglacial beds" as bearing on the duration of the pleistocene age, in which appeared, for the first time, many of the living species of mammals, as well as the implements and bones which indicate the existence of man. Indeed, it is probable that some of these speculations owe their origin to a desire to maintain the high antiquity of the human race.

There is abundant reason, however, for hesitating to accept these views. The Arctic plants which have been found in low latitudes may have drifted thither in marine currents, and even the remains of animals belonging to colder lands which have been exhumed in England may indicate only migration during the winter at a time when geographical conditions were not what they are now. It is quite opposed to Mr. Geikie's hypothesis that tropical animals are found associated with those of northern regions. The musk deer and polar fox travelled as far as the Pyrenees; the reindeer migrated to Switzerland; while on the same area, and according to reliable evidence, at the very same time, existed the lion, hyæna, elephant, leopard, and hippopotamus. Since the deposition of the glacial *débris* there has probably been a submergence of wide districts in North Europe, and hence it is probable that land was more continuous with the polar regions in the ice age than now. This being so it is easy to see how in the absence of man, *edax omnium*, animals would have a much more extended habitat, and would make far more distant migrations than has been the case during the human period. This is borne out by the fact that reindeer bones have been found which had evidently been gnawed by hyænas. The difference between summer and winter temperatures need constitute no fatal difficulty, for we have extremes quite as great in Canada and other places where the moderating influence of the gulf-stream is not felt. Moreover, it is well known that volcanic eruptions on a gigantic scale have occurred in recent times, as in the Hebrides, and this would fully account for a complete and rapid change in the distribution of land and water. There seems then to be no special need

of Mr. Geikie's interglacial periods, nor are we obliged to date the supposed glacial age at a very remote period, and so we may rank these theories of repeated alterations of climate, in consequence of changes in the earth's position, with the more devout but similar conception of Milton, in which he suggests one of the results of man's fall :

“ Some say He bid the angels turn askance
The poles of earth, twice ten degrees and more,
From the sun's axle ; they with labour pushed
Oblique the centric globe.”

Certain geological phenomena are also used as criteria for estimating the age of strata. There is a delta of the River Tinière, on the east side of Lake Geneva, which has been enlarged by *debris* brought down by the stream from the hills in which it took its rise. In this delta, Roman remains are found at a depth of four feet, and stone implements at a depth of nineteen feet, which, according to the present rate of deposition, would require 8,000 years to produce ; and, as there is another delta twelve times as large, which must have been laid since the former, it is calculated that about 100,000 years have elapsed since the stone implements were placed on the spot in which they were discovered. On this statement, Principal Dawson remarks that it leaves out of sight the fact that a river at first cuts its way through the ground with great rapidity, and then, when it has removed all the softer materials, its course continues much more even. He calculates that not more than 5,000 years would be needed to deposit the nineteen feet of silting under which the stone implements were buried. The subject of man's antiquity has been so recently dealt with in this journal that no special reference need here be made to it, and our purpose now is simply to enforce the necessity for caution in choosing chronometers by which to effect measurements of geologic time. It is impossible not to feel that some of the evidence of this character which has been adduced proves far too much. Mr. Evans, for example, in *The Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, refers to the enormous time which has elapsed since the stone implements of Bournemouth were deposited in the river gravel at a time when the bay was dry land. Now if those layers were produced precisely as stratification is now going on, the difficulty is such that all geology would be upset, and man would be older than any

other created thing. Extreme views ought not to be taken on either side of the argument. Against such evidence as is extorted from the Abbeville peat beds, or the Kent's Cavern stalagmite, may be placed the facts that copper plate of the twelfth century has been found under eighteen inches of stalagmite; that at Knaresborough objects are encrusted over by water with sufficient rapidity to lead to a lucrative trade; that the travertine in the old Roman aqueduct of the Pont du Gard, near Avignon, has accumulated to the depth of fourteen inches in 800 years; and that at San Filippo in Italy, no less than thirty feet have been deposited in twenty years. Occasionally the haste with which assumptions are made by some writers brings discredit upon their reputation, because they are not borne out by experience. Thus, when pottery was exhumed from a depth of thirty-nine feet in the delta of the Nile, Sir J. Lubbock at once declared that man must have lived there at least 13,000 years ago, and then Sir R. Stephenson found, near Damietta, at a still greater depth, a brick bearing the stamp of Mohammed Ali!

The antiquity of certain strata is inferred also from the fact that some animals have become extinct since those beds were deposited, while others are no longer found in regions which they once inhabited. From arguments of this nature it is inferred that man, having lived at a time when the lion, the cave bear, the mammoth, &c., existed in Middle Europe, must be of very ancient lineage and origin, but such evidence is inconclusive, for within historical time the lion and bear abounded in Macedonia; and in Indiana several mastodons have lately been discovered, in the bones of which was marrow fit for use, while in one case there were portions of vegetables found which still grow in the locality. In the caves of Rully de Germolles remains of the mammoth, the cave bear, and the reindeer, with which were associated a flint implement and a human jaw, were found at a depth of only two or three feet from the surface. What time may be required for the extinction of any species, or for its disappearance from a particular district, it is difficult to say. It is certain that some estimates of this sort are far beyond the necessities of the case. We know that the boa has left Calabria within the historical period. The hippopotamus, now confined to the region of the equator, was hunted by the ancient Egyptians in the Delta of the Nile. Cæsar refers to an animal living

in Gaul at the time of his campaigns in that country, which, from his description, appears to have been a reindeer. In *Bell. Gall.*, VI. 26, he writes: "Bos cervi figura, cujus a media fronte inter aures unum cornu existit, excelsius magisque directum his, quæ nobis nota sunt, cornibus. Ab ejus summo, sicut palmæ, rami quam late diffunduntur. Eadem est fœminæ marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudoque cornuum." It may be that some of those animals which are said to have emigrated during recent geologic periods were, in reality, different species from those now living, and have simply become extinct under the ravages of early man. In Siberia a rhinoceros has been found with a covering of hair for protection from cold, and in 1804 a mammoth was discovered which had a coat of close wool with black hair rising above it. What do these facts mean but that there have existed within comparatively late times Arctic species of these animals which have been exterminated by the energetic hunter of the northern regions? We may fairly hesitate, then, before admitting the validity of evidence derived from animal remains adduced in support of the antiquity of deposits, and especially of those which contain traces of man's existence.

A further measure of geologic time, the last to which we can allude, is based upon changes which are proceeding at various places in the relative distribution of land and water. Here, with the exception of one or two extreme cases like that already alluded to in connection with the stone implements at Bournemouth, the evidence is all in favour of the more modern date of pleistocene deposits. Mr. Green observes that within the memory of man the northern part of Scandinavia has been rising at the rate of two or three feet in a century. If the north of Russia has been rising at the same rate, the whole of that vast country must have been a sea some two or three thousand years ago. We are thus able to explain the recent changes of land and water in Britain, and can understand how it is that marine shells like *Astarte borealis*, *Leda lanceolata*, and other Arctic molluscs are found at a considerable elevation on the Grampians, Snowdon, and other summits. Another well-known instance of rapid change in the sea-level is presented by the Temple of Serapis near Naples, referred to by all the geologists. This spot must have lain beneath the sea within historic times, and being

afterwards upraised became the site of a temple older than the one whose ruins are still standing. "Possibly," says Mr. Green, "it was again submerged and again upraised before the building of the present ruin; was again let down till the sea rose at least some twenty feet above the pavement of the temple; was again raised into dry land, and is now slowly sinking again" (p. 340.) If great and rapid changes like these can be shown conclusively to have transpired within a period that must be brief, then there need be no difficulty in admitting that during the existence of the pleistocene animals, or even of man, the geographical aspects of Northern Europe may have been altered quite as often and as materially as geologists affirm to have been the case, but in a much less time than many of them demand.

The most interesting subject of geologic study, however, yet remains to be glanced at. The life history of the earth as deciphered in the fossils of the successive strata is a fascinating field of inquiry, and with it are bound up momentous questions relating to the origin and descent of animals and of the human race. Geology had scarcely become a recognised science before it was perceived how important a bearing its doctrines and facts had upon the development of life upon the globe. Oken first suggested in 1805 that all animals are built up of similar vesicles, and by virtue of his subsequent writings, in which he points out the homologies indicated by the bones of the skull, he was really the forerunner of Owen, for Lamarck's hypothesis, published several years previously, did not pretend to be based on observation, and, indeed, at that time Lamarck was an indifferent zoologist and knew nothing of geology. Oken's theory was not, however, the product of prolonged investigations, but was reached, its author confesses, by a sort of inspiration. In the *Isis* of 1818 he writes:

"In August, 1806, I made a journey over the Hartz. I slid down through the wood on the south side, and straight before me, at my very feet, lay a most beautiful blanché skull of a hind. I picked it up, turned it round, regarded it intensely; the thing was done. 'It is a vertebral column,' struck me like a flash of lightning; and since that time the skull has been regarded as a vertebral column."

Later on Professor Owen adopted the hypothesis, and
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under the influence of so distinguished a naturalist it has maintained its position. But theories arrived at as this was must be brought to the test of hard facts, and geology has facts which look in an entirely different direction.

In 1847 appeared the famous *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, published anonymously, but since attributed to Robert Chambers. This constituted the first complete exposition of the development theory. The book created quite a *furor* among the advocates of the Mosaic cosmogony, and provoked many able replies, notably, Hugh Miller's *Footprints of the Creator* and Hitchcock's *Religion of Geology*. There is a great show of learning in Chambers's work, but it seems to have contained many errors. Lyell, in his *Antiquity of Man*, says of it :

"Written in a clear and attractive style, it made the English public familiar with the leading views of Lamarck in transmutation or progression, but brought no new facts or general line of argument to support those views, or to combat the principal objections which the scientific world entertained against them."

And Darwin thus writes :

"From its powerful and brilliant style the work, though displaying in its earlier editions little accurate knowledge and a great want of scientific caution, immediately had a very wide circulation ; in my opinion it has done excellent service in this country in calling attention to the subject, in removing prejudices, and thus preparing the ground for the reception of analogous views."

The object of the book was to substitute for the *Deus ex machina* idea of creation the theory that the Creator proceeded by laws, which are still going on, and which are sufficient to explain the origin of the organic from the inorganic, the animal from the vegetable, and the man from the brute. This development hypothesis gradually took the form which is now known as evolution, the adaptation of the inner to the outer, of the organism to its environment, as the labours of Lyell, Darwin, Lubbock, and Haeckel succeeded each other. Darwin perceived at once that the crux of the argument pertained to geology, and hence he wrote with special care those chapters of the *Origin of Species* which deal with the "imperfections of the geological record" and the "geological succession of organic beings."

What is the nature of the evidence required from geology in order to demonstrate the evolution theory of the origin of species and of descent, and how far has geological research furnished that evidence? These are the questions to which we shall now address ourselves.

For convenience of reference we present a list of the formations, according to their age, beginning with the oldest, indicating only those facts in the life history of the globe which are of most importance in each age.

I. PALÆOZOIC OR PRIMARY.

Laurentian	Products of heat in water. Graphite, limestone, iron ore. Eozoon.
Cambrian	Mollusca, crustacea, seaweeds.
Silurian	Corals, cuttlefish. Crustaceans abound. The first fish (<i>Pteraspis</i>). Ferns, club-mosses, conifers, cycads.
Devonian	Ganoid fishes abound. Winged insects appear. Flora contained almost all groups now represented.
Carboniferous ...	Footprints of cheirotherium (amphibian). Vertebræ of large amphibian. Flora similar to Devonian.
Permian	Palæozoic age ends in convulsions. Protosaurus, the first reptile.

II. MESOZOIC OR SECONDARY.

Triassic	Small marsupials. Footprints, perhaps of birds, but more likely of reptiles (<i>Geikie</i>). Great change in vegetation, cycads abound.
Oolite or Jurassic..	Marsupials. Reptiles abound. <i>Archæopteryx</i> , the first bird.
Cretaceous	Fish with bony skeletons. Toothed birds. First true forest trees like modern.

III. NEOZOIC OR TERTIARY.

Eocene...	...	...	Tertiary fauna and flora introduced. Mammalia abound. Deer, beasts of prey, Eohippus.
Miocene	...	...	Ox, elephant, camel, &c. True apes (<i>Dryopithecus</i>).
Pliocene	...	...	Many forms now found. <i>Mesopithecus</i> .
Pleistocene	...	...	Man and all existing forms.

The first appearance of life of which remains have been obtained, was in the Laurentian rocks of America, but from the analogy of other deposits it may be inferred that the graphite and iron ore of the Archaian formations indicate the occurrence of plants, while the calcium phosphate of the middle Laurentian probably consists of metamorphosed animal remains.

As regards the problem of the origin of life, geology cannot be expected to furnish any evidence; but as spontaneous generation is regarded as a myth, we may suppose that it is equally incredible for all geologic periods. We only note in passing that Huxley's fiasco in the matter of *Bathybius* represents the breakdown of the evolution theory at its first step, the development of the animate out of the inanimate.

The first grade of life is that of plants. Does the history of the successive floras which have flourished on the earth give any support to evolution? The first occurrence of vegetable life from which any argument can be derived on either side is in the Silurian age. In the lower Silurian we have all three classes of cryptogams represented, viz., seaweeds (*Thallophytes*), mosses (*Anophytes*), and ferns (*Acrogens*), and not simply the lower, as we should have expected. These culminate in the old red sandstone and the coal, becoming even huge trees like *calamites* and *lepidodendrons*, and are now represented by the insignificant mare's tails and scouring rushes of our marshes and ponds. Only one specimen of the highest form of plant life has been found in the Devonian, but no elevation of flora is apparent throughout the long ages between the Devonian and the Permian; and after the complete extinction of palæozoic forms at the end of the Permian, an entirely new system of vegetation is introduced in the Mesozoic age. The cretaceous period shows an almost

abrupt introduction of all the modern generic types, and in the same strata occur representatives of the oldest dicotyledons yet found, the Apetalæ, Monopetalæ, and Polypetalæ, which therefore could not have developed from each other, and, as Mr. Carruthers points out, "have not developed into higher generic groups" (*Geikie*, p. 625). So far as plant life is concerned, evolution is out of the question, and we are compelled to endorse the apparently harsh but not unwarranted judgment of Agassiz:—"Darwinism shuts out almost the whole mass of acquired knowledge in order to retain and assimilate to itself that only which may serve its doctrine" (*Essay on Classification*).

Difficulties quite as fatal to the evolution hypothesis are found in the life history of animals. Eozoon is not the lowest of the foraminifers, for Dr. Carpenter has compared it to the nummulite. Dawson, moreover, points out that in the later palæozoic times it diverged in three directions, and afterwards reverted to the original type. The same early appearance and rapid degradation, as D'Orbigny, one of the most accomplished palæontologists, has shown, characterise the mollusca. And Darwin himself admits (*Origin of Species*, p. 308) that although in the earliest times in which molluscs occur, the cephalopods and brachiopods, the highest and lowest, existed together, they are now feebly represented. Barrande declares that these demand, not evolution, but rapid creation.

Now let us look at the crustaceans. Professor Francis Balfour has thoroughly worked out this group, and from segments and metamorphosis has divided it into five orders: 1. Branchiopoda; 2. Malacostraca; 3. Cirripedia; 4. Ostracoda; 5. Copepoda. The *Trilobites* of the Tremadoc slates, and the *Hymenocaris vermicauda* of the Lingula flags are the oldest, and they belong to the Branchiopoda or highest type of crustacea.

The trilobites having been able to crawl, swim, burrow, or roll themselves up into a ball, might have been expected to survive, and yet they gradually degenerate till in the carboniferous age they become extinct. The *Pterygotus*, another huge crustacean of the Silurian and Devonian, attaining to a length of six feet, has also died out, while the poor king crab (*limulus*) has survived till now. The struggle for existence, so far from leading to the survival of the fittest, has only resulted in decay and extinction, while the removal of competition, and the improved con-

dition of the earth, have always preceded the introduction of higher species. The *Malacostraca*, to whose embryology considerable attention has been given, although inferior in organisation to the trilobites, do not appear till the carboniferous era. The *Cirripedia*, which include the barnacle, show a few abnormal forms in the upper Silurian; the *Ostracoda*, represented by the Cypris, are found in the Cambrian, and persist till now; while the *Copepoda* are degraded and parasitic. So that the ancient trilobites, and other nobler crustaceans, are now represented by small and microscopic animals, while the less important forms are geologically more recent. This is unmitigated degeneration.

The difficulty of degeneration is of course taken into reckoning by evolutionists, who urge that "the fittest" is not always theoretically the best, but that which is most adapted to the environment. This would be satisfactory if degeneration were the exception, and not the rule. The enormous chasm which separates a man from an anthropoid ape, not to say an ascidian, demands that progression should be of such vast proportions as that occasional retrogression would be, in comparison, scarcely perceptible. Geology, however, puts it beyond a doubt that all animal groups have more or less degenerated till reinforced by higher forms in time far too short to satisfy the necessities of evolution.

In seeking for the first air-breathing animals it might be thought that they would be found among the highest molluscs, such as the *Nautilus*, which swarmed in the Silurian sea; but, as Barrande remarks, the theoretical evolution of the cephalopod is "un produit de l'imagination sans aucun fondement dans la réalité." The oldest air-breather known is an insect allied to the modern May-fly, found in the Devonian of New Brunswick. The first, however, which can at all be linked on to previously existing animals is the land snail of the coal of Nova Scotia. It might seem a small change for a marine snail to turn into a land snail, but it is not so to the zoologist. Lungs have at once to be developed, and gills annihilated, teeth are required and digestive organs suited to new kinds of food, mucous glands and a different shell are needed, and new habits have to be acquired. These changes are insignificant compared with others which evolution has to explain, but even these are out of its power, and geology has no evidence whatever to show their progression.

We must now turn our attention to vertebrates. The backbone is so important an element of animal structure that the evidence it affords with regard to evolution must be admitted to be vital and conclusive, one way or the other. The first traces of vertebrate animals occur near the top of the Silurian system, where some remains of fishes are found. The most determinable of these is the *Pteraspis*, discovered in 1859, at Church Hill, in the lower Ludlow formation. Professor Huxley places this on a level with the sturgeon, *i.e.*, among the ganoids, which constitute the third division of his classification. We are brought, then, face to face with this fact, that, whereas in the lower Silurian there is no evidence whatever of vertebrate life, here in the lower beds of the upper Silurian we come all at once upon a fish of high development.

Hugh Miller was of opinion that all modern fishes are of an inferior type. It is certain that many of the most recent forms are degenerate, as in the case of the flounder family, which seem all awry, the features of the head being twisted in different directions, one jaw being straight and the other curved, while one contains about half a dozen teeth, and the other from thirty to forty. The lancelet (*Amphioxus*) and lamprey, which biologists declare to be between invertebrate and vertebrate, are degraded modern types, and, though appealed to in support of evolution, are entirely subversive of it. It ought to be stated that certain minute structures called *Conodonts* have been discovered by Pander in the upper Silurian series which are supposed to be the teeth of lamprey-like fishes. This is disputed, but if it be admitted, what can it show but that the lowest fishes were introduced at the same time as those of high development?

The next link in the chain of life is that furnished by reptiles. Of these there are four living orders, Turtles (*Chelonia*), Snakes (*Ophidia*), Lizards (*Lacertilia*), and *Crocodylia*. But besides these there are half a dozen orders extinct, and of higher character than those which now exist. Passing over the footprints of the cheirotherium, we come upon the great crocodile-like labyrinthodonts of the carboniferous series. The most fish-like of the carboniferous batrachians is the *Archegosaurus* from Saarbrück, but it has what no fish has ever shown, fore and hind limbs with proper toes, and the complete series of bones which usually occur in mammalian limbs, while it must have possessed true lungs and nostrils. So wide is

the gap between it and a fish, that a single bone or vertebra is sufficient to identify it. This is the first case of true limbs, and it is no exaggeration to say that the foot of the *Archægosaurus* is as different from the fin of a carboniferous fish as from the human hand, and is similar to that of the modern members of the same order.

The first true reptile is the *Proterosaurus* of the Permian copper slates of Thuringia. In the Jurassic and early chalk periods, the reptiles reached their zenith, not through the labyrinthodonts, for they had already degenerated into water-lizards, but by the rapid development of new types. Then was ushered in that era of the earth's history when gigantic reptiles were supreme. Great sea-lizards like the *Ichthyosaurus* and *Plesiosaurus*, sixty feet in length, dominated the waters, huge *Dinosaurs*, of which the *Megalosaurus*, several tons in weight, and yet able to spring like a tiger on its prey, and the *Ceteosaurus*, about fifty feet in length, are examples, ruled on land; while the *Pterodactyls*, veritable flying dragons, measuring twenty feet, from tip to tip of their membraneous wings, were a terror to such creatures as were able to fly. Yet these monsters were destined to give place to mammals which as yet were represented only by some feeble marsupials, like the *Microlestes* of the trias.

The line of descent which cannot be traced between reptiles and mammals is thought by some to be established between reptiles and birds. Here a double line of descent is suggested, that which runs through *Dinosaurs* and *Ostriches*, and that which goes by way of the *Pterodactyls* and the *Archæopteryx*. The first of these Huxley gives up, for, as he says, "Birds are no more modified reptiles, than reptiles are modified birds." Reptilian and ornithic types, he affirms, are "different superstructures raised upon one and the same ground-plan." Geology, when interrogated concerning that ground-plan, is silent; but that is a small matter to an evolutionist. The nearest approach of reptiles to birds is that made by the *Pterodactyl*, which seems to be similar in one or two details of structure to the *Archæopteryx*. Mr. Huxley is so satisfied of this connection, that he summarily settles the question by classing reptiles and birds together under the head of *Sauropsida*. The *Archæopteryx* has a reptilian tail, claws on the wing, and perhaps toothed jaws: in all other respects it is a bird. But there is still a vast gap between

this creature and a *Pterodactyl*. Considering that the Jurassic age was a period of monstrous forms, all of which are extinct or degraded, it is far more likely that the *Pterodactyls* and the *Archæopteryx* were likewise anomalous creatures, which, like their contemporaries, have passed away. This view is made more probable by the occurrence of birds in the chalk formation like the *Ichthyornis* and *Hesperornis*, which have not only reptilian characteristics, but even fish-like vertebræ that afterwards died away in the *Odontopteryx*, or toothed bird of the eocene. At any rate, no one but a most determined evolutionist will admit the connection between reptiles and birds until geology shall furnish far more conclusive evidence than that which is yet adduced by this single link of communication. It is a meagre explanation of the abrupt appearance of multitudes of birds of modern types in the early tertiary.

In regard to *Mammalia*, it is still more impossible to discover any facts that look towards the doctrines of evolution.

This class is usually arranged under three orders: *Monotremes*, *Marsupials*, and *Placentals*. Of these the first are modern and of low type. The Marsupials are the earliest, and occur in the upper trias. They were enabled by their habits to escape the huge saurians, but instead of becoming anything better than they were, they remain pretty much the same, and take a humble place in the nobler fauna which has been introduced since their appearance. After their occurrence in the Stonesfield slate which lies at the base of the great oolite, no further traces of mammalian types are found until we come to the Purbeck beds of the upper oolite. Here more marsupials have been discovered, as well as a creature allied to the kangaroo rat, which still inhabits the Australian jungles. And now an enormous geologic period occurs in which there is no evidence of mammalian life. Throughout the Wealden, greensand, and gault, and the upper chalk formations, nothing of the kind is found, and it is not till we get to the *Sables de Bracheux*, which coincide with the Thanet sands, and are well on in the tertiary, that a fossil of this character occurs. Here the skull of a quadruped, *Arctocyon primævus*, related to the bear, has been brought to light. Then almost immediately mammals swarm. In the upper eocene of France fifty species of quadrupeds have been discovered. Now these mammals from the first exhibit the highest

types, and, as we have seen to have been the case with other classes, they have degenerated in more recent times. The great *Palæotherium* and *Anoplotherium*, the *Deinotherium*, several times as large as our elephant, and the *Mastodon*, have all degenerated into creatures of far lower development, but more fitted to be the companions of man. In the eocene an animal has been found which is said to be the ancestor of the modern horse, and this is another of the very few facts in geology over which the evolutionist can be jubilant. It ought to be said, however, that some derive the *Hippus* from the *Palæotherium*. But suppose we look for its ancestry in the *Eohippus*, what do we find? This creature, unearthed by Marsh, is of the size of a fox, and has four toes, with the rudiment of a fifth on each forefoot, and three toes on each hind foot. The *Orohippus* of the later eocene is about the same size, having four toes in front and three behind. Other links intervene, with increasing size and decreasing toes, till the modern horse is reached with a single toe and rudimentary split bones. But this is degeneration, not progression, and is what has been going on all through geologic time. Here we have an illustration not of what the evolutionist wishes to prove, but rather of that great universal law of decay, by whose operation whole faunas and floras have continually been passing away, to be replaced by other and better types of life, by the interposition of a Power external to nature. The horse may or may not have descended from the *eohippus*, for each successive form is so different from the preceding one as to require vast ages for the change; but if it be held that the connection is proved, then it may still be answered that no other family of a higher type has developed from it, but that all we get is the less complicated structure of the modern horse from the five-toed ancestor of the eocene.

It only remains now to inquire what the geological record witnesses with regard to the descent of man. Is there any memorial of human history preserved in the rocky archives of the earth of such a character as to warrant the belief which Mr. Browning, with sufficient accuracy for poetry, has thus expressed?

“That mass man sprang from was a jelly lump
Once on a time; he kept an after course
Through fish and insect, reptile, bird and beast,
Till he attained to be an ape at last,
Or last but one.”

The Darwinian does not say man comes directly from the ape, that would be a position too exposed to attack; it is necessary to take up a stand where it is easy to elude the invader's force by hiding in a tangled jungle of suppositions, from which there is an easy retreat if the attack grows serious. Man and the ape both descend from some common Simian ancestor. The convenience of this mode of argument is that it leaves to the geology of the future to prove what the geology of the present does not sanction. Haeckel, in chap. xxii. of his famous *Natural History of Creation*, imagines above a score stages of existence from the unicellular *Monera* up to man, and when pressed for evidence of only the last, and therefore presumably the most accessible of these stages, he modestly assumes a continent, which he calls *Lemuria*, where, under the sea, the required link may lie. Now we do find what are said to be stages in the development of the Simian race, for in the eocene are remains of *Lemurs*, in the miocene are found the *Pliopithecus* and *Dryopithecus*, and in the pliocene we have the *Mesopithecus*. Have we not a right then to ask for similar links in the chain of human history? It is more than doubtful, however, if these Simians are thus related, for the *Mesopithecus*, a long-tailed ape, is very little if at all higher than the miocene representatives of the same family. But even if the connection be established, is it possible that so vast a change as would be required to elevate a Simian into a man could take place in the same time as has been occupied in producing the modern gorilla? At least twenty-four distinct alterations of structure would be necessary before the highest ape could be said to be of the same type as a man. Geology cannot allow the time that would be necessary for so many changes as these. It is useless to talk of the infinite cycles of time which can be drawn upon, for the whole process must be confined within those geological periods in which Simians are known to have existed, and this would be to allow less time for man's development from the earliest lemuroid than is known to have been consumed in deriving the gibbon from the monkey. But we have not yet exhausted all the difficulties of the case. Early man is shown from the laws of Aurignac in the Pyrenees, of Solutré, and Cresswell, to have been a religious being, as is evidenced by the remains of his funeral ceremonies; and also to have possessed great artistic capacity and skill, displayed by

sketches of hunting scenes which have been found, so that not only must his Simian ancestor have developed into the bodily structure of man, but must also have acquired, through many generations, his faculty of speech and his belief in immortality. To accept the possibility of all this occurring in the time which geology can allow, implies a credulity far more ignoble than the venerable faith in man's higher origin which such strange beliefs seek to undermine.

Again, the Darwinian doctrine of man's descent requires that the oldest races of men should approach in structure to their reputed Simian prototypes. The fact, however, is quite otherwise; for, as Dr. Dawson says, "The skulls, great stature, and grand development of limbs in the skeletons of the most ancient men of Europe testify to a race more finely constituted physically than the majority of existing Europeans, and with a development of brain above the European average." Mr. Boyd Dawkins considers the oldest known human skull to be that of Engis, which Mr. Huxley admits to be identical in structure with the modern European cranium. Owen, than whom no greater authority can be found, declares that there is no evidence of a period of lower cranial development in man than is now presented, nor does he know of any four-handed species whose skulls show differences in bone or dental structure which would separate it from other species of quadrumana so widely as the highest ape is separated from the lowest man. It is clear, then, that geology gives no support to the evolution theory of man's origin, and Mr. Wallace assents to this when he writes: "Man is to be placed apart as not only the head and culminating point of the grand series of organic nature, but as in some degree a new and distinct order of being." The analogies which the biologist finds in structure and embryology do not prove derivation, but only unity of plan and authorship, for no analogy has any demonstrative force except the cause of the analogy is specified, which evolution refuses to do, and geology does not warrant the biologist's inferences.

Probably it is an unreasonable prejudice against this unity of authorship and design, which, for the most part, explains the origin of the theories concerning man's descent, which we have been combating. "What a sad and terrible thing it is," wrote Carlyle, "to see nigh a

whole generation of men and women, professing to be cultivated, looking around in a purblind fashion, and finding no God in this universe!" Because of this tendency of the scientific world, we shall, in conclusion, attempt to show that the Mosaic record, which attributes the origin of all things to a Divine Author, is not opposed to any of the received facts of geological science. With regard to the material universe Moses simply asserts that in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, without any explanation of the method pursued, or the time occupied. After this first exercise of creative energy the earth was still without form, and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. Then day and night became distinguishable, which marked the first day, or period, in which sense Moses repeatedly used the word. During the second and third periods the earth was fitted for the lowest types of life. These were the earliest forms of vegetables, and in consequence of the great heat of the earth at that time, which was so densely enveloped with fire mist as that the sun had not yet become visible, these first plants as they died were transmuted into graphite, or some similar metamorphosed rock. Then during the fourth period the expanse became so clear of the condensing vapours that the sun, moon, and stars became visible. During the fifth period, all animals which could live in water or fly through the air were introduced, and in the sixth period, land animals and man were created.

In the case of plants, the terms used by Moses are, grass, herbs yielding seed, and fruit trees yielding fruit after their kind. Geology shows that *Cryptogams*, or flowerless plants, including mosses, lichens, and ferns, existed first, and that *Phænogams*, or flowering plants, appeared in the later formations, which agrees essentially with the Mosaic history.

With regard to animals, there is no clear reference to any particular species, except the "great whales," or water-reptiles, and man himself. The use of the expression "great whales" arose from a confusion between the Hebrew *tannim*, which Gesenius translates by jackals, and *tanninim*, the word used in Genesis and signifying crocodiles, or water-monsters, singled out, no doubt, for religious reasons. The words which indicate aquatic life are *tanninim* and *sheretzim*, or swarmers, used in Lev. xi. for

fishes and insects. Unless it means this in Genesis, there is no mention of fishes in the account of the creation, which is hardly likely to have been the case. Terrestrial animals are signified by the words *fowls*; *bhemah*, used in Lev. xi. for herbivores; *remes*, applied in the same chapter to land reptiles, such as snakes; and *haytheretz*, which denotes carnivores. There is nothing in geological discoveries to show that this is not the order in which the successive assemblages of living things made their appearance, but, on the contrary, there is a remarkable agreement between the rightly interpreted record of Moses and reliable conclusions of geology.

Nothing is said in Genesis as to the methods by which the Creator brought the earth's structure and inhabitants to their present condition, except in the case of man, with regard to whom both the sacred narrative and the geological record imply a special and distinct display of creative energy, hence there is room for a modified theory of derivation under the control of Divine law and action. While geology, then, raises so many formidable difficulties in the way of evolution as held by those who connect man with the brutes, and take no account of a Divine Creator, and while it presents such a remarkable agreement with the narrative of a man who could not have been acquainted with the history of life as written upon the stone tablets of the earth, surely it is the part of a wise student of science to hesitate before rejecting that record which has so many claims upon his acceptance, simply because it seems to him that religion and science have no bearing upon each other, but belong to mutually exclusive domains. The man of science aims at finding truth, and so far as the narrative of Moses is known to be true, it ought to be accepted, even though here and there a wider interpretation of its language than the world has been accustomed to is given by those who best know what its language means. At least, those who contemptuously thrust it aside as not even worth inquiring into, incur a responsibility which none are free from who voluntarily turn from truth, whether scientific or religious. We cannot conclude with more appropriate or weightier words than those of Professor Huxley, who will not be accused of theological illiberality: "True science and true religion are twin-sisters, and the separation of either from the other is sure to prove the death-blow of both. Science prospers exactly

in proportion as it is religious, and religion flourishes in exact proportion to the scientific depth and firmness of its basis. The great deeds of philosophers have been less the fruit of their intellect than of the direction of that intellect by the eminently religious tone of their mind." We will only add that religion is that which recognises God in His own universe and devoutly examines that which claims to be the revelation of His will.

ART. II.—*Life of Lord Lawrence.* By R. BOSWORTH SMITH, M.A. Two Volumes. Portraits and Maps. London: Smith, Elder and Co.

JOHN AND HENRY LAWRENCE are undoubtedly the greatest characters which the Indian service has yet produced. We believe there is not one of the host of great Anglo-Indians, past or present, that would not subscribe to this opinion. And it is difficult to imagine in what respect the two brothers can even be surpassed in the future, in the combination of intellectual and moral qualities which enabled them to serve India so well. Both were great rulers of men. Both were cast in a heroic mould. And yet they were so unlike. Henry had all the popular qualities. No one who reads his life can wonder that he inspired all who served him—themselves men of supreme ability—with passionate affection. Nothing but an unkindly fate prevented his reaching the same proud eminence as John. To the popular imagination John, on the other hand, was the impersonation of strength. Still it would be a great mistake to think that there were no elements of gentleness in his character. The rough exterior hid depths of tenderness. To the biography of Henry, published some years since, the biography of the younger and more fortunate brother is now added. Long may England gaze admiringly on these portraits of two of her noblest sons. One lies in his hero's grave at Lucknow; the other in Westminster Abbey. We have no doubt that for long ages they will receive, as they deserve, equal honour.

As most Englishmen are by this time familiar with the antecedents of the Lawrence family, there is no need to repeat them here. John was born at Richmond in Yorkshire, March 4th, 1811. It was the accident of his father's regiment being stationed there which gave him a Yorkshire birthplace. To John, as to Henry, the sister Letitia seems to have been sister and mother in one. It says much for her character that she exercised such influence over two such brothers. She was their constant adviser. When

news of her death came to John during his viceroyalty, he said that if he had apprehended such a loss he would not have come out as Viceroy. We share the biographer's regret that on his final return home he destroyed the correspondence between himself and his sister as too sacred for the public eye.

All accounts agree that in youth John gave no sign of future distinction. Many who served under him afterwards were his contemporaries at Haileybury, and none of them detected anything special in him. The Principal, Dr. Batten, found fault with his own son, who, in after days, served under Lawrence in India, for "loafing about with that tall Irishman, instead of sticking to the more regular students." John's own inclinations were strongly in favour of a military career. His father's stories of campaigning adventures, and the associations of Londonderry, where he went to school for a time, all helped to confirm his leanings in this direction. Happily, when an opening in the Civil Service presented itself, his sister was able to persuade him to accept it. The ruling passion, however, showed itself in his familiarity with the celebrated campaigns of ancient and modern times, and his military talent found useful exercise in tracking criminals, in suppressing riots, and especially in his constant dealings with the military authorities. To the end of his course he took the deepest interest in the British soldier in India. The "Lawrence Asylum" for soldiers' children, and the improved barrack accommodation throughout India, provided during his viceroyalty, amply prove this.

John went to India first in 1829, and finally left it as Viceroy exactly forty years afterwards. It is interesting to note how his early course was a providential training for the great work of his life. His first scene of labour, up to 1840, was in and around the city of Delhi, which he was to do so much to recover to the British Crown, and on the borders of the Punjab, which he was to organise into a British province. His first appointment was at Paniput, the great battle-field of ancient India. The Jats whom he had to rule were a restless, turbulent race. The district in which he had to administer justice and collect revenue was in a state of great disorder. He left it thoroughly organised and orderly. Here, on a small scale, he showed the same powers of work and strength of will which were afterwards seen on a broader arena. The

Hindus understand a ruler who is not to be trifled with, and this character John Lawrence bore from first to last. Many years afterwards, when the Punjab was cut off from Calcutta by a sea of insurrection, and its ruler was practically independent, when the country had been stripped of its last soldier and gun and rupee to help the besiegers of Delhi, one still, strong man held down by sheer force of character a nation of soldiers only recently conquered by British arms. The name "Jan Larens" meant more than armies to Hindu imagination. And this is the character he bore in his earliest days. A Haileybury friend once looked in on him at that time, and found him ill in bed. Nothing seemed to rouse him. At last the friend told him of a conversation he had just had with a fakir. When asked whether there was any news, the fakir replied, "Indeed there is; Sahib is gone, and everybody regrets him; for one Larens Sahib has come in his place, who is quite a different man," and he then went on to draw a dismal picture of the way in which rules were enforced, rogues punished, and revenue arrears collected. The story was like medicine to the sick man, who soon recovered. A native chief once refused to pay the land-tax. Attended by a single orderly, Lawrence rode over thirty miles in the early morning to enforce payment. He found the gates of the walled village shut and barred. Despatching his orderly to Delhi for troops he took his seat under a tree opposite the gate, and sat there through the fierce heat of the day. A neighbouring chief then came and offered help, and with this help the tax was recovered, and a fine inflicted. Twenty years afterwards the friendly chief's name was presented to Lawrence in a list of rebel chiefs sentenced to death for participation in the Mutiny. Lawrence struck his name out. Even those early days are rich in stories of exciting adventure, if we had space to refer to them. A still more important preparation for the future was the familiarity Lawrence now acquired with the practical working of the land assessment. In a country mainly agricultural, where the land-tax furnishes the bulk of the revenue, there is no question more important and more difficult than this one. The worst mistake of the English in India has been in transferring Western notions on this subject to the East. There can be little doubt that in India the State has been regarded from time immemorial as the sole landowner, the cultivators being permanent

tenants as long as the yearly tax is paid. The yearly tax is fixed from year to year, or for a term of years, by Government officers. To regard nobles as landowners is to invest them with a position they never had before. There is no need here further to discuss this question, on which the reader will find abundance of details in the present biography and other works. It is enough to indicate John's position. He took the popular side, as against the aristocratic side adopted by his brother Henry. His opinions were based on the widest practical experience. He was accessible to all classes. Nothing delighted him more than to talk freely with all who came to him. Hence, in after days, he had not to fall back on books or on the experience of others. He was able to argue out the most intricate of Indian questions. A lively Frenchman once asked Holt Mackenzie to explain to him in a few minutes the different systems of land tenure in India. Mackenzie replied that he had been studying it twenty years, and had not mastered it yet. John Lawrence also owed to these early experiences his thoroughly popular sympathies. While his brother Henry believed that the right method was for the British to govern through the princes and nobles, of whose position and influence he was most tender, John held that the right way was for the Government to deal directly with the people. "Assess low," was his constant instruction to subordinate officers, and to the poor, struggling ryot, dependent on fitful seasons, such an instruction meant contentment and comfort. His guiding principles were never better summed up than by one who worked under him : "Duty to Government, consideration for the natives, order and promptitude in work, personal self-sacrifice, justice between man and man." Another invariable rule was to finish every day's work in the day. No arrears were left. It might mean—it generally did mean for years together—ten or twelve hours' work, but the rule was inflexible.

All this time, as well as afterwards, he filled an acting appointment. He was what many of our readers will understand as a "supply." He might well say to a young civilian, "Never let an acting appointment, if it should be offered to you, slip by. People will tell you that such appointments are to be avoided, and are more plague than profit. It is true that you may occasionally be disappointed, and you will certainly not gain continuous pro-

motion in that line, but you will get what is more valuable, experience and great variety of it; and this will fit you for whatever may come afterwards."

In 1840 a relapse after severe jungle-fever drove him home. Two years afterwards he returned to India, still an unknown and unappreciated man, and he was not to leave it again until he came home in 1858 acknowledged as beyond any other single man "The Saviour of India." He brought back with him to India the wife who was to be to the end the sharer of his perils and greatness. He was truly enough regarded, by English and native alike, as a man of iron will. But his intimate friends knew that there was another side. "He had nothing of the bear but his coat," said one of them. Thirty years after his marriage he wrote: "In August, 1841, I took perhaps the most important, and certainly the happiest, step in my life, in getting married. My wife has been to me everything that a man could wish or hope for." In the stress and agony of the Mutiny he one day suddenly disappeared from the station, returning in twenty-four hours. He had been to see his wife at a distant station, and was inspired with new strength by the visit. During one of his stays in England he once missed his wife from the room. "Where's mother?" he asked. "She's upstairs," said a daughter. Presently he asked the same question and received the same answer. A third time the same. "Why, really, John," said his sister Letitia, "you seem as if you could not get on for five minutes without your wife." "That's why I married her," he answered. Just before his death, when the once strong man lay helpless and seemingly unconscious, his wife whispered, "Do you know me?" "To the last gasp, my darling;" and as she bent down to give him the last kiss, she felt the last pressure of his lips and hands.

His first work in India on his return again lay in the Delhi district, first as acting collector at Kurnal, and then as collector in full power at Delhi. Here he worked with the same restless energy and with the same aims as before. To the unsanitary conditions which are so fruitful a source of plague in Eastern towns, to wife-selling, female infanticide, suttee, he was an uncompromising foe. There are few more touching stories than the one told vol. i., p. 173, of a leper who sent a petition to Lawrence for permission to be buried alive. The leper said he was a misery to himself and a danger to others, while the natives believed that the

gods would accept the leper's living burial as a propitiation, and never inflict the plague again on the village. "O Sahib," he cried, "for God's sake listen to my petition; I have lived too long; let me die." "My poor fellow," Lawrence replied, "it is not in my power to grant your request; it would be murder; it cannot be allowed." The man was buried nevertheless as he himself wished, the whole village assisting at the ceremony.

It was at Delhi that Lawrence first came under the notice of the highest authorities. In November, 1845, Lord Hardinge passed through Delhi on his way to the scene of the first Sikh war, and was evidently impressed by what he saw of the magistrate. Soon afterwards the doubtful battles of Moodki and Ferozeshah were fought. The British forces were in straits for ammunition and supplies of all kinds. The Governor-General bethought him of the Delhi magistrate, and wrote to him urgently for help. Lawrence was equal to the occasion. He collected 4,000 carts, loaded them from the Delhi arsenal, and despatched them at once 200 miles to the front, thus contributing in no mean degree to the decisive victory of Sobraon. This priceless service led to something further. By way of punishing the Sikhs for their wanton invasion, as well as in order to weaken them for further attacks, Lord Hardinge, while leaving the Punjab its independence, annexed the Jullundur Doab, one of its richest districts, to the British Dominions. Lawrence was its first Commissioner. When Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, was first asked to send up Lawrence for the post, he sent another officer instead. The officer was speedily sent back with the message, "Send me up *John Lawrence*," and John Lawrence was sent. On the way he had a dangerous attack of cholera, and was only saved by the application of remedies obtained from a civilian who chanced to be out in the district—one of many critical escapes which marked Lawrence's life.

In the Jullundur Doab Lawrence had a finer field for the exercise of his powers. English government, practically government in any real sense of the word, had to be introduced for the first time. He was working, too, under the very eyes, so to speak, of the Governor-General. And here he did the work which he did afterwards on the still wider and more conspicuous field of the Punjab. In two months he had the land-tax settled throughout the whole district. Hitherto the tax had been paid in kind—a

method opening the way to all kinds of abuses. He introduced the system of payment in money. Here is a description of his methods of work by one of his assistants at that time: "It seems but yesterday that I first stood before John Lawrence, in April, 1846, at the town of Hoshiarpore, the capital of a district in the Jullundur Doab, which was my first charge. I found him discussing with the Postmaster-General the new lines of postal delivery, and settling with the officer commanding the troops the limits of his cantonments. Harry Lumsden, then a young subaltern, was copying letters. Seated round the small knot of Europeans were scores of Sikh and Mohammedan landholders, arranging with their new lord the terms of their cash assessment. John Lawrence was full of energy—his coat off, his sleeves turned up above his elbows—and was impressing upon his subjects his principles of a just state-demand, and their first elementary ideas of natural equity; for, as each man touched the pen, the unlettered token of agreement to their leases, he made them repeat aloud the new trilogue of the English government: 'Thou shalt not burn thy widow, thou shalt not kill thy daughters, thou shalt not bury alive thy lepers;' and old greybeards, in the families of some of whom there was not a single widow, or a female blood-relative, went away chanting the dogmas of the new Moses, which next year were sternly enforced." Another writes of his master: "His grasp, both of principles and details, in fiscal, revenue, police, and judicial matters, was at once comprehensive and minute. His own appetite for work was insatiable, and he expected, and, I think, not in vain, a like devotion from us. A drone or a shirk could not tarry in his sight." With the latter class he waged through life an unceasing war. Of one he writes: "I had to send ——'s reports back, they are so badly done. He is a *rara avis*, and says his work is killing him. A very innocent murder it would be." To the same defaulter he writes: "A sense of duty alone compelled me to notice your irregularities in the way I have done, and I do not think I could have said less than I did. By your account I am altogether wrong. In my own judgment I am right. But I cannot let your letter remain on my record unanswered, let alone admit that you have cause for complaint. You may have worked hard, but I can only judge by results, and I have no hesitation in saying that in doing so you have, in my judgment, fallen

far short of your own estimate." On the other hand Lawrence encouraged and helped deserving officers without stint, not, indeed, by praising them to their face, which he very rarely did, but by furthering their interests in every way. During his viceroyalty a high official who had been ordered home by the doctors, met him and told him of the fact. The Viceroy received the intimation without a remark. The officer was aggrieved, and soon afterwards told his grief to a friend. The second friend comforted him by relating the concern the Viceroy had expressed at the loss which the Government would suffer.

Besides doing his work as Commissioner he also acted as Resident at Lahore for his brother Henry, who had gone home ill. Really he was acting for Sir Frederick Currie, who had been appointed to act for Henry. In such a position he could do nothing "off his own bat," as he often said. He could only keep things going on the lines laid down by others, and at the same time learn all he could. His voluminous journals, we are assured, contain a gallery of portraits of the chief personages of the province, the Queen-mother—a "Hindu Messalina," and the great nobles. We regret that want of space prevented the biographer giving even specimens from a rich historical mine. John Lawrence was obliged to be a spectator of scandals and intrigues, which he would have been only too glad to bring to an end. The chiefs were astonished at his familiarity with their doings. Then, as before and after, *Jan Larens sub junta* (John Lawrence knows everything) was a common saying. Of Golab Sing, whom we made Raja of Cashmere, Herbert Edwardes says: "He is the worst native I have ever come in contact with, a bad king, a miser, and a liar." Another witness says: "He is avaricious and cruel by nature, deliberately committing the most horrible atrocities for the purpose of investing his name with a horror which shall keep down all thoughts of resistance to his power." John Lawrence himself writes: "If Golab Sing flayed a chief alive, Immamuddin (a previous Sikh ruler of Cashmere) boiled a Pundit to death: they are certainly a pair of amiables." Even Henry Lawrence found it hard to defend "his friend Golab," as John humorously called him. Of the Afghans John says: "When an Afghan intends and endeavours to deceive his enemy, he begins with promises and oaths; he sends him the family Koran, and swears to the truth of his overtures."

There is no need to describe here the way in which the attempt sincerely made to build up an independent Punjab broke down. If either John or Henry had been at Lahore, or if John's advice to the acting Resident and to Lord Dalhousie to act promptly, had been followed, the Mooltan outbreak would not have been allowed to grow into a national rising. The second Sikh war was as fierce as the first, the British victory was even more decisive. A second experiment was out of the question. Even Henry, while he would not counsel annexation, could not object. Every one else felt that there was no other course. Above all, Lord Dalhousie was resolved on it, and he was master. There is no need to suppose that the new Governor-General formed any prejudice against Henry, and in favour of John. The agreement in policy as well as in personal character between Lord Dalhousie and John Lawrence is enough to explain the sympathy between them. Both were alike imperious and able. On their first meeting the Governor-General demanded, "What is to be done with the Punjab now?" "Annex it now," was the answer. Difficulty after difficulty was started by the Governor-General to be met by the same reply. A more masterful spirit than Dalhousie never appeared on the Indian arena. In reply to Henry Lawrence's pleading for the less guilty Sirdars, he wrote: "Nothing is granted them but maintenance. The amount of that is open to discussion, but their property of every kind will be confiscated to the State. . . . In the interim, let them be placed somewhere under surveillance; but attach their property till their destination is decided. If they run away, our contract is void. If they are caught, I will imprison them. And if they raise tumult again, I will hang them, as sure as they now live, and I live then." Herbert Edwardes had been doing something without authority, and Lord Dalhousie writes to Henry Lawrence thus: "I further wish to repeat what I said before, that there are more than Major Edwardes in the Residency who appear to consider themselves nowadays as Governor-General at least. The sooner you set about disenchanting their minds of this illusion the better for your comfort and their own. I don't doubt you will find bit and martingale for them speedily. For my part, I will not stand it in quieter times for half an hour, and will come down unmistakably upon any one of them who may 'try it on,' from Major Edwardes, C.B., down to the latest enlisted general-ensign-

plenipotentiary on the establishment." It seems strange, at first sight, that two such masterful wills as Dalhousie and John Lawrence worked together so harmoniously. Their harmony, however, was founded, not merely on similar views, but on thorough mutual respect, which went on deepening to the close of that eventful rule. The Governor-General insisted on John addressing him "My dear lord," and the address on the other side was, "My dear Lawrence," or "My dear John."

Lord Dalhousie's first scheme for the government of the annexed country was a triangular Board, consisting of the two Lawrences and another member. It is easy to see the reason of such an arrangement. The Governor-General could neither displace Henry, nor trust his policy alone, and a third member was indispensable. The third member at first was Mansel and afterwards Montgomery. Mansel criticised everything, criticised Henry's measures to John and John's to Henry. Some one called Henry the "travelling" partner, in allusion to his fondness for movement; John the "working" partner; and Mansel the "sleeping" partner. As Henry's views of policy and John's had nothing in common, one being as aristocratic as the other was democratic, the friction was constant and grew worse with time. Montgomery, an early and fast friend of both brothers, called himself "a regular buffer between two high-pressure engines," and an excellent buffer he was. In May, 1852, Henry wrote a long letter of complaint to Montgomery against John, requesting that it might be shown to the latter. John replied with interest. In forwarding the reply Montgomery said: "Read it gently and calmly, and I think you had better not answer it. I doubt not that you could write a folio in reply, but it would be no use. With your very different views you must agree to differ, and when you happen to agree be thankful." The folio, however, was written. But Montgomery asked leave not to show it. "I will tell John verbally that you told me you felt hurt at his letter, and will mention some of the most prominent of your remarks as mildly as I can." It cannot be said that the work suffered from this antagonism. Perhaps the country was even a gainer. The necessary work was done—police organised, custom dues abolished, roads started,—and in most matters of general policy extremes were avoided.

The triumvirate however came to an end. It was never

intended to be more than temporary. To men equally high-spirited the tension became unendurable, and both brothers wrote to the Governor-General asking for a change. Each offered to take any other appointment, while expressing his preference for the Punjab. When the case was thus put directly before the Governor-General, his choice was inevitable. John was to remain sole Commissioner, and Henry was made Political Agent in Rajpootana, a post of great honour, but still exile to the original ruler of the Punjab. "Rajpootana was not the Punjab." To Henry the cup was as bitter as one in his position ever had to drink. This was how John spoke of Henry in his letter to the Governor-General: "The views of my brother, a man far abler than I am, are in many respects opposed to mine. I can no more expect that on organic changes he will give way to me than I can to him. He is my senior in age, and we have always been staunch friends. It pains me to be in a state of antagonism to him. A better and more honourable man I don't know, or one more anxious to discharge his duty conscientiously; but in matters of civil polity of the first importance we differ greatly." Whatever consolation there was in the universal regret of English and native alike, Henry had in abundance. "Grief was depicted on every face. Old and young, rich and poor, soldiers and civilians, Englishmen and natives, each and all felt that they were about to lose a friend. Strong men, Herbert Edwardes conspicuous amongst them, might be seen weeping like little children; and when the last of those last moments came, and Henry Lawrence on January 20th, 1853, accompanied by his wife and sister, turned his back for ever upon Lahore and the Punjab, a long cavalcade of aged native chiefs followed him, some for five, some for ten, others for twenty or twenty-five miles out of the city. They were men too who had now nothing to hope from him, for the sun of Henry Lawrence had set, in the Punjab at least, for ever. But they were anxious to evidence, by such poor signs as they could give, their grief, their gratitude and their admiration. It was a long, living funeral procession from Lahore nearly to Umritsur. Robert Napier, now Lord Napier of Magdala, was the last to tear himself away from one who was dearer to him than a brother. "Kiss him," said Henry Lawrence to his sister, as Napier turned back, at last, heart-broken towards Lahore. "Kiss him, he

is my best and dearest friend." When he reached Umritsur, at the house of Charles Saunders, the Deputy-Commissioner, a new group of mourners and a fresh outburst of grief awaited him; and thence he passed on into Rajpootana, "dented all over," to use his friend Herbert Edwardes's words, "with defeats and disapprovals, honourable scars in the eyes of the bystanders." Less than five years more, and that noble heart lies still in a soldier's grave in the Lucknow Residency. After the severance, John's letters to his brother begin, "My dear Henry," instead of "My dear Hal" as before. He strongly recommended Henry to Lord Canning for the command of the Persian Expedition, and the recommendation would no doubt have succeeded, if the appointment had lain with the Calcutta authorities. The two brothers met but once more, in Calcutta in 1856. In November, 1867, John Lawrence, as Viceroy, held a Durbar at Lucknow, which his biographer thus describes: "Of all the scenes which they had witnessed in Sir John Lawrence's eventful life, there is no single scene—so one and another of his most faithful friends who accompanied him have assured me—which has stamped itself in such imperishable colours on their recollections, as that in front of the Residency at Lucknow. There, by the corner of the building, stood Sir John Lawrence, alone, in his simple black coat and sun helmet, his hands crossed in front of him, and his Staff at some little distance off, but not so far as that they could not watch the shadows which came and went over his rugged features, as he stood wrapped in thought. There, was the long line of Talukdars, in all their bravery of gold and purple, mounted on their magnificently caparisoned elephants and humbly saluting the Viceroy as they filed past and looked, with satisfaction or the reverse, on their own handiwork, as evidenced by the dents and chasms made by millions of rifle bullets and thousands of cannon balls in that battered building. There, in front, were the miserable defences hastily thrown up under his brother's eye, which had kept a whole army and a whole city at bay for so many months, and which had now been partially levelled to admit of the nearer approach of the procession. Close behind him was the room in which bursting the cruel shell had done its ghastly work on his noble-hearted brother; and some fifty yards away on the other side of the Residency was his simple

tomb. When the sights and sounds of the great pageant of submission was over, the veteran Viceroy walked round to the sacred spot, still followed at a distance by the members of his staff, and stood there for many minutes by himself, and once again wrapped in thought. That day he must have felt was a day of final and of bloodless triumph, a triumph won as much by his brother as by himself."

John's position now was a proud and difficult one, although he thought neither of the pride nor the difficulty, but simply of doing his duty. Not the least difficulty arose from the fact that nearly all the English officers in the Punjab were devoted to Henry; some of them, notably Nicholson, the hero of the siege of Delhi, perhaps never quite forgave him what he could no more help than Henry himself. John early wrote: "My dear Nicholson,— . . . You have lost a good friend in my brother, but I hope to prove just as staunch a one to you. I set a great value on your zeal, energy, and administrative powers, though I may sometimes think you have a good deal to learn. You may rest assured of my support in all your labours. You may depend upon it that order, rule, and law are good in the hands of those who can understand them, and who know how to apply them. They increase tenfold the power of work in an able man, while without them ordinary men can do but little. . . . Assess low, leaving fair and liberal margin to the occupiers of the soil, and they will increase their cultivation and put the revenue almost beyond the reach of bad seasons. Eschew middlemen. They are the curse of the country everywhere. The land must pay the revenue and feed them, as well as support the occupiers." John did prove a staunch friend to Nicholson, commending him everywhere, in Mutiny days putting him at the head of the movable column, and would have placed him higher if he could. No Indian province ever had such a number of rulers of the highest abilities as were gathered round the Lawrences in the Punjab. Robert Napier, the two Chamberlains, John Nicholson, Herbert Edwardes, the two Taylors, the two Abbotts, the two Lumsdens, Coke, Robert Montgomery, Donald Macleod, Edmonstone, Barnes, Raikes, Thornton, Lake, Cust, Temple, Brandreth, were only leaders of a body of administrators and soldiers who could be trusted to do anything within the limits of human power. It is no fable that a small sect of fakirs worshipped Nicholson, who impressed every one as of gigantic propor-

tions in every respect. The more Nicholson thrashed his worshippers the more they adored him. On his death, in the assault on Delhi, one of them committed suicide. During the Mutiny he took his column on carts above forty miles in one day to intercept the Sealkote mutineers, who were making for Delhi. Coming to a grove, the officers begged that the men might be allowed to rest. Nicholson reluctantly consented. One of the men happened to look up from his sleep, and saw Nicholson sitting bolt upright on his horse in the full glare of the sun, waiting till his men were ready to march again. Nicholson was well in time, and destroyed the column of mutineers. At an earlier date Nicholson was one day standing at his gate when a native came up, sword in hand, and asked which was Nikkul Seyn. Nicholson saw murder in the man's bearing, and snatching a musket from the sentry threatened to shoot him if he did not drop his sword. The man rushed forward, when Nicholson shot him dead. The ball passed through a copy of the Koran, which was turned down at a passage promising Paradise to those who slay infidels. Nicholson reported the circumstance to the Commissioners thus: "Sir,—I have the honour to report that a man came into my compound to-day, intending to kill me, and that I shot him dead.—Your obedient servant, JOHN NICHOLSON." Nicholson was known among his friends as "The Autocrat of all the Russias."

It will easily be understood that one of Lawrence's chief difficulties was in keeping the peace between men of such strength and spirit. He praised Nicholson to Chamberlain, and Chamberlain to Nicholson, and of course could do so on the best grounds. The end of a long quarrel seems to be indicated in a note of Lawrence's to Edwardes: "I return Nicholson's letter. I have got an official letter from Chamberlain, putting twenty queries on each of the four raids to Nicholson! Now, if anything will bring 'Nick' to his senses it will be these queries. He will polish off a tribe in the most difficult fortress, or ride the border like 'belted Will' of former days; but one query in writing is often a stumper for a month or two. The 'pen-and-ink' work, as he calls it, 'does not suit' him." To Nicholson himself he says, "I have got a long letter (official) from Chamberlain, who asks for replies, twenty in number, in respect of the raids you reported. If anything will shut your mouth it will be these queries, for I often find it difficult to get an

answer to one." The plain speaking between these high-minded public men was honourable to all alike. There was none of his assistants whom Lawrence honoured more, and none more worthy of honour, than Donald Macleod. But his slowness often irritated his chief, and earned for him the playful title of "Cunctator." Lawrence writes to Macleod, "I am sure you will make a famous financial commissioner. If you only firmly resolve to postpone nothing that can be disposed of at the time, daily getting through what comes before you, there will be nothing further to desire. You do not, I think, give yourself fair play. You are like a racer who, instead of starting off directly the signal is given, waits until the others have got well ahead before he commences his running; or, perhaps, what is nearer the mark, you only consent to make play when you have packed a good maund of traps on your back. Now pray excuse these ungracious remarks. There is no man who regards and respects you more than I do, or who could be better pleased to have you as a colleague. I see but one speck on your official escutcheon, and, like an officious friend, desire to rub it out." To Barnes he writes in the opposite strain: "Ah, Barnes, you are a very clever fellow; you can get through in half an hour what it would take most of us an hour to do equally well; and if only you would not insist in getting through it in a quarter of an hour instead of half, you would do excellently." One of Lawrence's chief difficulties with his officers was over the time they wished to spend on the hills. To Barnes he says: "I am sorry to find you are vexed at my conduct about the hills, but you will, I hope, give me credit for acting on public grounds." And again to Montgomery: "I am sorry — is riled at the tone of my refusal. It would seem to me that it was the refusal itself which really annoyed him. But, be it one or the other, I could not help it. What I did was done on public grounds. In such questions I have no friends or enemies; at least I try not to have them." Lawrence himself spent little time in cool hill retreats. Indeed, he often injured himself by his refusal to take rest. Even when as Chief Commissioner he might have indulged without injury to the public service, he abstained for example's sake. His run to Calcutta at the beginning of 1856 to see Lord Dalhousie before his departure was the first holiday he had taken for fourteen years. With Robert Napier, the splendid engineer-in-

chief, he was in constant difficulties, not only because of his want of business promptitude, but also because of his disregard of all considerations of cost. He did his work in first-class style, but of economy he had no thought. Under pressure and remonstrance from the supreme government matters were always coming to a crisis. Lawrence ends a long letter of explanation by saying, "You must forgive me if I have said aught in this to distress you. I assure you that it is meant kindly." He had previously said, "It would be absurd for me to have authority in your department, and not to exercise it. I may have done this too abruptly, too harshly, but such is not my impression. From kindly feeling to yourself, from mere motives of expediency, I have endeavoured to get you to bring your department into order. If 'revolutions are not effected by rose-water,' neither are reforms to be made without vigorous expression, without conveying to subordinate authorities in unmistakable but courteous language that one's wishes must be carried out." The transformation effected in the Punjab between 1852 and 1857 was wonderful. A turbulent, lawless race settled down into peaceable cultivators. Laws, courts, roads, schools, were introduced. Englishmen have often read of the ruling instincts of their race. In these pages they may read how the work is done, by what self-sacrifice, what patience, what organising skill and energy.

During the same period Lawrence made two treaties with the Afghans, first with Dost Mohammed's envoys and then with the redoubtable Dost himself. The place was Peshawur, at the mouth of the Khyber. John Lawrence himself was the negotiator on the British side. The first treaty was simply a compact of mutual non-interference. The second time the Dost was very anxious to draw the British into an alliance, involving them in all his schemes; but Lawrence would hear nothing of this. He would simply give help in the shape of money and arms against Persian designs on Herat. At the same time he did not insist on sending British officers to Cabul. The whole scene was very instructive. The British presents to the Afghans were costly, the Afghan presents in return were ten horses and two mules, nearly all spavined and worn out. Lawrence asked the Ameer directly whether he had not carried on secret dealings with the Raja of Cashmere during the last war. The Ameer swore "by Abraham, by Moses, by Esau,

by Jesus Christ, and if there be any other prophets, by them," that there had been nothing of the kind. "When I told the Ameer that I could not credit his statement, he expressed no indignation whatever." His son Azim said at last he would inquire if there were any papers, but none were forthcoming. "When Azim asked us if we did not believe the Ameer, and we replied that we did not, he began to laugh heartily and, I verily believe, had a higher opinion of our intellects than before." Lord Lawrence's opinions on the Afghan question are well known. No doubt circumstances change, but it is hard to see how circumstances can occur to make any difference in the facts which form the chief basis of his policy. The mountains, the river Indus, the Khyber Pass, the pride and treachery and poverty of the Afghans, the nature of Afghanistan, the three wars we have already waged—are all the same. On this large question we cannot even enter here. The reader will find abundant materials in the biography for forming a judgment. Lord Lytton thought the opinion of Sir George Colley on the Afghan question worth the opinion of "twenty Lawrences."

These years of quiet organising proved to be simply the preparation of the ship for the storm. How bravely the ship bore herself under such a captain will never be forgotten in the story of England and India. Mr. Smith wisely abstains from dealing with the subject of the Mutiny in general, and limits himself strictly to the share John Lawrence had in its suppression. Still this portion of the narrative fills half of the second volume. Lawrence's action refers only to Delhi, but Delhi formed the centre of interest for the first and critical part of the period. The outbreak of the Mutiny found him at Rawul Pindi at no great distance from Peshawur, and here he remained for the first two months. At Rawul Pindi he was free from the petty details of business which would have distracted his attention at Lahore, and he was able to concentrate his attention on the one business of the hour. How well he did this work of directing, suggesting, stimulating, must be read in the biography itself. From the first he divined instinctively the course the rising would take and the means necessary for its suppression. If his first urgent counsels to energetic action had been followed by the military authorities, no siege of Delhi would have been necessary. But the mutineers were allowed to secure their position in

the old imperial city with walls strengthened and arsenals filled by ourselves, and the place became the rendezvous of blood-stained Sepoy regiments from all parts. Communication with Calcutta was cut off. Not a soldier or gun came from the east. The English and native troops, guns and ammunition, siege-trains and money which captured Delhi all came from the Punjab. Assuredly Lawrence's was a critical position. The Punjabees were a warlike race. Not many years had elapsed since their defeat in battles such as the British had never had occasion to fight in India before. To put arms into their hands and send them to fight our enemies seemed a delicate experiment. Perhaps the race-antagonism between Sikh and Hindu was a partial security against their sinking their differences in one common alliance against the few foreigners. And this was no doubt true up to a certain point. But Lawrence never ceased to be anxious about letting the Sikhs learn their number and power. He knew that to enlist them as soldiers without limit would simply be to put ourselves at their mercy. One constant precaution which he used was to see that the new regiments raised consisted of different tribes and races, thus avoiding the rock on which the old Sepoy army was wrecked. But even with this precaution he felt that there was a point beyond which he could not go. As it was, the Sikhs who had been such formidable foes fought as well as British troops could. In the trenches and the assault at Delhi they were ever to the front. Without them we should have been helpless. Lawrence called out altogether 34,000 men, embracing Hindustanis, Sikhs, and Mohammedans in well-balanced proportion. He kept not a soldier or gun in the Punjab that could be spared. And indeed his own officers, such as Herbert Edwardes, remonstrated with him on the defenceless condition to which he was reducing his own province. But he constantly put the imperial above the local. He knew well that all depended on the capture of Delhi. Before the city fell in September the tension was extreme. The loyalty of vast numbers of nobles and princes throughout India trembled in the balance. Failure, or much longer delay, meant universal rebellion and the reconquest of all India. In July he writes to officers before Delhi, "If you fall back from Delhi, our cause is gone. Neither the Punjab nor anywhere else can stand." To Edwardes, "If our army retreat from Delhi, it is lost. Nothing but disgrace and

ruin will follow. If it stand fast, I will not see it perish for want of aid." To General Sydney Cotton, "My policy is to support the army as far as possible. If it fail, all will fail. This is the crisis of our fate." To Lord Canning, "If we hope to stem the tide, we must take Delhi. Its strength, its political importance, render its capture essential to our political existence. Deprived of it, the insurgents will speedily degenerate into a rabble." To Lord Elphinstone, "There is nothing for it, in my mind, but to take Delhi or perish in the struggle." And so he went on pouring troops and supplies towards the point of supreme importance.

In his own province the Sepoy regiments were nearly all disarmed. Thus, English troops were set free, who otherwise would have been kept watching the natives. There were very few of the blunders which were the cause of so much disaster elsewhere. The few disasters which occurred were due to officers whom Lawrence could neither command nor remove. In disarming the Sepoys at Rawul Pindi he exposed his own life without fear. In all his measures he was most ably supported by his trusty lieutenants everywhere. In disarming the regiments at Lahore, Montgomery accepted responsibility by anticipating his chief's action. News of the outbreak reached Lahore on Tuesday, May 12th, and the next morning four Sepoy regiments were disarmed by five companies of the 81st European with twelve guns. All was managed without fuss. A general parade had been previously fixed for that morning. The Sepoys were so manœuvred as to bring them face to face with the Europeans. As the Brigadier's orders to disarm were read, the 500 Europeans fell back between the twelve guns loaded with grape, the gunners stood with port fires lighted, the order rang out, "Eighty-first, load," the ramrods were driven home, the Sepoys saw that they were caught in a trap, and 2,000 muskets and 700 sabres soon lay in heaps. The 26th native regiment afterwards murdered some of their officers and fled, but were pursued and destroyed.

The importance which Lawrence attached to the speedy fall of Delhi may be gathered from the fact that, if left to himself, he would have abandoned Peshawur to the Afghans, thus setting free a large European force which would have decided the day at Delhi. His own officers were against him on this point, but he defended himself on the principle

of sacrificing an extremity to save the vital part. Indeed in quieter times he questioned the wisdom of keeping Peshawur. The valley is worth little in point of revenue. Its only worth is as a means of defence at the mouth of the Khyber, whilst by giving it to the Afghans from whom it was taken by the Sikhs, much as Alsace-Lorraine was taken by the Germans, we should make them our firm friends. The Indus, he maintained, was a far stronger boundary. However, we need not express any judgment on this question, which is rather for experts. Few men could know more on the subject than John Lawrence. It is enough to say that the sacrifice was never required. Lawrence's efforts were repaid, waverers were confirmed, and the neck of the Mutiny was broken by the fall of Delhi in the middle of September.

Directly the city was taken Lawrence strongly urged on the Governor-General the wisdom of issuing a proclamation offering an amnesty to the less guilty. These were numbered by thousands. They had simply been drawn into the stream. Now that rebellion was evidently a losing cause, a proclamation of this kind would have detached thousands from its side. For some reason or other the advice was not accepted, and, as Lawrence foretold, the war degenerated into a guerilla warfare, carried on by mutineers who had no hope of quarter.

The extent to which John Lawrence represented the British cause to the native mind may be estimated by the fact that the leaders inside Delhi inspired their troops with new courage by parading a stalwart, fair-skinned Cashmeer prisoner as Jan Larens himself. He once mentioned to Raja Tej Sing, a principal Punjab chief, that he had some thought of going to Delhi himself to expedite the siege. Tej Sing looked earnestly at him, and said, "Sahib, send the best man you have, or any number of them, but don't go yourself. So long as you stay here, all will go well. But the moment you turn your back, no one can say what devilry may not take place." When Lawrence finally left for England a native said to an English officer, "Won't something happen when he goes?"

As to the share of John Lawrence in the capture of Delhi, perhaps a better testimony than all the congratulations and honours which fell thick and fast upon him is the one in Lord Canning's Minute: "Through him Delhi fell, and the Punjab, no longer a weakness, became a source

of strength. But for him, the hold of England upon Upper India would have had to be recovered at a cost of English blood and treasure which defies calculation." A characteristic incident occurred on his departure from the Punjab. The Raja of Bhawulpore was one of those who had waited for victory to declare itself before taking his side. However, when Sir John Lawrence sailed down the Indus on his way home, the Raja came down to the banks of the river in state to do him honour, but Sir John steamed past at full speed. It will be seen from the biography that while Sir John advocated severe dealing with the guilty, he was strongly against the indiscriminate severity too often practised.

Sir John had been seventeen years absent from England. He went out an obscure civilian, he returned the most prominent figure among Indian rulers. We pass over the recognition accorded to his services, as well as the four years spent at home. In 1863 he was appointed Viceroy in succession to Lord Elgin. His was the first, and so far the only, instance of an Indian civilian rising to the supreme dignity. The appointment, no doubt, excited considerable jealousy, which added to the difficulties of his position. Sharp eyes were constantly on the watch for faults which were duly chronicled, magnified, and published to the world. It is no mean testimony both to Lawrence's character and ability that the only faults ever discovered by eyes sharpened by the meanest passions related to points of bearing and etiquette. He walked to church instead of going in state. Men who were not above sharing his hospitality went away declaring that they would not drink the wine, "it was so bad, such a contrast to Lord Elgin's." Lawrence had bought the wine they were drinking from Lord Elgin's stock. So again, in his successor's days, "the wine *he* gave was such an agreeable contrast to what Sir John Lawrence had given them." Lord Mayo had bought Sir John Lawrence's stock. Sir John also raised a nest of hornets about him by reforming the abuses of the viceregal establishment. Economy was denounced as niggardliness. The way, too, in which he worked, and made others work, was extremely unwelcome to idlers. Once in a busy moment he forgot to change his slippers before receiving a Calcutta deputation. The supposed slight was never forgiven. When told of his offence, he turned to his private secretary with the remark, "Why,

Hathaway, they were quite new, and good slippers." Little as he cared for the formalities of state, none could do better justice to the dignity of the British empire when occasion arose. His great Durbars at Lahore, Agra, and Lucknow were the most effective ceremonies of the kind ever witnessed in India. The reason was that the central figure in the ceremony was feared and revered, not simply as a symbol of British authority, but for his own sake. His addresses to the assembled princes and nobles of India in the vernacular, strengthened by the imposing presence and past deeds of the speaker, gave forth no uncertain sound. The Viceregal Court, during his term of office, was one of which no Christian government had reason to be ashamed. Every one knew that while the Viceroy was no fanatic, he was a resolved Christian, and that nothing morally wrong would be tolerated. He always sought to inculcate respect for the natives. A young officer once spoke of them in Sir John's presence as "niggers." "I beg your pardon," said Sir John, "of whom were you speaking?"

The years of his viceroyalty were tame in comparison with the stirring times which had gone before. Happily there was no extra demand on his powers. We may therefore pass by the questions of internal reform and administration, the differences with some members of his council and with Sir Bartle Frere at Bombay, which fill up this period. Full of instruction as they are to students of Indian history, they do not add much that is characteristic of Sir John. Perhaps it should be said that the differences between Sir John Lawrence and Sir Bartle Frere are characteristic of the two men. But the question of frontier policy is too large to discuss here. We hope that the exposition given in these volumes will do much to enlighten public opinion on the subject.

The last chapter, giving many personal details and characteristics, is one of the most interesting in the biography. We almost wish the School-Board interlude were absent. With all respect to the members of the board, the work was scarcely worthy of the ex-Viceroy, and the ex-Viceroy was scarcely in his element. The way in which Lord Lawrence threw himself into the frontier controversy is too well known to need description here. We trust that the information given will be carefully pondered by all parties. No English party can have any

interest in defending injustice, violence, and waste. It behoves all patriots to do everything in their power to prevent the new danger with which we are threatened—that of Indian questions being dragged into the arena of party strife. Nothing could so seriously imperil the British empire in the East. Many are the incidents, illustrative of the homeliness and withal the true greatness of Lord Lawrence's character, told in this chapter, but they would be spoilt by being torn from the context, and must be read in the biography. His eyesight, sorely tried by years of excessive desk-work in India, gradually failed, and at last almost entirely departed. Most touching is the picture of the once strong man reduced to dependence on others. We remember nothing more pathetic in literature than the record by Lady Lawrence of his resignation under the loss and his patience under two severe operations. The end of the good fight came in June, 1879. "I am so weary" were the last words of one of the hardest of workers.

Unless we are greatly mistaken, the character exhibited in these volumes is one that will draw increasing reverence from all that is best in the English nation. The present Lord Derby's epithet for Lord Lawrence is exceedingly happy—"Heroic simplicity." Lord Derby adds with just as much truth, "Malice itself has never fastened upon Lord Lawrence's career the imputation of one discreditable incident or one unworthy act." Prominent everywhere is the absolute sincerity of the man. Conventional he could not be. Where others would have descended to meaningless platitudes, he spoke the truth however unpalatable. Once he desired the Grand Cross of the Star of India to be withheld from the Maharaja of Joudpore, the proudest of Rajputana princes, because of unworthy conduct. The Maharaja's name, however, had been gazetted. But in conferring the honour the Viceroy gave some very plain counsel, and when the counsel was not followed deposed the prince. Sir Charles Wood, himself the firmest of men, once requested him to withdraw some instructions to a Special Commissioner. Sir John, after justifying his action, said, "It would be suicidal for me to come forward and modify the instructions given. The Home Government may do this. Parliament may say what it thinks proper, but of my own free will I will not move, knowing as I do that I am right in the course which has been

adopted." Lord Lawrence was a thoroughly religious man. Not that he was talkative on the subject; on the contrary, his reticence was extreme. "He never talked of religion, hardly ever said a word that was distinctly religious even to his intimate friends and relations. Yet everybody knew it was there." Besides daily worship in the household, Lady Lawrence and her husband always had their daily Bible reading and prayer together. He did not read many religious books. He said he found the Bible itself more helpful. His character was formed, his life governed, by Scripture. Can we wonder that his indignation against wrong and passion for right knew no bounds? There is no character of modern days that reminds us so strongly of the Puritan of the best type. Henry Morley's definition of an Englishman applies perfectly to Lord Lawrence: "One determined to find out the right and get it done, find out the wrong and get it undone." Never may the English reverence for morality decline. Never may the right be supplanted by the æsthetic.

The biographer has discharged his difficult task most worthily. We confess that we wonder at the skill with which he has selected from a vast mass of material just what was necessary for the purposes of biography. Nothing but the most thorough study of every part of his subject has enabled him to discuss Indian questions of all kinds with such intelligence and mastery. He always writes vigorously, sometimes, perhaps, with almost unnecessary vigour. A biographer does not always need to pronounce a verdict. Sometimes facts may be left to speak for themselves. His language respecting the morality of Hodson's conduct is absolutely unqualified. Some readers may, perhaps, think that the classical allusions and quotations are needlessly multiplied, especially as they are seldom novel. A more serious defect is the somewhat sparing indication of dates. For example, the date of Lord Lawrence's death can only be uncertainly inferred. But on the whole the biography is one with which all admirers of one of England's and India's greatest characters have every reason to be thoroughly satisfied. The work will long continue to be a mine of valuable information on Indian subjects.

ART. III.—*On Mr. Spencer's Unification of Knowledge.*
By Malcolm Guthrie, Author of "On Mr. Spencer's
Formula of Evolution." London: Trübner and
Co., Ludgate Hill. 1882.

THE imposing edifice of Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Synthetic Philosophy* seems to occupy an unique position in the history of English speculation as the first attempt made in this country to frame a coherent and consistent theory of the universe, while it challenges from every student of modern thought the attention which is due to breadth of design and elaboration of detail. The earlier thinkers, who form what is known as the English school of philosophy, were all, from Locke to J. S. Mill, busied with a problem which lies within comparatively narrow compass, *i.e.*, the nature and the limits of the human understanding. They were not prepared to launch out upon the ocean of speculative inquiry until they had satisfied themselves that they had been provided by nature with the needful equipment for the voyage. Nor were the results of their psychological analysis of a kind to stimulate speculative enterprise. In the cold shade of their criticism the spirit of intellectual adventure, which animated a Plato or a Descartes, withered and died out. Thus, at the very time when a new philosophical renaissance was reaching its fullest development in Germany, English thinkers were still, like so many monks of Athos, engaged in scrutinising their sensations, and proclaiming authoritatively that in sensation lay the whole content of human cognition. All this, however, is now altered, and the reason is not far to seek. The immense development of physical science in recent years, and in particular the hypothesis which goes by the name of the Darwinian theory, have as completely revolutionised the popular manner of regarding the universe as the Copernican system did that of our forefathers. The old hide-bound empiricism of Mill and Bain will not square with the evolution hypothesis; and accordingly in Mr. Spencer English philosophy has assumed a shape which has far more affinity with Cartesianism than with the

canonical doctrine of the school of Locke. Mr. Spencer's conception of philosophy is of that large and ambitious character which we have hitherto associated exclusively with the names of Continental, and especially of German, thinkers. In his view science rests upon certain ultimate necessities of thought or *a priori* principles, and the first principles of the special sciences are likewise *a priori*; and it is the business of philosophy to unify human knowledge by exhibiting it as a deduction from, or synthesis of, these first principles. The province of each special science is of necessity limited; it deals with the universe in one or other of its many aspects or relations, and accordingly it can never tell us what the universe itself is, but only how it appears from one point of view. When, therefore, scientific achievement has been carried to its farthest limit there will still remain the further question—What after all is the universe itself? To some minds this question at present seems, and doubtless will long continue to seem, hopeless of solution. It is, however, this question, and no other, to which the *Synthetic Philosophy* is intended by its author to furnish the final answer. Moreover, the problem itself is not quite so vague as it at first sight appears. A little reflection shows that it is susceptible of but one of three possible solutions. It is plain that the universe is either material or spiritual in nature, or that its nature is inscrutable. To assume the existence of two independent principles, mind and matter, in the universe would be in effect to make two universes instead of one. As philosophers, therefore, we are bound either to resolve mind into matter, or matter into mind, or to treat both mind and matter as distinct, but correlative, effects of the same cause. The first of these three alternatives we may eliminate, materialism being no longer represented by any thinker of consequence. The choice then lies between the second and the third, between idealism and agnosticism, as it is now the fashion to call that theory which treats the "ultimate reality" as inscrutable. We need hardly say that this latter theory is the one adopted by Mr. Spencer. Mr. Spencer then, as a metaphysician, is a kind of nineteenth century Spinozist. For "ultimate reality" read substance, and for "manifestation" mode, and Mr. Spencer's metaphysical doctrine becomes that of Spinoza. True, Spinoza was wont to call his "substance" by a term at once more familiar and more august, viz., God; but differences of

terminology are a matter of small importance, unless they symbolise corresponding differences of thought, and the pantheism of Spinoza is of so abstract a kind as that, when rigorously thought out, it yields a result which does not materially differ from agnosticism. We repeat, then, that Mr. Spencer's agnostic metaphysics are substantially identical with that same theory of pantheism which, two centuries ago, became, through the Ethics of Spinoza, part of the common stock of modern philosophy. Accordingly, if Mr. Spencer were no more than a metaphysician, we might perhaps be excused for choosing to read the master in preference to the pupil, the more so as Spinoza's Latin is of its kind decidedly superior to Mr. Spencer's English. Mr. Spencer, however, claims to be much more than a metaphysician; and, indeed, his metaphysics are the least part of him. He claims to have established his ontological doctrine upon a scientific basis, upon the basis of the idea of evolution applied as an universal method to the interpretation of the phenomena of the universe; to have introduced into astronomy, on the one hand, and psychology and its dependent sciences on the other, the same method which Darwin applied exclusively to biology; and by so doing to have accomplished that unification of knowledge which, as we have seen, in his view constitutes philosophy. The *Synthetic Philosophy*, then, is presented to us by its author in the light of a veritable new beginning in speculation. Thus he claims to have transcended both Locke and Kant, fusing into one harmonious doctrine whatever elements of truth were contained in the ideas of those once famous thinkers. This boasted reconciliation of empiricism and transcendentalism is, however, but one particular case of what is, in effect, the pretension of Mr. Spencer's system as a whole. Thus psychology teaches that every known object exists only in being known, perceived objects in being perceived, conceived objects in being conceived. On the other hand, the objective sciences purport to deal with an objective world. How, then, is the psychological doctrine to be reconciled with the objectivity of the cosmos? Nor can the philosopher afford to ignore religion. The existence of the religious faculty suggests the existence of an object corresponding to it. Of what kind, then, must such an object be in order that it may satisfy the religious instinct without at the same time doing violence to reason? To both of these questions Mr. Spencer professes to be able,

by his theory, to render a satisfactory answer. The effect of the application of the idea of evolution to all the concrete sciences is to bring about a twofold reconciliation—a reconciliation of psychology with objective science, or, in other words, of idealism with realism, and a reconciliation of reason with faith.

The work which heads this article is an elaborate attempt to show by detailed criticism that Mr. Spencer has, in fact, failed to effect his purpose, and that his unification is no unification. The author's position is peculiar. "The present undertaking, therefore," he says in his preface, "is to be regarded, not as an attack upon the evolutionism of Lamarck, nor as an attack upon the evolutionism of Lyell or Darwin, nor yet upon the evolutionism of Spencer as regards the development of intelligence, but as an attack upon the theory which attempts to combine all these into one continuous process." In a word, Mr. Guthrie thinks that there is evolution and evolution, that one evolutionist theory differs from another intrinsically, and that by consequence it is impossible to construct a comprehensive system of evolution-philosophy, consolidating the first principles of the several sciences into a coherent body of universal truth. Philosophy, as the unification of knowledge, is impossible.

Mr. Guthrie's work is, as we said, an elaborate one. He passes in review one by one, and submits to a close examination, the most plausible of the many novel theories broached in Mr. Spencer's three most important works, *First Principles*, *Principles of Biology*, and *Principles of Psychology*. We are not sure that the author is in all respects perfectly well fitted to perform the task he has undertaken, and in particular we doubt whether his knowledge of the physical sciences is as profound, or his mastery of his logical tools as complete, as it need be to enable him to cope with complete success with a thinker of Mr. Spencer's calibre. Further, we think he starts with a certain misconception of Mr. Spencer's purpose, and of the scope of philosophy. Thus he complains (page 9) that Mr. Spencer "seems to forget that unification implies oneness." He has quite a number of universal truths, and no doubt there are a number of universal truths; but when, as in paragraph §3, he speaks of interpreting things by means of universal truths in the plural, where is the unification? Surely there must be *one* ultimate truth from which even the

universal truths are derivable. And from this initial confusion we never get clear. Throughout Mr. Spencer's works we are continually finding that something or other is a corollary from some of the ultimate truths; but this does not constitute an unification of knowledge; it is only a partial unification, which falls short of the goal of philosophy. These universal truths have to be unified."

The truth is that this idea of "one ultimate truth, from which even the universal truths are derivable," is a pure delusion.

The process of deduction necessarily implies a plurality of universal truths. From one truth, however ultimate, it is impossible to deduce or derive anything. The only unification (if such it can be called) of which ultimate truths are susceptible is by way of some such "transcendental deduction" of them (wrongly called deduction) as that by which Kant proved the *a priori* necessity of the pure conceptions of the understanding, as conditions of the possibility of experience. Mr. Spencer, then, is not to be blamed for resting in a plurality of ultimate truths. But to return to Mr. Guthrie's criticism. He continues as follows: "Further, we find that Mr. Spencer nowhere sets down his proposed unifications in the distinct form of a proposition. Whatever ideas he may have, or whatever opinions he may wish to convey, as to what precisely does constitute the unification of knowledge, he does not put them down anywhere in the form of a distinct proposition, but leaves us to gather his opinions in an indistinct manner from incoherent statements scattered here and there throughout his works. And if we set ourselves the task of gathering these opinions for the purpose of completing our unificatory proposition by furnishing it with a predicate, what do we find? We find that quite a variety of different methods of the unification of knowledge are taught by Mr. Spencer! In studying these in detail, we see that they arrange themselves into six classes, which we may call the Mystical, the Psychological, the Physical, the Metaphysical, the Supraphysical, and the Symbolical."

There is very little in these strictures with which we find ourselves able to agree. Doubtless, Mr. Spencer has not summed up in a few succinct propositions the net result of his "unificatory" speculations, but that there is any substantial difficulty to a reasonably painstaking and candid critic in ascertaining what that net result is, we do not for

a moment believe. We think that, taking a fair view of Mr. Spencer's system as a whole, it is perfectly possible, without the exercise of any extraordinary measure either of ingenuity or of patience, to formulate certain general propositions which express with tolerable clearness the gist of his philosophy, regarded as an unification of knowledge, as thus :

Prop. I. All phenomena (and with Mr. Spencer only phenomena are knowable) are manifestations of one unknowable reality, power, or force.

Prop. II. All phenomena, in course of such manifestation, pass through a process of change by which the relatively simple and diffuse becomes relatively complex and integrated, which process is termed evolution, and is succeeded after a certain period by a process of dissolution, *i.e.*, of progressive disintegration and diffusion.

Prop. III. Organic matter differs from inorganic matter only in the higher degree of the complexity of its evolution.

Whether these three propositions correctly represent Mr. Spencer's doctrine or not is a question for the answer to which we must refer our readers to that author's works, and in particular to those chapters in *First Principles*, which are entitled respectively, "Evolution and Dissolution," "Simple and Compound Evolution," and "The Law of Evolution." Assuming then these three propositions to be the basis, and real first principles, of Mr. Spencer's philosophy, let us test them by Mr. Guthrie's favourite elenchus, to see whether they will or will not yield some general unificatory formula, such as Mr. Guthrie desiderates. An unificatory proposition, according to Mr. Guthrie, "must be all-embracing ; it must comprise the cosmos." Its subject, he goes on to tell us, must be "all existences and their interrelations," or equivalent words, and its predicate "the ultimate truth." This is, of course, an inaccurate mode of expression ; the predicate will not be itself the ultimate truth, but only one of the terms of which the synthesis constitutes the ultimate truth. But passing over this piece of logical blundering, which is nevertheless of a rather slovenly kind, and applying the test as Mr. Guthrie means it to be applied, we have the following result :—All existences (*i.e.*, phenomenal existences) and their interrelations are manifestations of an unknowable reality, by way of a process of progressive integration and in-

volution, succeeded by a reverse process of progressive disintegration and diffusion.

Is that, or is it not, an unificatory proposition? It can hardly, we think, be denied that it is a generalisation of the widest and most sweeping character, comprising as Mr. Guthrie says it should, the cosmos; and assuming that it is true and instructive, as of course for the present we are bound to do, we fail to see how its claim to the character of an unificatory proposition can be successfully impeached.

Nor can we admit that Mr. Spencer has a variety of methods for the unification of knowledge. On the contrary, we assert that as Mr. Spencer has but one problem to solve, so he has also but one method of solving it. That method is simply the application of the evolution hypothesis; and the various methods enumerated by Mr. Guthrie are simply so many specific applications of this one method to specific subject-matters. Thus the so-called physical, metaphysical, and supraphysical methods are merely equivalent modes of designating Mr. Spencer's attempt to bridge the gulf which has hitherto divided astronomy from biology; the so-called psychological method is the attempt to solve by the evolution hypothesis, as applied to psychology, the sceptical problem of the existence of what is commonly known as the external world, in other words, as we have elsewhere expressed it, to effect the reconciliation of idealism and realism, of psychology and objective science; and finally, what Mr. Guthrie calls the symbolical and mystical methods is nothing more than that agnostical doctrine of metaphysics, which, as we have seen, Mr. Spencer considers to be the necessary corollary of the evolution hypothesis, and by which he conceives that he has established a lasting *concordat* between reason and faith. So much, then, for Mr. Guthrie's preliminary objections, which, we must own, seem to us altogether irrelevant. The consideration of them, however, will not have been entirely fruitless if it has served to impress upon the minds of our readers what are the two crucial questions which Mr. Spencer's philosophy suggests, and upon the answer to which the verdict of criticism must depend. These questions are:—(1.) How far is Mr. Spencer successful in applying the evolution hypothesis to astronomy and to psychology? (2.) What is the value of his so-called reconciliation of religion and science? As our readers are doubtless aware,

Mr. Spencer holds that astronomy (including geology), biology, psychology, and sociology are but so many different chapters of one science, the science of "the continuous transformation which the universe undergoes;" that one identical process is traceable alike in the formation of the sidereal and solar systems, the differentiation of the earth's crust, the life of plants and animals, of the individual human being, and of human society; which process he designates by the now familiar term evolution. So far, so good; but when we endeavour to understand precisely what he means by evolution, we find ourselves involved in no little difficulty. He has a really wonderful definition of it. "*Evolution*" (he says) "*is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation.*"

This monstrous tangle of words is clearly not to be unravelled save at the cost of considerable labour and no ordinary patience. If we are to succeed at all, it will only be by laying hold of a single thread at a time; in other words, by setting to work *gradatim et pedetentim* with an analysis of the meaning of terms. To this end, the first thing, obviously, is to determine what Mr. Spencer means by "integration." Of this term—despite the extremely important part which it plays in the formula—the only definition, if such it can be called, which Mr. Spencer has thought fit to furnish, is contained in the following sentence from the chapter on "Evolution and Dissolution:"—"The change from a diffused imperceptible state to a concentrated perceptible state is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion."

Now upon this proposition we have to observe that, taken literally, it is pure nonsense. The imperceptible can no more become perceptible than a quantity result from the multiplication of nothing into itself. But even supposing the change from an imperceptible state to a perceptible state were possible, would it be itself perceptible? Obviously not; the perception of change implying the perception of the antecedent as well as of the sequent state, and the comparison of the two. As is remarked by Mr. Guthrie, commenting upon another passage (p. 541), in which Mr. Spencer affirms that "philosophy stands self-convicted of inadequacy, if it does not formulate the

whole series of changes passed through by every existence in its passage from the imperceptible to the perceptible, and again from the perceptible to the imperceptible," "the history of the passage of the imperceptible into the concrete or perceptible is beyond the pale of knowledge, and therefore of philosophy."

It may perhaps be said that this criticism is, after all, merely verbal, and that Mr. Spencer's real meaning is tolerably clear. We do not think it is so; but we will amend his formula for him in a way that will, at least, make it intelligible, by substituting for "imperceptible" *indistinctly perceptible*, and inserting between "concentrated" and "perceptible" the adverb *distinctly*. The formula will now run as follows:—The change from a diffused indistinctly perceptible state to a concentrated distinctly perceptible state is an integration of matter, and concomitant dissipation of motion. It remains to determine the precise force of the terms "diffused" and "concentrated," as used in the definition; but for this purpose we must consult the next chapter. Here we read: "An aggregate that has become completely integrated or dense is one that contains comparatively little motion;" from which we are inclined to infer that by "concentration" Mr. Spencer means *condensation*, and wonder not a little why he did not say so at first, concentration being a term which suggests the operation rather of a gravitative than of a cohesive force. Substituting, then, *condensed* for "concentrated," we read: The change from a diffused indistinctly perceptible state to a condensed distinctly perceptible state is an integration of matter, and concomitant dissipation of motion; which we take to mean merely that integration is that process of change from a comparatively loose to a comparatively close cohesion of molecules, attended by a proportionate loss of molecular motion, which is popularly known as condensation, and of which familiar examples are the freezing of water, and the cooling of molten metal. Mr. Spencer, however, by no means limits himself to this sense of the term. In fact, if he did so, he could not incorporate the nebular hypothesis into his system. In the chapter on "The Law of Evolution," we read (p. 308):—

"Our sidereal system, by its general form, by its clusters of stars of all degrees of closeness, and by its nebulae in all stages of condensation, gives us grounds to suspect that, generally and

locally, concentration is still going on. Assume that its matter has been, and still is being, drawn together by gravitation, and we have an explanation of all its leading traits of structure—from its solidified masses up to its collections of attenuated flocculi barely discernible by the most powerful telescopes, from its double stars up to such complex aggregates as the nubeculæ. Without dwelling on this evidence, however, let us pass to the case of the solar system. The belief for which there are so many reasons that this has had a nebular genesis is the belief that it has arisen by the integration of matter and concomitant loss of motion. Evolution, under its primary aspect, is illustrated most simply and clearly by this passage of the solar system from a widely diffused incoherent state to a consolidated coherent state. While, according to the nebular hypothesis, there has been going on this gradual concentration of the solar system as an aggregate, there has been a simultaneous concentration of each partially-independent member. The substance of every planet, in passing through its stages of nebulous ring, gaseous spheroid, liquid spheroid, and spheroid externally solidified, has in essentials paralleled the changes gone through by the general mass; and every satellite has done the like. Moreover, at the same time that the matter of the whole, as well as the matter of each partially-independent part, has been thus integrating, there has been the farther integration implied by increasing combination among the parts. The satellites of each planet are linked with their primary into a balanced cluster; while the planets and their satellites form with the sun a compound group of which the members are more strongly bound up with one another than were the far-spread portions of the nebulous medium out of which they arose.”

In this passage the term concentration is used to cover both the molar motion which results from gravitation, and that dissipation of molecular motion in virtue of which the particles come to cohere more closely, and which is termed condensation. We will not insult Mr. Spencer by suggesting that he does not know the difference between the forces of gravitation and cohesion, but he habitually writes as though he regarded them as identical. Are we to understand that gravitation is a consequence of condensation, and if so, what proof of this position is forthcoming? Turning for illumination to the chapter entitled “The Continuity of Motion,” we do not find our perplexity much relieved by learning that “the gravitative action, utterly unknown in nature, is probably a resultant of actions pervading the ethereal medium.” Whatever gravitation may be, however,

it certainly cannot be identified with condensation, and therefore, if condensation and integration are synonymous, gravitation is no form of integration, and the concentration of the solar system according to the nebular hypothesis, implying gravitation no less than condensation, cannot be correctly expressed in terms of the latter merely, *i.e.*, as a process of integration. Nor of integration in any other sense than that of condensation is it true that it is attended by a loss or dissipation of motion; gravitation may have the effect of inducing motion to follow certain definite tracks, but it cannot, we presume, be pretended that this involves a dissipation of motion either molecular or molar. Does Mr. Spencer then mean by integration simply a change from an indistinctly perceptible state to a distinctly perceptible one, and is all this talk about "concentration and diffusion" mere vaguely descriptive metaphor? From this interpretation we are excluded by the very terms of Mr. Spencer's definition; for whereas it would in effect identify integration with differentiation, Mr. Spencer is at pains to distinguish these processes as respectively cause and effect. It follows, therefore, that we are brought to a dead halt at the very threshold of our author's theory, by our inability to put an intelligible construction upon this all-important term. Our bewilderment is, if possible, increased when, plunging hopelessly on, we come upon Mr. Spencer talking about this same process of integration as displayed in articulate speech, in the generalisations of science, in music, painting, the industrial arts, and literary composition. Thus the contraction of polysyllabic words into dissyllables is a case of integration, and so is the combination of words into a sentence; so is melody, so is harmony, so is the composition of a picture, the plot of a novel; so, in fact, is everything in the way either of artistic arrangement or mechanical contrivance. Take the following passages from the chapter on "The Law of Evolution:"

"When we see the Anglo-Saxon inflexions gradually lost by contraction during the development of English, and, though to a less degree, the Latin inflexions dwindling away during the development of French, we cannot deny that grammatical structure is modified by integration; and, seeing how clearly the earlier stages of grammatical structure are explained by it, we can scarcely doubt that it has been going on from the first. In proportion to the degree of this integration is the extent to which integration

of another order is carried. Aptotic languages are, as already pointed out, necessarily incoherent—the elements of a proposition cannot be completely tied into a whole. But as fast as coalescence produces inflected words, it becomes possible to unite them into sentences of which the parts are so mutually dependent that no considerable change can be made without destroying the meaning” (p. 322). “The history of science presents facts of the same meaning at every step. Indeed, the integration of groups of like entities and like relations may be said to constitute the most conspicuous part of scientific progress. A glance at the classificatory sciences shows us that the confused incoherent aggregations which the vulgar make of natural objects, are gradually rendered complete and compact, and bound up into groups within groups” (p. 323). “Nor do the industrial and æsthetic arts fail to supply us with equally conclusive evidence. The progress from rude, small, and simple tools to perfect, complex, and large machines, is a progress in integration. Among what are classed as the mechanical powers, the advance from the lever to the wheel and axle, is an advance from a simple agent to an agent made up of several simple ones. On comparing the wheel and axle or any of the machines used in early times with those used now, we see that in each of our machines several of the primitive machines are united into one. . . . Contrast the mural decorations of the Egyptians and Assyrians with modern historical paintings, and there becomes manifest a great advance in unity of composition—in the subordination of the parts to the whole. . . . In music progressive integration is displayed in still more numerous ways. The simple cadence embracing but a few notes, which in the chants of savages is monotonously repeated, becomes among civilised races a long series of different musical phrases combined into one whole; and so complete is the integration that the melody cannot be broken off in the middle, nor shorn of its final note without giving us a painful sense of incompleteness. . . . Once more the arts of literary delineation, narrative and dramatic, furnish us with parallel illustrations. The tales of primitive times, like those with which the story-tellers of the East still daily amuse their listeners, are made up of successive occurrences that are not only in themselves unnatural, but have no natural connection; they are but so many separate adventures put together without necessary sequence. But in a good modern work of imagination the events are the proper products of the characters working under given conditions; and cannot at will be changed in their order or kind without injuring or destroying the general effect. Further, the characters themselves which in early fictions play their respective parts without showing how their minds are modified by one another, or by the events, are now presented to us as held together by complex moral relations, and as acting and reacting upon one another’s natures” (pp. 326-7.)

Now whether the instances given in the foregoing passages are or are not cases of integration, it must, we think, be admitted that with the exception of the one drawn from the history of mechanical invention they at least are not cases of the integration of matter. Neither words nor sentences; neither musical notes, nor tunes; neither scientific generalisations, nor the creations of literary, pictorial, or plastic art, are material things. Mere mechanical contrivances, of course, are so; but how absurd to describe a picture by Turner or Titian, or a frieze by Phidias, as an integration of matter! The real picture, the real sculpture, exists only in the minds of those who carry with them to the marble or the canvas, the trained faculty which is necessary to interpret aright the meaning of the artist, is in other words a purely ideal thing. Nor can the steam-engine, or other mechanical appliance, be made out a case of the integration of matter, except by putting an entirely new meaning upon the term, *i.e.*, by identifying it with "combination." "The progress from rude, small, and simple tools to perfect, complex, and large machines is a progress in integration." This is a very curious statement. Why should a machine be less integrated because it is little? Why more integrated because it is perfect? The perfection of a machine consists in its being so accurately constructed as to do its work with absolute thoroughness and regularity. How can this happy adjustment of means to ends be called an integration of matter? If we choose to give to integration the very wide meaning of combination, or synthesis, then, of course, an advance in complexity will be equivalent to an advance in integration, and doubtless the history of articulate speech, and of science and art, is one of progressive synthesis, combination, or complication. But if this is the true meaning of integration, how does it differ materially from differentiation?

By way of confounding confusion, Mr. Spencer, in the chapter on "The Law of Evolution Concluded," develops a theory of the integration of motion. This is the meaning of the mysterious words which conclude his formula, "during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." It appears that this "parallel transformation" consists of an "advance of the retained motion in integration, in heterogeneity, and in definiteness." What then does Mr. Spencer mean by the integration of

motion? To this question the nearest approach to an articulate answer which Mr. Spencer deigns to furnish is to be found in a remarkable passage on p. 382. "If evolution," says Mr. Spencer, "is a passage of matter from a diffused to an aggregated state—if while the dispersed units are losing part of the insensible motion which kept them dispersed, there arise among coherent masses of them any sensible motions with respect to one another; then this sensible motion must previously have existed in the form of insensible motion among the units. If concrete matter arises by the aggregation of diffused matter, then concrete motion arises by the aggregation of diffused motion. That which comes into existence as the movement of masses, implies the cessation of an equivalent molecular movement."

This is one of those statements which make a reader despair of ever extracting from them the least scintilla of intelligible meaning. It purports to be an explanation of the origin of molar motion, as an aggregation of molecular motion. The explanation consists in two suppositions and one unwarrantable assertion. The first assumption is, that molar motion is in some way adverse to molecular, the second, that molecular motion somehow or another gets transformed into molar motion; the assertion, which we say is unwarrantable, consists in calling this transformation an aggregation. With regard to the first assumption, molar movement is only the movement of all the molecules of a given mass in a given direction, *i.e.*, down the line of least resistance. To talk, then, of molar motion "implying the cessation of an equivalent molecular movement," is mere nonsense. Molecular motion, we may conjecture, may become molar in consequence either of a subtraction of resistance in one quarter, or an accession of force in another, or of both causes operating at once.

If, then, molar motion arises "by the cessation of an equivalent molecular movement," resistance must be resolvable into molecular motion, and the line of least resistance must mean the line of least molecular motion, and as the dissipation of motion is a concomitant of the integration of matter, it ought to follow that resistance is least where matter is densest.

The process by which moving bodies come to follow clearly marked tracks or lines of least resistance might (but without throwing any light upon the causes at work)

be termed a differentiation of motion, and, in fact, it is by a process which he designates indifferently integration and differentiation that Mr. Spencer represents the motions of the sidereal and solar systems, of the aerial and ocean currents, and of natural drainage waters, to have assumed their present character. Again, in organisms the development of the functions is instanced by Mr. Spencer as a case of "the advance towards a more integrated, heterogeneous, and definite distribution of the retained motion, which accompanies the advance towards a more integrated, heterogeneous, and definite distribution of the component matter." But what does a study of his account of the process reveal? Simply this, that the term integration, though occasionally employed, is perfectly otiose.

"The nutritive juices," he says, "in animals of low types move hither and thither through the tissues quite irregularly as local strains and pressures determine: in the absence of a distinguishable blood and a developed vascular system there is no definite circulation. But along with the structural evolution which establishes a finished apparatus for distributing blood there goes on the functional evolution which establishes large and rapid movements of blood, definite in their courses and definitely distinguished as efferent and afferent, and that are heterogeneous not simply in their directions but in their characters—being here divided into gushes and there continuous" (p. 388).

Now, in all this passage there is nothing said about integration, but only about definiteness and heterogeneity. Later on we find Mr. Spencer explicitly identifying integration first with co-ordination, and then with subordination.

"While these" (absorption and secretion) "and other internal motions, sensible and insensible, are being rendered more various, and severally more consolidated and distinct, there is advancing the integration by which they are united into local groups of motions, and a combined system of motions. While the function of alimentation subdivides, its subdivisions become co-ordinated, so that muscular and secretory actions go on in concert, and so that the excitement of one part of the canal sets up excitement of the rest. Moreover, the whole alimentary function, while it supplies matter for the circulatory and respiratory functions, becomes so integrated with them that it cannot for a moment go on without them; and as evolution advances all three of these fundamental functions fall into greater subordination to the nervous

functions, depend more and more on the due amount of nervous discharge."

We take it that the co-ordination of motions consists in the establishment of a definite relation between them as correlative effects of the same cause, and that the subordination of one motion or set of motions to another is the establishment of the relation of cause and effect between them. Consequently, an advance in the direction of co-ordination and subordination is, properly speaking, an advance in definiteness. In what sense can the fact that one motion or set of motions always succeeds or coincides with another in time be said to integrate the two? Such a fact is an item of importance towards forming a definite conception of the laws which regulate the phenomena in question, and that is all. If, then, co-ordination and subordination are cases of integration, it would seem that integration is synonymous with definiteness of relationship, and as all definiteness is definiteness of relationship, it follows that the advance towards a more definite distribution is identically the same thing as the advance in integration. Were there any doubt remaining on this point, it would be dispelled by the relation which Mr. Spencer proceeds to establish between the "integration" of the "nervo-muscular actions" of the vocal organs and articulate speech. Thus he says :

"The progress of a child in speech very completely exhibits the transformation. Infantine noises are comparatively homogeneous ; alike as being severally long-drawn and nearly uniform from end to end, and as being constantly repeated with but little variation of quality between narrow limits. They are quite unco-ordinated—there is no integration of them into compound sounds. They are inarticulate, or without those definite beginnings and endings characterising the sounds we call words."

There is much more to the same effect, but we have quoted enough to show that when Mr. Spencer instances articulate speech as an illustration of the advance in integration, he mentally identifies this process with the advance towards a more heterogeneous and definite distribution of the retained motion which he verbally distinguishes from it.

We have now examined all the most important contexts in which this term is used by Mr. Spencer throughout

First Principles, and we are driven to the conclusion that no one sense can be assigned to it capable of satisfying the requirements of them all. The term seems to bear at least five perfectly distinct senses in different parts of the work, viz., (1) condensation, (2) gravitation, (3) mechanical combination, (4) design, (5) differentiation. It is not by calling different things by the same name that knowledge can be unified. By a free use of this term Mr. Spencer effects not an unification of knowledge, but as Mr. Guthrie well says, a mere "simulation of unification."

Having, then, done our best, with however little success, to assign a coherent meaning to Mr. Spencer's definition of evolution as formulated in *First Principles*, we proceed to inquire whether this process can be treated as identical with that which is manifested by organic life; whether in Mr. Spencer's own words "the process of evolution of organisms" can be "affiliated on the process of evolution in general."* Now, upon a cursory survey there appears to be this broad distinction between the processes, that, while the evolution of organic matter goes on in response to, and correspondence with, the action of a complex of incident forces termed collectively an environment, it is not so with the evolution of inorganic matter. True, the operation of incident forces, varying in quantity or kind, upon inorganic matter in a state of evolution has the effect of differentiating the matter, and so far modifying the process of its evolution; but the matter itself remains passive, whereas it is the peculiarity of organic matter that it actively responds to, and even anticipates the operation of the incident forces.

This distinction is admirably illustrated by Mr. Spencer by the instance of the "misnamed storm-glass. The feathery crystallisation which, on a certain change of temperature, takes place in the solution contained by this instrument, and which afterwards dissolves to reappear in new forms under new conditions, may be held to present simultaneous and successive changes that are, to some extent, heterogeneous, that occur with some definiteness of combination, and, above all, occur in correspondence with external changes. In this case vegetable life is simulated to a considerable extent; but it is *merely* simulated. The relation between the phenomena occurring in the storm-

* *Biology*, Vol. I. Part III. cap. viii. *ad fin.*

glass and in the atmosphere respectively is really not a correspondence at all in the proper sense of the word. Outside there is a certain change; inside there is a change of atomic arrangement. Outside there is another certain change; inside there is another change of atomic arrangement. But subtle as is the dependence of each internal upon each external change, the connection between them does not really differ from the connection between the motion of a straw and the motion of the wind that disturbs it. In either case a change produces a change, and there it ends. The alteration wrought by some environing agency on an inanimate object does not tend to induce in it a secondary alteration that anticipates some secondary alteration in the environment. But in every living body there is a tendency towards secondary alterations of this nature; and it is in their production that the correspondence consists. And while it is in the continuous production of such concords or correspondences that life consists, it is by the continuous production of them that life is maintained.*

Such being the broad distinction between organic and inorganic matter, it follows that the problem Mr. Spencer must solve, in order to "affiliate the process of the evolution of organisms upon the process of evolution in general," is in effect to explain how this "functional adaptation to conditions," this power of responding to, and anticipating, external forces results from that process of integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion in which, as we have seen, "the process of evolution in general" consists. Now in *First Principles* the only difference between organic and inorganic matter which was recognised was one of degree of complexity of evolution arising from, or consisting in, the conjunction of a high measure of integration of matter with a correspondingly large quantity of "retained motion" undergoing "parallel transformation." "The distinctive peculiarity of the aggregates classed as organic," we read in the chapter on "Simple and Compound Evolution," "consists in the combination of matter into a form embodying an enormous amount of motion at the same time that it has a great degree of concentration" (§ 103). And not only does Mr. Spencer, in *First Principles*, recognise no distinction between organic and in-

* *Biology*, Vol. I. Part I. cap. v. § 29.

organic matter except this of degree of complication of the process of evolution, but he even makes an elaborate attempt to identify vital with mechanical process through the idea of a "moving equilibrium." Having so done, he has only to call adaptation equilibration, and he has satisfactorily (at least to himself) "affiliated the process of the evolution of organisms upon the process of evolution in general." What then does Mr. Spencer mean by a "moving equilibrium?" This is a question easier asked than answered. As, following his usual fashion, Mr. Spencer refrains from trammelling himself by a formal definition, we have no choice but to try and collect, as best we may, his real meaning (if he has any) by a comparison of the concrete instances of moving equilibria which he adduces. Moving equilibria, then, are of two classes—(1) dependent, (2) independent. Of the independent moving equilibrium two instances are mentioned by Mr. Spencer—(1) the spinning-top in its state of sleep, (2) the solar system. "The momentum which carries the top bodily along the table, resisted somewhat by the air, but mainly by the irregularities of the surface, shortly disappears; and the top thereafter continues to spin on one spot. Meanwhile, in consequence of that opposition which the axial momentum of a rotating body makes to any change in the plane of rotation (so beautifully exhibited by the gyroscope), the "wabbling" diminishes, and, like the other, is quickly ended. These minor motions having been dissipated, the rotatory motion, interfered with only by atmospheric resistance and the friction of the pivot, continues some time with such uniformity that the top appears stationary: there being thus temporarily established a condition which the French mathematicians have termed *equilibrium mobile*."

This is a description of one kind of moving equilibrium; but it does not help us much to an accurate comprehension of the nature of the moving equilibrium as such. Does, then, Mr. Spencer's account of the solar system shed any more light upon the matter? He tells us, at a somewhat later stage, that "any system of bodies exhibiting, like those of the solar system, a combination of balanced rhythms has this peculiarity,—that though the constituents of the system have relative movements, the system as a whole has no movement. The centre of gravity of the entire group remains fixed. Whatever quantity of motion any member of it has in any direction, is, from moment to

moment, counterbalanced by an equivalent motion in some other part of the group in an opposite direction; and so the aggregate matter of the group is in a state of rest. Whence it follows that the arrival at a state of moving equilibrium is the disappearance of some movement which the aggregate had in relation to external things, and a continuance of those movements only which the different parts of the aggregate have in relation to each other."

Down to the beginning of the last sentence we can follow Mr. Spencer tolerably well, though we do not think his mode of expressing himself very accurate. We understand him, however, to be referring to that which is, or was, known to astronomers as "the conservation of the motion of the centre of gravity of the solar system." When several bodies have a common centre of gravity, movement on the part of any one of them would, in the absence of any countervailing movement, have the effect of causing a certain displacement of the common centre of gravity; but it is possible that the several movements of the members of a given system should so neutralise one another that no displacement of the centre of gravity should take place, and such, as a matter of fact, is known to be the case with the movements of the several bodies composing the solar system. This well-known law Mr. Spencer misconstrues as importing a motionless condition of the system as a whole, and hence his curious statement that "the arrival at a state of moving equilibrium is the disappearance of some movement which the aggregate had in relation to external things, and a continuance of those movements only which the different parts of the aggregate have in relation to each other." If this were so, the solar system at least would not be a moving equilibrium, for what Galileo said of the earth may now be said, in spite of Mr. Spencer, of the solar system as a whole, *e pur si muove*. So long ago as 1783, Sir W. Herschell assigned as "the apex of the solar way" a point in the constellation of Hercules in right ascension 257° , and though subsequent astronomers have differed as to the precise direction of the sun's movement, there is no longer any doubt about the fact that he does move, and various attempts have been made to determine the rate of velocity with which he moves.

As descriptive then of the spinning-top asleep, and the solar system, a moving equilibrium would seem to be

definable as a state of rest of the centre of gravity of a moving body or system of moving bodies resulting from the motion of the body or the several motions of the bodies composing the system. So much then for the so-called independent moving equilibrium. Now in contradistinction to spinning-tops and solar systems, Mr. Spencer classes organisms and steam-engines as dependent moving equilibria. In what sense then can an organism as such be called a moving equilibrium? That a ballet-dancer executing a pirouette *sur la pointe du pied*, or a whirling dervish performing his less graceful gyrations, might possibly be so designated without much impropriety we can comprehend; but that the normal human being, plant, or animal should be so described, excites in us an amazement little short of stupefaction. The transition from the solar system to organic life, which seems so abrupt, Mr. Spencer tries to graduate by means of the steam-engine, apparently forgetting that the steam-engine is not a natural object.

“Here the force from moment to moment dissipated in overcoming the resistance of the machinery driven is from moment to moment replaced from the fuel; and the balance of the two is maintained by a raising or lowering of the expenditure according to the variation of the supply: each increase or decrease in the quantity of steam resulting in a rise or fall of the engine’s movement such as brings it to a balance with the increased or decreased resistance. This, which we may fitly call the *dependent* moving equilibrium, should be specially noted; since it is one that we shall commonly meet with throughout various phases of Evolution” (*First Principles*, p. 487).

Now, properly speaking, the term equilibrium belongs to the science of mechanics, in which it bears a very definite meaning, viz., the state of rest of the centre of gravity of a body or system of bodies; and we are not aware that a philosopher, however scientific, is justified in paring away the specific connotations of a scientific term to make it reflect the vagueness of his own thoughts. In the case of the steam-engine, that which Mr. Spencer calls the moving equilibrium is really the mere equation of supply and expenditure, a balance, in fact, in the mercantile sense of the term, a balance of account. There is an essential difference between the equipoise of distinct and opposing forces, and the continuous genesis, and continuous dissipation, of one

and the same force. Accordingly, we think that, in calling the steam-engine a moving equilibrium, Mr. Spencer is guilty of an abuse of language indicative of a more than commonly confused condition of mind. But if the term is inappropriate and misleading as applied to the steam-engine, how is its application to the organism to be justified? The analogy between the two is of the most superficial character. In the case of the one, we have the continuous conversion of fuel into motion; in the case of the other, the continuous incorporation of portions of the environment with the organism by the processes of prehension and assimilation, to which the process of supplying the engine with fuel, even when the machine is self-feeding, bears no sort of resemblance. Nay, even the notion of an equation of supply and expenditure vanishes, and it is impossible to say what takes its place, unless it be the vague idea of rhythmic action. Thus we are informed that—

“At the outset the organism daily absorbs under the form of food an amount of force greater than it daily expends; and the surplus is daily equilibrated by growth. As maturity is approached this surplus diminishes, and in the perfect organism the day's absorption of potential motion balances the day's expenditure of actual motion. . . . Eventually the daily loss beginning to outbalance the daily gain there results a diminishing amount of functional action; the organic rhythms extend less and less widely on each side of the medium state; and there finally results that complete equilibration which we call death” (*First Principles*, p. 501).

Now, from this passage it appears that it is only during the brief period of perfect maturity that the organism can be described as a moving equilibrium, and then only by confounding the totally distinct ideas of an equipoise of opposing forces and an equation between waste and repair. Yet it is upon this same confusion of thought that Mr. Spencer founds his theory of “functional adaptation to conditions,” his affiliation of “the process of evolution of organisms upon the process of evolution in general.” Not only is the organism a “moving equilibrium,” but life itself is a process of “equilibration.” Life is shortly definable as the “continuous adjustment of internal to external relations, in one word “functional adaptation to conditions,” and adaptation is “direct equilibration.”

“If we see that a different mode of life is followed, after a

period of functional derangement, by some altered condition of the system—if we see that this altered condition, becoming by-and-by established, continues without further change; we have no alternative but to say that the new forces brought to bear on the system have been compensated by the opposing forces they have evoked. And this is the interpretation of the process which we call adaptation" (*Ibid.*, p. 500).

It may be admitted that by a metaphor life may be described as a continuous oscillation about equilibrium, lapsing eventually into equilibrium (which we conjecture to be the true signification of equilibration), but it is indeed hard to see how so describing it could be helpful to the affiliation of the process of the evolution of organisms upon the process of evolution in general. That all living creatures must adjust either themselves to their environment, or their environment to themselves, on pain of death, is very true.* It needs no ghost to tell us that. What do we gain by designating the process of adjustment equilibration? We do not thereby assimilate it to that which is properly so called, *i.e.*, the counterpoise of mechanical forces. That forces which are equal and opposite neutralise one another is one thing: that one force should evoke the reaction of another, not merely upon itself, but in anticipation of its future activity, not merely as a response, but, as Mr. Spencer well says, as a correspondence, is quite another thing. The one we term equilibrium, the other life.

On Mr. Spencer's theory of moving equilibria and of equilibration in general, Mr. Guthrie's remarks are very much to the purpose; but they do not furnish us with any individual passages adapted for quotation.

It is now time that we should pass on to consider the way in which Mr. Spencer applies the formula of evolution to psychology. Now evolution being, as we have seen, a

* A thorough discussion of Mr. Spencer's definition of life would lead us farther afield than limits of space permit of our travelling on the present occasion, but we must not be understood to admit its adequacy. In point of fact it is only true of vegetal life. The life of animals and of men consists not only in adjusting themselves to their environments, but in adjusting their environments to themselves. Thus the migration of migratory animals is a mode of selecting an environment suited to their wants; bees and beavers are only conspicuous instances of the way in which the more sagacious animals adjust their environments to themselves; the whole of material civilisation is the outcome of man's unremitting efforts to adjust his environment to himself, while the fine arts, the sciences, and philosophy, which play no unimportant part in human life, are not in the nature of adjustments either of the organism or of the environment.

process of integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, in what sense can mind be said to evolve? Our readers will bear in mind that, according to Mr. Spencer, "Theoretically all the concrete sciences are adjoining tracts of one science which has for its subject-matter the continuous transformation which the universe undergoes. Practically, however, they are distinguishable as successively more specialised parts of the total science." Psychology, then, is "theoretically" and "practically" that more specialised part of the science of the continuous transformation of the universe which immediately adjoins biology. Accordingly, the formula of evolution must be applicable to psychology in the same sense as to biology, though the problems presented will be more complex. In other words, the evolution of consciousness must be a more complex mode of the same process of integration of matter and dissipation of motion of which astronomical and biological processes are also modes. Such at least would appear to be the proper deduction from Mr. Spencer's principles. What, however, is the fact? At an early period in the development of his psychological theory, Mr. Spencer emphatically disavows any such doctrine. Mind, he affirms, cannot be resolved into matter, nor matter into mind; though, "were we compelled to choose between the alternatives of translating mental phenomena into physical phenomena, or of translating physical phenomena into mental phenomena, the latter alternative would seem the more acceptable of the two." For the present, we have to consider not the tenability of this doctrine but its consistency with the theory of evolution; and with regard to this question one of two alternative conclusions seems to be inevitable. Either Mr. Spencer has not rightly defined evolution in *First Principles*, or the theory is not applicable to mind. If evolution is, as defined, an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, mind, not being material, does not evolve; if, on the other hand, there is an evolution of consciousness, evolution must have a different meaning assigned to it from that assigned to it by Mr. Spencer in *First Principles*. But if this is so, then, in expressing the general formula in terms of matter and motion, Mr. Spencer has committed a logical error of the same kind as if a person writing upon the general principles of art were to begin by enunciating the laws of some particular art, as etching or oil-painting. The reason of

this extraordinary parallogism may perhaps be not altogether inscrutable. Evolution, if formulated in terms applicable indifferently to mind and matter, becomes hopelessly vague, being, in fact, definable only as a process of differentiation. Now, no doubt, all known things are in process of change, and in changing gain or lose in complexity of composition, *i.e.*, in the number and variety of the component parts; and though the mind is not a thing, nor is made up of parts, yet as mental growth implies the acquisition of a wider or more various experience, the mind may well be said to differentiate, and if that is all that is meant by the term, to evolve.

The value, however, of an idea as an instrument of speculation depends upon the degree of precision with which it can be applied to the particular problem which it is designed to solve. What then precisely is the problem of psychology as conceived by Mr. Spencer? The answer to this question is to be found in the chapter entitled "The Scope of Psychology."† He there says:

"For that which distinguishes psychology from the sciences on which it rests, is, that each of its propositions takes account both of the connected internal phenomena and of the connected external phenomena to which they refer. In a physiological proposition an inner relation is the essential subject of thought, but in a psychological proposition an outer relation is joined with it as a co-essential subject of thought. A relation in the environment issues into co-ordinate importance with a relation in the organism. The thing contemplated is now a totally different thing. It is not the connection between the internal phenomena, nor is it the connection between the external phenomena, but it is *the connection between these two connections*. A psychological proposition is necessarily compounded of two propositions, of which one concerns the subject and the other concerns the object, and cannot be expressed without the four terms which these two propositions imply. The distinction may be best explained by symbols. Suppose that A and B are two related manifestations in the environment—say the colour and taste of a fruit; then, so long as we contemplate their relation by itself, or as associated with other external phenomena, we are occupied with a portion of physical science. Now suppose that a and b are the sensations produced in the organism by this peculiar light which the fruit reflects, and by the chemical action of its juice on the palate; then, so long as we study the action of the light on the retina and optic centres, and consider how the juice sets up in other centres a nervous change

† *Psychology*, Vol. I. Pt. I. c. vii.

known as sweetness, we are occupied with facts belonging to the sciences of physiology and æstho-physiology. But we pass into the domain of psychology the moment we inquire how there comes to exist within the organism a relation between a and b that in some way or other corresponds to the relation between A and B. Psychology is exclusively concerned with this connection between (A B) and (a b)—has to investigate its nature, its origin, its meaning, &c. (*Psychology*, Vol. I. Part I. cap. vii. § 53).

In other words, given an organism and an environment and disconnected sensations within the organism, psychology is the science which explains how the sensations present in the latter come to be connected together, so as to form a consciousness which reflects the relations existing in the environment.

Now such a problem as this involves three assumptions, viz.:—(1) That an organism and environment exist antecedently to consciousness; (2) that sensations exist in the organism prior to consciousness; (3) that relations between sensations correspond, "in some way or other," to relations in the environment. Of these assumptions the second Mr. Spencer frankly avows to be merely an assumption, while, with some astuteness, he postpones the discussion of the warrantability of the first and third until he has constructed a theory of the evolution of consciousness based upon them. He cannot, however, complain if a critic takes the liberty of reversing this procedure; for if it can be shown that these assumptions are not only not warranted but false and unthinkable, it will not be necessary to discuss Mr. Spencer's constructive theory at all.

Now it needs but little acuteness to perceive, even without the help of Mr. Spencer's own elaborate treatment of the question in the second volume of the *Psychology*, that the first assumption is inconsistent with his theory of matter. An organism is a certain combination of matter and motion, and as matter and motion are relative existences, it follows that the organism is so likewise, and the same argument applies with equal force to the environment. According to Mr. Spencer's own explicit assertions, neither the organism nor the environment have any existence apart from consciousness. If, then, we are to take him at his word, it would seem that the problem of psychology, as he understands it, is to explain how in one complex conception termed organism there come to exist relations between sensations contained therein, which "in some way

or other correspond to" relations contained in the former conception. Is that Mr. Spencer's meaning, and if so, is it an intelligible meaning? It may be said, however, that it is an easy but unprofitable task to make nonsense of a great philosopher's language, and that it is the duty of a critic to clear for himself by dint of his own logical faculty a pathway through the densest jungle of fallacy and confusion that may lie between him and his author's inmost thought.

What then does Mr. Spencer really mean by the evolution of consciousness? We have honestly, and we venture to think successfully, endeavoured to find out. He means that consciousness (including in the term the whole material universe) is the result of the operation of a certain force, of which the nature is inscrutable, upon certain "units of feeling," assumed to exist before consciousness, and to be susceptible of the influence of force. This is Mr. Spencer's now famous doctrine of the unknowable, by which he professes to have reconciled realism and idealism, and reason and faith. This doctrine naturally suggests two questions—(1) Is an evolution of consciousness out of sensation in any way possible? (2) Is the "absolute reality" really unknowable? At first sight, these questions may appear to have little or nothing in common. In fact, however, they both depend for their solution upon the determination of a third, viz., What is the meaning of existence? If consciousness is the resultant of force playing upon sensation, force and sensation must exist prior to consciousness. Now as all terms express ideas, it must be possible to define the meaning of existence, and only when this is accurately done shall we know exactly what we mean when we speak of sensation or force existing prior to consciousness. Nor will it be disputed that ideas consist either of known relations or known groups of relations. Existence, then, denotes some known relation or group of relations. In what sense can sensation or force be said to have an existence prior to consciousness? An existence apart from consciousness means in effect a known relation or group of relations known by no mind, which is absurd. As applied to sensation, probably few sane thinkers would dispute this doctrine. An unperceived sensation, it is clear, is a nonentity. Yet Mr. Spencer's hypothesis of "units of feeling" existing prior to consciousness—an hypothesis which that random philosophical

improvisatore, the late Professor Clifford, developed into a theory of universal "mind-stuff," the very basest form of pantheism yet extant—this hypothesis really endows these "units of feeling" with an existence which they only have as perceived, *i.e.*, as co-ordinated and correlated one with another through those very relations which constitute consciousness, and which are supposed to be super-induced upon them by the mysterious operation of the inscrutable force. The sole existence which the "unit of feeling" has is an existence for consciousness. The like is true of force. Properly speaking, force is a mere symbol (to use a term of which Mr. Spencer is fond) standing for the relation of cause and effect. Nor do we make it less of a symbol by dubbing it unknowable and absolute reality. Reality,* as Mr. Spencer himself knows how to tell us, when it suits his convenience, means "persistence in consciousness," *i.e.*, either the persistence therein of the subject, which we term self-consciousness, or the persistence of a given group of relations designated an object. Now, as prefixing absolute to reality will not alter the intrinsic meaning of that term, we presume that "absolute reality" can only mean that which absolutely persists in consciousness. If then the absolute reality is unknowable, it follows that that which absolutely persists in consciousness exists outside of it. In a word, if we abstract sensation, force, existence, reality, from their relation to consciousness, like all other conceptions so dealt with they become mere abstractions; and by consequence any propositions into which they may be combined are wholly verbal and trifling. Such a set of propositions is Mr. Spencer's theory of mental evolution.

The doctrine of the unknowable, then, fails to reconcile realism and idealism, because it is itself absolutely devoid of meaning. For the same reason it is equally powerless to effect the reconciliation of religion and science. Religion is insulted by having this phantasmal fetish offered her in lieu of the living God she has been wont to worship, while science as such deals only with the knowable. So Mr. Guthrie, "writing in the interests of the purity of scientific thought," observes with trenchant logic :

"If any one chooses to assert this theory, we may be willing

* *First Principles*, p. 160.

to admit the truth of it—we are scarcely in a position to deny it—but when we come to look at our question in the dry light of reason, we are bound to confess that the Unknowable Power, which manifests itself thus and thus, does actually manifest itself thus and thus, no more and no less, and is actually known to us as thus conditioned. This is the material with which science deals, and to which Philosophy, taken as the unification of the sciences, must be rigidly confined. The unification must be accomplished *within* the bounds of knowledge: if the unknowable is mixed up in it over and beyond the known conditions—as a factor, but a factor of unknown value—then the whole organisation or co-ordination of the sciences is vitiated and comes to nought. Hence it appears to us that the question as to the nature of the nexus or substratum of matter is quite as much beyond the purview of philosophy as it is of science, and does not affect the consideration of our studies in the least.”

Were knowledge really confined to phenomena, of course the doctrine of the unknowable would have a certain value, not indeed for the purpose of unifying knowledge, but as an injunction to mankind not to waste their time in struggling to know more than phenomena. There is something ludicrous in the attempt to set up this most shadowy of all yet extant figments of abstraction as the harmonising medium through which knowledge is to be rounded off into a coherent system.

On the whole, then, we agree with Mr. Guthrie that Mr. Spencer has failed to unify knowledge, that his theory is bad, as the lawyers say, for vagueness, and we heartily commend Mr. Guthrie's book to the careful attention of our readers. Mr. Spencer, it must never be forgotten, is one of those scientific gentlemen who plume themselves upon their ignorance of “the art of puzzling oneself methodically,” as Mr. Spencer, quoting from some person doubtless as wise as himself, is pleased to term metaphysics. We should prefer to describe metaphysics as a systematic endeavour to emancipate the mind from the tyranny of abstractions. Had Mr. Spencer “puzzled himself” a little more “methodically” and thoroughly with metaphysics, perhaps he might have been less at the mercy of his scientific terminology, perhaps he might even have discovered that consciousness is not made up of sensations as a house is built of bricks, and have found in “the absolute reality,” of which he speaks so much and says so little, not the *caput mortuum* of an inscrutable

force, but the fulness of the infinite Godhead self-revealed in nature and in the human soul.

Mr. Spencer's philosophy can hardly be long-lived ; for like other compromises it is rather calculated to alienate friends than to appease enemies. Doubtless, he will retain for a season a certain unenviable popularity with the half-educated who do not understand him, but the inevitable verdict of posterity will ratify our own in pronouncing his "unification of knowledge" a clumsy piece of legerdemain.



ART. IV.—1. "*The Fan Kwae*" in Canton before Treaty Days. By AN OLD RESIDENT. Kegan Paul and Co.

2. *Blue Book. China, No. 3* (1882). Correspondence respecting Agreement between Ministers Plenipotentiary of Great Britain and China. Signed at Chefoo, September 13th, 1876.

THE book which stands at the head of this paper, and which suggests at once a comparison with the latest official record of our relations with the Chinese Government, is a collection of interesting reminiscences by an old American merchant, who resided in Canton, with two or three temporary interruptions, from 1825 to 1844. *Fan Kwae* is, of course, the Chinese designation for a "European," roughly rendered into English by the not very accurate equivalent "foreign devil." The descriptions given in the volume before us of foreign life, doubled up, as it was, into nut-shell limits in Canton, before the wars of 1841 and 1857 had taught China outward respect for European powers; the testimonies furnished to the ample security accorded by the Chinese to the life and property of "the barbarian traders from the West," in the absence of formal guarantees, and official intercourse, and in spite of nominal grievances and disabilities; the pictures drawn of the languid, lotus-eater style of life led by the representatives of mercantile houses, who could yawn half the year and make rapid fortunes nevertheless, in the days before steamers and the Suez ditch; and the evidence presented of the uniform honour and princely liberality of the old native merchants, suggest many contrasts with foreign life in China to-day. Foreign life in China to-day, is represented by stately buildings on spacious and park-like enclosures of land, that have been conceded by the Chinese Government for the residence of the non-Chinese communities; an established *régime* of diplomatic and consular intercourse, remarkable for its curious medleys of compromise between Chinese etiquette and the gold lace of European Court ceremony; competition in business not many degrees less feverish than at home, and contact with

a type of Chinese character growing increasingly keen and tenacious with the emancipation of foreign trade from antique restrictions, the expansion of trade that has come with the widening range of the people's wants, and the slowly growing liberalism of the Government. The points of contrast are not such as will enable us to affirm, very confidently, that the balance of advantage is with the present.

"Old Resident's" voyage of four months to Canton in the sailing ship *Citizen*, belonged to the romantic age of commerce, and its incidents suggest to modern passengers to China who grumble at the slowness of a six weeks' passage, a whole panorama of remarkable changes. In passing an island off the coast of New Guinea, "Old Resident" managed to barter an old straw hat for a stuffed bird of Paradise. The unsophisticated native who could be tempted into that kind of trade is now one of the figures of history only. The Point de Galle hawkers of the precious stones from "Adam's Peak" and vicinity, disdain to take any such price for their Brummagem opals and sapphires. The lithe little Malay divers in Singapore harbour will not think of wetting their shaven pates in the pursuit of coppers. Even those remote Papuan natives, with the mop-heads, understand the markets better than that now. A surgeon in the service of the East India Company was a companion of the voyage. He kept the business that was taking him out to China a profound mystery. It ultimately transpired that he had gone to buy or hire a couple of small-footed China women. He brought them to England on exhibition, and succeeded in getting them presented at the Court of George the Fourth. "Golden lilies" are no longer a sufficiently attractive novelty to command the patronage of royalty, without at least some pretence to credentials, and with Chinese servants and sailors appearing continually in the streets of our seaports, and Chinese nurses following perambulators in the London parks, and on the sands at Brighton, a Chinese show would scarcely be a success anywhere. When the *Citizen* was passing up the Canton river, the mandarin in charge of the Bogue Forts came off to inspect the ship, and was delighted by a small present of a few sheets of note-paper, and a box of "friction matches." Now, "friction matches" from Sweden, Germany; and Japan are sold in the most secluded country markets at less than a half-penny per box, and enterprising Chinamen are seeking to

manufacture them at even a cheaper rate; such novelties have lost a little of their first charm, and no mandarin could be stirred to very profuse gratitude by anything short of a toy telephone, or a miniature electric railway.

Such difficulties were placed by Chinese prejudice in the way of a European learning the Chinese language, that when the *Citizen* reached Canton in 1825, the young strip-ling, who afterwards grew into "Old Resident," had to be transhipped to Malacca, so that he might find the requisite facilities for studying the Chinese language in the Anglo-Chinese college, just established there. Now, cadets and student-interpreters from the British colony of Hongkong, and embryo missionaries to the Chinese from the Australian colonies, are sent to Canton city to enjoy the special advantages for the study of Chinese to be found there. The Chinese Government has come to believe quite heartily in free trade in knowledge, possibly because the imports of that commodity greatly exceed the exports, and leave a balance of decided advantage to the side of China. After eighteen months spent in Malacca, "Old Resident" returned to Canton in the expectation of entering upon a mercantile career. The house, however, that sent him out had been compelled to wind up its affairs in the meantime. After a short visit to America, he was engaged by another firm, and continued in its service for thirteen years.

The description given of life in Canton during the second quarter of the present century, is interesting by its strangeness, although of course the facts are not altogether new to those who have lived amongst the traditions that survive from the good old times. In the year 1745, the foreign trade which was spreading in various directions along the coast was limited by imperial edict to the port and city of Canton, whither the merchants of all European nationalities had straightway to betake themselves. The Chinese Government declined all official intercourse with European powers. Potentates of varying rank, and diplomatic missions designated to miscellaneous duties, were sent from the European courts, but not the most distant notice or the coldest recognition would the Chinese Government, or its mandarins, accord them in their official capacity. It had hit upon what, judging from the standpoint of European history, at least, would seem to have been a unique arrangement, an arrangement the fundamental principle of which was to regulate foreign trade, and con-

trol the movements of the outside barbarians through the influence of a close guild of native merchants. The last few years have seen some rather curious developments of politico-commercial hybridism, in which half-pay officers and superannuated diplomatists, have sought to find, in co-operative stores, and limited liabilities, and Borneo concessions, a market value for the tradition attaching to their names as ex-Government representatives. But however numerous may have been the attempts to convert civil status into trade influence, there have been few illustrations of the attempt to convert trade influence into a judicial tribunal for the control and supervision of emigrants. At the time "Old Resident" entered upon his career in Canton, the whole of the foreign trade, together with the foreigners engaged in it, were subject to the absolute direction and control of a corporation of native merchants called the Co-Hong. The corporation comprised only some ten or a dozen merchants. Immense sums were paid to Peking for the position of membership in this corporation, besides special contributions to the imperial exchequer in times of emergency. "Old Resident" records a typical conversation to illustrate the method in which this informal income-tax would be levied to meet real or imaginary damage caused by the overflow, for instance, of the Yang Tsze Keang or Wong Ho (Yellow River). "Well, Hauqua," you would say on some visit, "hav got news to-day?" "Hav got too muchee bad news," he would reply; "Wong Ho have spillum too muchee." That sounded ominously. "Man-ta-le (mandarin) have come see you?" He no come see my, he sendee come one piece 'chop.' He come to-mollo. He wantches my two-lac dollar." "You pay he how muchee?" "My pay he fitty, sikky tousand so." "But spose he no contentee?" "Spose he No. 1 no contentee, my pay he one lac."

When Canton was invested by English troops, under Sir Hugh Gough, the Co-Hong merchants contributed two million dollars for the ransom of the city, towards which even Hauqua himself subscribed one million one hundred thousand dollars. To prevent complications with European powers all cases of indebtedness by Chinese to foreign merchants had to be dealt with by this guild. In one instance, Hauqua contributed one million dollars towards paying off the indebtedness of three of the Co-Hong merchants to "outside barbarians." Transportation to Kash-

garia was the penalty of bankruptcy for any member of the Co-Hong. One member of the Co-Hong, known to "Old Resident," after having been adjudged bankrupt by his fellow-members, was subjected to this penalty. He was accompanied into exile by his own faithful servants, who at his death, many years after, brought the body back to Canton for burial. But the jurisdiction of the Co-Hong concerned not only its own members, but still more closely the foreign merchants. All communications from the mandarins regulating foreign trade, or directing the movements of foreigners, were made to the guild of native merchants, who, in their turn, communicated them to the foreign merchants. Every foreigner in Canton, down to the youngest stripling, fresh from home, and just entering upon an irresponsible junior clerkship, had to find a surety for himself in the person of some member of the Co-Hong. The foreign merchants lived together in a group of gaol-like buildings by the river-side, called the "Factories," each nationality having its own separate shell or section in the great quadrangular edifice. The Factories were the joint property of the Co-Hong, from whose members they were rented by the foreign occupants. Curious paintings on glass of this historic group of buildings are still sold in the shops of Canton, with the flags of different nationalities flying over buildings that ingeniously display an equal amount of foundation and roof, side and front, from the same point of view; an effect not often realised under the inconvenient limitations of the laws of perspective. Foreigners in silk stockings, buckle shoes, and cocked hats walk about in front of the Factories. With that genius for curious collocations peculiar to mandarindom, it was enacted that "neither women, nor guns, nor powder were to be allowed within the walls of the Factories." In 1830, quite a commotion was occasioned by the visit of several English and American ladies, and official orders were at once issued requiring them to leave. Merchants were not permitted to remain in Canton during the whole of the year, but were obliged to betake themselves to the Portuguese settlement of Macao at the close of the tea season. It was necessary to secure a Government permit before leaving, and this permit was only issued after a petition had been sent in signed by three of the Co-Hong merchants, including the original surety. "Old Resident" speaks of the security enjoyed under this grotesque régime in terms

that make it doubtful whether those who defend our wars with China, on the ground that they have led to increased respect for foreign life and property, can fairly sustain their contention. Under the old *régime*, when fires were raging in the neighbourhood of the Factories, coolies were always sent to carry the books and valuables of the foreigners to boats for safety. A guard was stationed at the Factories in times of riot and excitement, and disturbances rarely occurred in the streets unless they were provoked by the foreigners themselves. In 1760, eight regulations had been framed, which it was the duty of the native guilds to enforce. These regulations forbade the entrance of foreign war-ships into Chinese waters, and the bringing of women or warlike weapons into the Factories. The regulations directed that the boatmen employed by the foreigners should be licensed, and also restricted the number of domestics in each Factory. Foreigners were prohibited from rowing on the river in their own boats, and days of the month were specified on which parties of not more than ten might visit the suburbs. Petitions might not be presented to the mandarins. The Hong merchants were not permitted to owe debts to foreigners, and foreign ships were not to remain outside the river—a requirement not by any means unnecessary or unimportant, considering the opium-smuggling of later days. In the course of years most of these regulations fell into desuetude, although, from time to time, the Hong merchants were called upon to remind foreigners of their existence.

The stories told by "Old Resident" of the honour and generosity of the various members of the Co-Hong are admirable illustrations of the better side of Chinese character, and ought to prove an effective antidote to prejudice and misconception. An American ship with a cargo of quicksilver once came into Whampoa, the port of Canton. The price of quicksilver was much depressed at the time, and the cargo was landed and stored at the warehouse of the famous Hauqua, senior member of the Co-Hong, who engaged to take it at market price. The ship lay at anchor for three months, till the end of the south-west monsoon, when the captain was compelled to let his quicksilver go at market price, in order to return to New York with teas. The sale of the quicksilver did not yield enough to purchase a cargo of tea. Hauqua offered him credit, and said he could settle the account on his return.

This arrangement was gladly accepted. While the vessel was lading, Hauqua came to the captain and informed him that a sudden demand for quicksilver had arisen in the northern provinces, that he had cancelled from his books the first purchase, and that the cargo of quicksilver should be credited to him at the price of the day. This generous act enabled the captain to leave with a cargo of tea paid for in full. Upon another occasion, the same man remitted the debt of an unfortunate American merchant, advanced in years, who was kept prisoner in Canton through his liabilities to him. The debt amounted to 70,000 dollars. Hauqua said, as he tore up the bond, "You and I No. 1 olo fien. You belong honest man, only no got chance." Throwing the fragments of the note of hand into the waste-paper basket he added, "Just now have settlee counter, alla finishee: you go you please," *i.e.*, "The account is now settled. You can go when you please." This fine old merchant died worth twenty-six millions of dollars, and was justly thought to have well deserved his prosperity. Integrity and unselfishness of a like type were to be found amongst native merchants who were not members of the Co-Hong, as witness the following incident. Five thousand pieces of crape had been placed with an "outside merchant," named Yee Shing, to be dyed. Whilst they were in his possession Canton was swept by an enormous fire. No system of insurance then existed. Yee Shing's shop, furniture, and goods were entirely destroyed, but he succeeded in saving the crape that belonged to the American house, which was indeed his first care. Out of 5,000 pieces only eighty-four were missing. Native merchants of unimpeachable uprightness and princely liberality are still to be found, but the general testimony of those who are in business contact with the Chinese now, is, that open trade and keen competition have pushed aside elect souls like Hauqua and Yee Shing, in favour of a crowd of less considerate, scrupulous, and worthy men.

A curious account is given of the "linguists," or native interpreters. They were a set of men licensed by the mandarins, and sent on board foreign ships to communicate the substance of official notifications. They also accompanied foreigners in their walks and excursions to prevent, by timely explanation, those collisions between the foreigners and the Chinese crowd that were too apt to arise from ignorance of each other's language. This old insti-

tution is now defunct. The "compradore" described by "Old Resident," who was a sort of Grand Vizier for the foreign merchant, and the "shroff," who was a sort of domestic banker and money-changer, still survive, and are likely to survive till the increasing competition and narrowing profits of trade in China shall have compelled all merchants and merchant's clerks not only to acquire the Chinese language, but to familiarise themselves with all the etiquette of Chinese social life, and, above all, to conciliate Chinese good-will by a more equal and unreserved association with the people. The compradore had the key of the treasury, which was a necessary part of the merchant's establishment when all payments were in specie, and banking and financial accommodations, in the shape of bills, were unknown. Great trust was reposed in the compradore, some native merchant of good repute always becoming security for him. "Old Resident" heard of but one who was unfaithful to his trust. He lost 50,000 dollars of his employer's money in speculation. Hauqua, who was his surety, paid down the whole sum on the evening of the day on which the fraud was discovered. It was the absence of an established national coinage which gave rise to the necessity for shroffs. The shroff puts his stamp upon every piece of silver that passes through his hands, and holds himself responsible should the silver prove counterfeit. In "shroffing," grains of silver fall in large quantities to the floor of the shop or office, and work their way into the chinks of the pavement. Contractors are found willing to renew the floors of these shops and offices free of charge in consideration of the minute fragments of silver they may find underneath the pavement. "Old Resident" records an instance in which a sum of seventy dollars was paid by a contractor for the privilege of renewing the floor of a "shroff's" shop.

These reminiscences of Old Canton contain a good many items of information that concern the growth of our Indian opium trade, and have a vital bearing upon questions some recent opponents of the Anti-Opium Society have been endeavouring to raise. "Old Resident's" testimony to the evil arising from the use of opium is somewhat equivocal. Possibly, like almost all members of mercantile houses, he has been brought into contact only with well-to-do Chinese smokers, among whom the physical and social sufferings arising from the use of opium are mitigated by those partial

palliatives which money can always secure. If so, he would naturally not be alive to the extent of the evil. His admissions on the political side of the opium question are explicit, and leave no doubt as to the international unrighteousness of that saddest of all chapters in our dealings with Oriental nations. The narrative abounds in materials for a picture that could scarcely fail to fill an Englishman with shame and disgust at the position assumed by his country, even had opium been as innocuous as tea. Proclamations against opium had been issued from time to time by both the imperial and provincial authorities, and all Chinese dealing in it had been threatened with death. None of the members of the Co-Hong had transactions in opium, a fact which increases our respect for that remarkable corporation of native merchants, and shows at the same time the view taken of opium by all the better classes of the Chinese. But in spite of the proclamations of officials and the abstention of the Co-Hong from opium transactions, the organised smuggling of the foreign merchants never ceased. "Old Resident" gives an account of the "receiving stations" on the China coast from which opium was smuggled, and relates the incidents of a voyage with which he was connected, not at all creditable to any of the parties concerned. The *Rose*, a clipper schooner owned by the firm in which our author was employed, was despatched north with three hundred chests of opium, and our author took a voyage in it to initiate himself into the secrets of the trade. Upon reaching its destination at Namao, it was boarded by a Chinese mandarin and retinue. The mandarin at once informed the captain that no foreign vessels were allowed so far north, at the same time pulling out of his stockings an imperial document to that effect, which, after reading, he replaced in the same snug hiding-place for future use. The captain replied that he was running from Singapore to Hongkong, had been driven out of his course, and had touched for fresh water only. When the mandarin rose from his chair, the suite attending him retired, a private secretary only excepted. He then coolly asked how many chests they had on board, and the captain arranged the amount of the bribe. After this fashion Chinese mandarins were corrupted and induced to ignore their instructions by our merchants and seamen. The opium on board had been sold at the "receiving station" at the mouth of the Canton river to Chinese purchasers for

delivery in Namao. The mandarin's boat had no sooner moved off than a boat came alongside, followed by a small fleet of cargo boats, all ready at some preconcerted signal to convey the opium ashore. Opium to the value of 150,000 dollars was delivered in this manner upon the production of an order from the Canton house.

"Old Resident" evidently wishes to underrate the noxious effects of opium, as is, of course, very natural in one who has been identified with a house having large opium transactions. But if his low estimate of the number of opium smokers about Canton in his own times be reliable, it is certain there must have been a terrible increase in the use of the drug within the last few years, and the contention of some that England is not responsible for the extent to which the drug is at present used, is utterly indefensible.

The spread of the evil of opium smoking, and this system of smuggling carried out upon an almost national scale, naturally provoked the Chinese Government to adopt measures of repression, measures conceived in harmony with its own peculiar traditions of prerogative and administration. In December, 1838, by order of the Chinese Government, a native opium dealer was strangled in front of the foreign Factories, to show the grave light in which it regarded the traffic, and to suggest to the foreign merchants the desirability of suspending operations in the noxious commodity. Most of the foreigners were out on their daily walks at the time the execution took place, and all was over by the time they had returned. In February, 1839, an attempt was made to strangle a second Chinaman for complicity in the trade. The cross on which the victim was to be strangled had been fixed in the square before the Factories. A mandarin was present to oversee the execution. The victim was placed by the cross with an iron chain round his neck, in charge of two gaolers. The foreigners in the Factory came out in a body to protest against the indignity of this execution upon their premises. They were told the square was imperial soil, and the execution was by imperial orders. Just at that juncture a boat-load of sailors from Whampoa appeared upon the scene. They took in the situation at a glance, smashed the cross that had been erected for the execution, tore down the mandarin's tent, upset the table containing his teapot and teacups, and but for the interference of the foreign merchants on the spot, would have proceeded to attack the mandarin himself.

This incident brought down the Chinese mob in force upon the Factories, as it deserved to do, and the merchants had to barricade their apartments and protect themselves against the approach of the barefooted crowd, by strewing the court-yard with broken glass. The opium dealer was subsequently led away to the public execution ground and strangled there.

About this date an imperial envoy or commissioner arrived from Peking, invested with special powers for suppressing the opium trade. A few days after his arrival he summoned together the native merchants composing the Co-Hong, to find out how many of the foreign merchants, whose names had been sent to Peking eighteen months before, were still engaged in the opium trade. The following day he again summoned the merchants of the Co-Hong, and threatened that some of them should be strangled unless the trade could be stopped. Strange as this procedure may sound to us, it was quite in accordance with the traditions of suretyship and associated responsibility embodied in the constitution of the Co-Hong, in virtue of which a close trade guild had been erected into a court for the government of the "barbarian" merchants. On the same day an order from the Commissioner was posted up, directing that all the opium stocks should be forthwith surrendered. There were at that time 15,000 chests at the "receiving stations" outside the Canton river, and 5,000 chests at the coast stations, valued in all at about twelve million dollars. The foreign merchants evaded this demand, and tried to satisfy Commissioner Lin with insignificant sops. A thousand odd chests were first offered as the united contribution and refused. Commissioner Lin was inexorable. Communication with the foreign shipping anchored at Whampoa was cut off by the Chinese authorities, and the Factories practically placed in a state of siege. The Commissioner ordered every servant in the Factories to leave, the pressure a Chinese official can put on the relatives of the servant in his native village, of course, making the enforcement of a command of this sort quite easy. The European merchants had thenceforth to sweep their own rooms and to cook their own rice and fowls. No provisions were allowed to be brought into the Factories. This difficulty, however, was met on the part of the Hong merchants, by obtaining permission from the mandarins to select guards

for the Factories from among their own native servants, who were accustomed to foreigners' habits, lest native soldiers, by their ignorance on this point, should come into collision with the foreigners. The Hong merchants' servants, when mounting guard, were accustomed to take in big bundles of blankets "to keep off the dew." In these were of course concealed supplies of food and firewood for the inmates of the Factories. Ten days after the first demand for the surrender of opium, 20,283 chests were delivered into the hands of the mandarins, and destroyed in trenches filled with lime and sea-water on the Chunpee heights, about fifteen or twenty miles from the mouth of the Canton river. Incredible as it may seem, the interests of these unscrupulous and impenitent smugglers, called "merchants" by courtesy, and who had deserved no better fate than their opium, were defended by a British Government official who was then Superintendent of Trade. His words were: "This is the first time in our intercourse with this empire that its Government has taken the unprovoked initiative in aggressive measures against British life, liberty, and property, and against the dignity of the British crown." "Old Resident," commenting on that passage in Captain Elliott's despatch, says: "No words could more strongly confirm everything herein said in relation to the safety of property and life which we had enjoyed in Canton. But the despatch contained not a word of the provocation given by foreigners in continuing the condemned traffic under constantly repeated injunctions against doing so and persistent warnings to discontinue it. I, of course, do not blame my brother merchants at Canton, no matter to what nation they belonged, as we were all equally implicated. We disregarded local orders, as well as those from Peking, and really became confident that we should enjoy perpetual immunity as far as the opium trade was concerned." "Old Resident's" faith was not misplaced. The "perpetual immunity," however, came through the force of British arms and by the elasticity of the British conscience, not from the indifference or venality of mandarindom. After the surrender of the opium the native servants employed in the foreign factories were allowed to return. The British merchants, however, at the command of Captain Elliott, retired to Macao, placing most of their business meanwhile in the hands of American houses. The investment of Canton by the British forces

under Sir Hugh Gough, and its ransom for six million dollars, tell a story too humiliating to be lightly repeated. This sum paid for the ransom of Canton was appropriated to the indemnification of the merchant smugglers.

A curious illustration of the notions of integrity prevailing amongst the English opium merchants occurred in the very crisis of Commissioner Lin's anti-opium crusade. The events that had been transpiring in Canton had caused a serious decline in the value of opium in the Straits Settlements. One day an opium clipper weighed anchor and set sail from a new "receiving station" that had been established off the South China coast. The clipper had on board a few chests of opium that had arrived since the seizure. At the moment of sailing a letter was handed to the captain directing him to open a sealed envelope therewith enclosed at sea. The sealed letter was found to contain orders that the ship's course should be shaped to Singapore. He was directed, moreover, to announce in reply to all inquiries upon his arrival, that he had brought back a reshipment of opium. The chests on board were landed at Singapore, when the Bund was crowded by opium holders and brokers. The inference from this supposed reshipment was, of course, to the effect that Commissioner Lin's repressive measures against the use of opium would succeed, and the price at once fell to zero: 700 chests were then purchased at 250 dollars per chest, and sold on arrival in China at 2,500 dollars per chest. "Old Resident" scarcely sustains his own assertions that opium is a harmless luxury, and that its abuse was unknown in Canton, when he states that whilst Commissioner Lin was still carrying out his repressive policy in Canton, and traffic in opium was punishable with death, the price in Canton rose to 3,000 dollars a chest, and retail dealers could dispose of 700 chests at that rate. A craving for the drug that would lead men to dare capital penalties as well as pay a price so enormous to obtain it, surely indicates a much more intense and imperious appetite than that for intoxicants in Europe. "Old Resident" as a *raconteur* abundantly confutes "Old Resident" as a social philosopher and an observer of facts.

The incidents leading up to the opium war, as related by this mild apologist for the opium trade, furnish also a curious comment upon the words spoken on behalf of the Government, in April of the present year, by Lord E. Fitz-

maurice. In replying to Sir. Joseph Pease, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs said, "that far from our having forced opium upon the Chinese, the case was entirely the reverse." * After that official declaration one would expect to hear that the Chinese mandarins had besieged the Factories with junks and jingalls, for the purpose of compelling the foreign merchants to supply opium to the famished crowds of Chinese smokers. Perhaps "Old Resident's" memory has failed him. He does not describe any such invasion. Or perhaps the invasion for that object forms a part of more recent history, not comprehended between the dates 1825 and 1844, and the latest issue of China correspondence may throw light on the subject.

The correspondence respecting the taxation of opium, recently presented to Parliament, brings us down to a stage in our relations with China forty years later than that at which "Old Resident's" narrative closes, but it is precisely the old contention which is still going on under more constitutional forms. It is because of our unwillingness to permit China to tax opium at its own discretion that the Chefoo Convention, signed on September 13th, 1876, remains unconfirmed. We declaim loudly enough against the wickedness of our opium wars with China, and boast that English opinion would never tolerate the repetition of them, and yet our minister at Pekin is allowed to browbeat the Chinese Government on the question of opium taxation, and to refuse it the independent position on questions of taxation it possessed before the war. We call the war iniquitous, and yet utilise its unspent force and cling with pertinacity to its most questionable fruits. Commissioner Lin is succeeded by Prince Kung, Li Hung Chang, and Tso Tsung Tong. The East India Company has given way to the Marquis of Ripon, and the wealthy opium merchants of Calcutta, mostly Jews, and Captain Elliott, Sir Hugh Beach, and Admiral Seymour are represented to-day by Sir Thomas Wade. A word may be necessary as to the names that figure in the correspondence, to enable the ordinary reader to discriminate a feature or two of the personalities for which they stand. The Marquis of Ripon is so well known as to make description needless. Suffice it to say, that in his capacity of Indian Viceroy he

* Since the above was written, a more complete report of the Under-Secretary's speech has appeared, which limits the denial of force to the Chefoo Convention negotiations only.

is empowered, by the Foreign Office, to pronounce upon the new schemes of taxation the Chinese Government has proposed, and to veto them if they are considered to be likely to diminish the Indian revenue by limiting the use of opium in China. The Marquis has, at the same time, the misfortune to belong to a Church that has emphatically condemned the opium traffic by the mouth of its most prominent English ecclesiastic. His position is doubtless difficult, but it is absolutely indefensible. One pities him for the cruel dilemma in which he is placed.

Sir Thomas Wade is scarcely known to the public in his diplomatic character, although possessing a European reputation as a Sinologue. He commenced life in the navy; but, having manifested considerable interest in Chinese studies when in Hongkong, he was attached to one of the diplomatic missions as interpreter, from which subordinate position he ultimately rose, by dint of patient waiting and the claim of industrious study, to represent his country at the court of Peking. He entertains juster views of Chinese rights than some of his predecessors in office, but his fairness is obscured and his influence damaged alike by the policy he is compelled to represent, and by the violent outbursts of temper, followed by fits of penitence, which are said to signalise his interviews with Chinese statesmen. A cool-headed Oriental will always get the better of a diplomatist who stamps, and blasphemes, and tears his hair; and unless the gossip of his immediate subordinates is to be disbelieved, the visits of Sir Thomas to the Tsung Li Yamen are sometimes disfigured by rather unseemly exhibitions. To the terrible effects of opium smoking Sir Thomas Wade, in past days, bore testimony, which he would probably be now very glad to withdraw. Placed as he is between the claims of the Chinese Government and the rival claims of the Indian Government, backed by the Foreign Office, no wonder that he falls into inconsistencies of statement of which he cannot fail some day to be heartily ashamed. His comments on the proposed revision of the opium tax, addressed to the Viceroy of India, are not always pitched in the same key with those to Prince Kung, but seem to be intentionally suited to the varying tastes, principles, and interests embodied in those respective personages.

Prince Kung is a pro-foreign member of the imperial family, whose wise and moderate influence has hitherto predominated with few interruptions in the Tsung Li Yamen

or Foreign Office of Pekin. Li Hung Chang, the present premier of the Chinese Empire, is an enlightened reformer, eager to avail himself of all the resources of Western civilisation. He is the backbone of several influential native companies that have been formed for the introduction of steamships and Western machinery. His motto is, China for the Chinese, and, whilst anxious to transplant to Chinese soil all European sciences, he wishes to have as little to do with Europeans themselves as possible. Tso Tsung Tong, who bulks largely in the correspondence, is the general who marched a Chinese army across the deserts for the pacification of Kashgaria a few years ago, and who is now in high favour with the Court, as well for the stern, upright, and effective administration of the districts he has governed, as for his military successes. He has been described to the present writer by a retired mandarin, who was once intimately associated with him, as an irascible martinet, but a man of incorruptible integrity and red-hot patriotism. His head tapers towards the top like a pagoda, so that no hat will sit upon it; his court hat looks as though it had been stuck on a pike or a flag-staff. Tso Tsung Tong succeeded in stamping out the poppy, and suppressing all opium dens in two important provinces he once administered. Stirred by thoughts of the mischief opium is working, and fired with pride at the reflection that he has proved himself irresistible on the north-west frontier, he is in danger of underrating the European influences arrayed against him on the eastern side of China, and is less patient and flexible in his treatment of European demands than his colleagues at Pekin. It has been his dream for some years past to limit, and ultimately stop the consumption of all opium by increasing the impost on Indian opium, with the object of one day making the impost entirely prohibitive, and taxing the native opium in proportion to its comparative market value, a step the Imperial Government has never yet consented to take. Tso Tsung Tong was associated with Li Hung Chang at the first conference with Sir Thomas Wade on the revision of the opium tariff, but, irritated by Sir Thomas Wade's outbursts of temper and persistence in blocking the Chinese attempt to increase the taxation of opium, he refused to appear at the second conference on the subject, and finally gibbeted Sir Thomas Wade's loss of temper, and the policy of callous finance he represents, in a memorial to the Chinese throne,

which is a splendid exhibition of pagan morality and patriotism, in painful contrast to the selfish expediency that speaks in every line of the despatches penned by the representative of a quasi-Christian country.

But before enlarging on the question, it will be as well to explain the nature of the old tariff, and the proposed modifications of it that have been successively discussed since the Chefoo Convention. Opium was not legalised as an import till the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858. Up to that time the Imperial Government had not received a single cash from the taxation of opium, and the sums paid for the admission of opium into China were bribes that passed into the pockets of the local officials. When we pressed upon the Chinese Government, in the hour of its defeat, the legalisation of opium, and that Government reluctantly gave way, it was stipulated that opium should not be placed in the same category as the other articles of the tariff. Foreign imports were to be subjected to a double system of taxation. Fixed customs dues were to be paid by the importer on landing his goods within the treaty port areas, and then an inland tax, corresponding to the octroi duties in some Continental states, was to be paid on the goods in transit into the interior by the native purchaser. The goods might be franked to any town in the interior at fifty per cent. discount off the ordinary octroi duty, if the importer himself chose to pay the inland as well as the maritime customs dues on landing his cargo. Opium was expressly excepted from this arrangement. The importer of opium had to pay thirty taels per picul ($1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.), and the different provincial governments imposed what dues they liked in the interior. Opium could not be franked into the interior in the same manner as other goods. In consequence of this, inland taxes grew up in the different provinces, ranging from twenty or thirty to fifty or sixty taels per picul.

A report on the growth of native opium is placed at the head of the correspondence, in which the substance of the recent negotiations is embodied. It is difficult to say for what reason, unless to break the shock an English reader must feel at the spectacle of Sir Thomas Wade, together with the Marquis of Ripon in Calcutta, and Earl Granville in London, pleading persistently through weary years for the admission of cheap and lightly taxed opium within the Chinese borders, regardless of the consequences that may

accrue to the Chinese people themselves. If this be his object, Sir Thomas Wade effectually defeats it by a statement made in a subsequent despatch to the Marquis of Ripon, to the effect that "the Chinese Government is discovering no tendency to encourage the development of a native opium trade." The report on native opium, although full of sneers at the philanthropists who oppose the Indian opium trade, admits the Chinese magistrate, even when temporarily forbidding the poppy for the sake of afterwards getting a larger "squeeze" for connivance at its cultivation, did nevertheless send private instructions to his subordinates "to prevent opium being planted along the main post-roads," a clear acknowledgment of the sincerity of the Imperial Government, if the local official found it necessary to confine the cultivation to districts not crossed by "the main post-roads." References to provinces almost covered with the poppy, instead of deadening the British conscience to the sin of the Indian opium monopoly, ought rather to quicken it. Within the memory of living men, the poppy was almost unknown in districts now white with it; and the tenacity with which we cling to the gains of our Indian opium trade has provoked and nourished the cultivation in the interior of China. Moreover, if opium is to be smoked at all, why should not China grow it for herself, especially considering the fact that the native drug is weak in quality, and almost innocuous in comparison with that produced in India?

The Chinese Government having fully resolved upon increasing the taxation on opium, it proposed to unite the two duties in one, and entrust the collection to a department of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, officered by Europeans. A suggestion was made to the effect that this might be collected in Hongkong. Such an arrangement would have facilitated the sweeping away of octroi duties on other imports, and promoted the development of all branches of foreign commerce. Tso Tsung Tong proposed to make this all-inclusive duty 150 taels per picul, and Li Hung Chang 110. Sir Thomas Wade was willing to accept 80 or 90 taels. Finally he agreed to 90 or 100 taels, subject to the approval of the Indian Government. Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs, gave it as his opinion that opium would bear a total duty of 120 taels. The Indian Government, however, fearing that this increased taxation might abate and limit the use of opium

in China, and affect its own revenue, managed to quash the proposal for the time being, whether permanently yet remains to be seen.

Sir Thomas Wade then proposed an addition of 20 taels on the old port-tariff, leaving the Chinese Government free to settle the amount of the octroi duty with the native importer as heretofore. The Chinese Government, however, did not lend any very cordial encouragement to the scheme, as it gave extraordinary facilities for smuggling, and involved a complicated and widely ramified inland collectorate, with the expenses and peculations inseparable from such institutions.

A scheme was next discussed, in connection with which Sir John Pope Hennessey, then Governor of Hongkong, was curiously prominent, for forming a syndicate of Chinese capitalists to take over all the Indian opium upon its arrival in Hongkong, and discharge all claims of the Chinese revenue by a lump payment. Sir Thomas Wade feared the capitalists might not be able to give adequate security, and discouraged the scheme. It is difficult to see why Sir Thomas Wade should have felt it necessary to express his distrust of the financial ability of these capitalists. The exporters of the drug from India were surely capable of guarding their interests in that particular, and the Chinese Government could take care of its own exchequer in treating with such a syndicate without the paternal oversight of the British minister. It seemed as though Sir Thomas Wade were anxious to keep a field of free and open competition for Indian opium, and not allow it to become, at even its present tremendous figure, an inexpansive source of revenue for India.

The Chinese Government then proposed to take over all the opium in Calcutta and Bombay, and make itself proprietor, with the view of extinguishing the trade within a fixed term of years to be settled by treaty. A Chinese official was sent to Calcutta to confer with the Indian Government about the practicability of the arrangement. This proposition, laying as it did the Chinese hand on the very throat of our traffic, and contemplating, however remotely, the ultimate extinction of this profitable international abomination, was, of course, discouraged most peremptorily of all. The first proposition would seem to have been subsequently reverted to, and the negotiations for the final settlement were transferred to London, where they are now in progress.

A critical stage in the history of our opium trade has been reached, and it is to be hoped that English opinion will express itself before the die is cast for another term of years. In the last proposition a door of ultimate retreat from our dishonourable traffic, without any immediate shock to our revenue, had been opened for us by the Chinese themselves, but we have been content to see it slammed in their faces without a word of national protest. This curt unyieldingness in all matters that touch our Indian opium trade may finally compel the Chinese Government to enter into organised competition with us by formally legalising the cultivation of opium. We leave it no other resource. Let that day once dawn, and with the choice of soil, climate, and conditions available in China, and with inexpensive labour far in advance of that of the Bengal peasant in skilfulness, opium will assuredly be grown that will rival the Indian opium in strength and flavour, and then woe alike to our Indian revenue and the Chinese people. Far wiser were it to show some sympathy with the concern of the Chinese Government for the "remoralisation" of its own people, especially when that end is associated with a project that will bring no sudden and violent displacement to the Indian revenue; a project, moreover, that has the merit of originating with the Chinese themselves.

The Memorial of Tso Tsung Tong, referred to above, is a noble and suggestive document, and contains a quaint allusion to Sir Thomas Wade's infirmity of temper, which must have greatly edified the Chinese court. A few extracts from it may be welcome to the English reader.

"Memorialist would humbly premise that opium is produced in India, and is imported thence by British merchants: the poison thus disseminated through China being known as 'yang yao,' or the foreign drug. The evil effects are first felt in centres of trade, and in public offices. The idle and dissipated youth amongst the well-to-do of the middle class, who congregate together for purposes of amusement, make use of it to while away time. The taste thus acquired gradually develops into a craving, and when the craving becomes intense, health and spirits suffer, ruin follows, and death finishes the picture.

"The labouring classes in the interior of China abandon the cultivation of the different kinds of grain on the rich land, eminently fitted for the growth of cereals, and plant the poppy instead. They make incisions in the poppy-heads, and extract the juice,

which they call 'tu yao,' or native drug. The evil effects of this form of the drug first attack the market-towns, hamlets, and villages. The labouring poor and the idle and vagrant have in time come to consider it as a daily necessary of life, and ignore the nature of the prohibition against it. Hence the number of consumers becomes very great, the mischief becomes more and more confirmed, and reform becomes an almost hopeless task.

"Consumption of foreign opium by Chinese has increased, and the sale of foreign opium has extended in a corresponding degree. Formerly the annual import used to be something over 30,000 chests per annum, but it gradually increased till it exceeded 50,000 chests per annum, and the memorialist has recently heard that it has now mounted to over 70,000 chests. The price of foreign opium used to be over 700 taels a chest of 100 catties, but has now, so he understands, dropped to some 500 taels, or so, showing that the area of consumption has been extended by the diminution of price, a fact which also exemplifies the astuteness of the foreigner.

"When memorialist was made Governor-General of Shen Si and Kansuh, he made the prohibition of poppy cultivation his first business, directing his subordinates to pluck up the plant wherever they met with it, that the evil might be cleansed at its source. All foreign opium imported into his jurisdiction was labelled and deposited in warehouses, the importers being compelled to take it away again, and forbidden to sell it in either province. All opium sold in defiance of this prohibition was publicly burned in an open thoroughfare. This system, though it met with partial success in a given area, would not work if applied universally.

"A careful consideration of the whole question convinces the memorialist that increase of duty and li-kin upon opium, native and foreign, is the only possible solution of the problem.

"Increase of duty and li-kin will certainly raise the price of foreign and native opium. When prices are high those whose craving is not intense will give up the habit, and those whose craving is intense will reduce their consumption; and it may reasonably be expected that diminution of the consumption will lead eventually to the abandonment of the vice.

"Your servant, having been honoured by the command of your Majesty to take cognizance of foreign affairs, was, of course, not free to decline the responsibility; and when in discharge of it he received the British minister, Wei To-Ma (Thomas Wade), he discussed with him the question of raising the tariff-duty and 'li-kin' excise, with a view to diminishing the taste for it. Nor had Thomas Wade any objection to make thereto. But when Li Hung Chang arrived, your servant and he further discussed the matter with Thomas Wade on two occasions; Li Hung Chang having besides one separate conference with him alone; and at these

conferences Thomas Wade maintained opinions at variance with those of your servants. There was a considerable change in his language (or he retracted much), and with reference to the augmentation of the price of opium, he showed as much irritation as if the change were something to be deplored.

"The memorialist, in his ignorance, ventures to believe that the enforcement of strict prohibitions against the consumption of opium is a radical essential in the restriction of a popular vice, and the ordering of public morality. At the present time the ever-increasing diminution of price creates a corresponding increase of consumption, the evil effects of which become worse as they grow. And so when prohibitive measures come to be considered, it becomes apparent that the only plan is to increase the duty and 'li-kin,' both on the foreign and on the native drug. It is not merely with the object of reaping a richer revenue that this increase is suggested."

Sir Thomas Wade seemed to feel somewhat keenly the personal allusion to himself, and in a despatch addressed to Tso Tsung Tong asks if the newspaper report of the memorial is authentic, challenging at the same time the accuracy of some minor points in Tso Tsung Tong's report of the conversation. To all this Tso Tsung Tong, "presenting his compliments," quietly replies that "The Grand Secretary is given to understand that the *Shanghai Shen Pao* prints and publishes at once any news it obtains, and that there has never been any supervision or restriction placed on it or any regard paid to the importance of the news." After reaffirming the correctness of the statements in his memorial he goes on to say, "The points that his Majesty (the Chinese Emperor) considers as of chief importance are the moral improvement and protection of the people." Sir Thomas Wade evidently feels the moral inferiority of the position he occupies to that of the Chinese statesmen with whom he is dealing, for he addresses Prince Kung in the following apologetic strain: "If, during this long discussion, I have dwelt rather on the financial than the moral interest of the question, it is because I am convinced that so long as the opium produced in China is sufficient to supply the needs of the Chinese, the reduction of the quantity of opium imported, or even the total exclusion of foreign opium, will not remoralise the opium smoker." The apology, however, is too transparent when only six months before Sir Thomas Wade had thought well to challenge the Grand Secretary

Tso's memorial, which had proposed an equal incidence of taxation on native and foreign opium, and in the same despatch discusses the scheme proposed by the Chinese Government for the gradual extinction of both the native and foreign trades. The browbeating policy which has succeeded to the unrighteous wars of a generation ago is but thinly veiled in this correspondence, for when Prince Kung seeks to elbow the British minister into a speedy confirmation of the convention by suggesting that China may use its right of taxing opium without any restriction at the inland barriers, by imposing octroi duties of 150 taels per chest, a right repeatedly admitted by Sir Thomas Wade, Sir Thomas turns round and half frightens the mild old prince by describing that suggestion as a "threat." The Prince thereupon tenders a timid disavowal of the threat, coupled with a vague reassertion of it. "The Prince would observe in reply that the passage contained in his former note, 'If, after all, the proposition to collect li-kin with the tariff duty be not adopted, China may take it upon herself to increase the li-kin or to devise some other scheme,' was a simple declaration to the effect that inasmuch as China cannot but be anxious to promote the security of her (revenue on) opium, if protracted negotiations to that end lead to no result, it will not be in her power to throw (the whole question) aside and give it no further heed. There was no intention to employ a threat."

It is gratifying to see Sir Thomas Wade admit the reflex influence of the Anti-Opium Society's agitation upon Chinese statesmanship. In one of his communications he observes: "Some leading statesmen in China would not improbably attempt the taxation of foreign opium at rates that might endanger the life of the golden goose. The danger against which precaution is chiefly called for is the taxation of opium on the principle of seeing how much it will bear. The echo of the Anti-Opium movement in England has had no doubt a certain influence in this direction." It is devoutly to be wished that the agitation may grow and that the bird of evil omen, goose, vulture, raven or otherwise, may die ere long, despite its golden eggs.

The general conclusion drawn from a perusal of this body of correspondence is that England is not a whit more moral in her policy to-day than she was in the days of "Old Resident's" sojourn in Canton. We don't fight

for opium now. We only let our diplomatists harry the vanquished. We don't compel the legalisation of opium at the cannon's mouth. We only wear out Chinese patriots by a vociferous huckstering of five years' duration, compelling them in the meanwhile to keep taxation low and opium cheaper than it ever has been, lest the "goose that lays the golden eggs" should not be quite so "broody" as she has been in the past. It is high time that our government departments recognised the moral feeling of the country on these questions, and no longer met its solemn protests by an imperturbable "*non possumus*."

No surer mode of damaging the interests of the Crown can be pursued than that of withdrawing Indian and foreign questions involving the most fundamental moralities from the cognizance of Parliament till they are settled, and regarding them as the separate prerogative of the Crown. Too long have governments been suffered to raise petty, colourless party questions by which to try themselves before the electorates, whilst immoral absolutisms have prevailed in departments on such questions as the opium trade, and the cry of the outraged conscience of the nation, not to speak of the cries from tens of thousands of Chinese homes is disdained by statesmen like the Marquis of Hartington, who said: "The morality of the opium trade is no concern of ours. It is a question of finance only;" and Lord E. Fitzmaurice, who asserted in April of the present year, "That far from our having forced opium upon the Chinese, the very contrary was the case." Unless a change soon come over the treatment of this subject, it is to be hoped the time is not far distant when men who are moralists first and partisans afterwards, will unite to raise their voices in a cry that will be heard throughout the country, demanding that the convictions of the national conscience shall no longer be ignored. No party in the State is strong enough to disregard such a cry. The petition for the Sunday Closing Bill, with more than half a million Methodist signatures, ought to assure the religious bodies of this country of their power to control all moral questions, if they will only consent to forget political shibboleths for a year or two and utter an earnest protest—like that which put down the slave-trade—on behalf of the fundamental principles of righteousness and charity. A single religious denomination, if united, would be strong enough to turn the scales.

- ART. V. 1.—*Retrospect of a Long Life: from 1815 to 1883.*
By S. C. HALL, F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law, a Man of
Letters by Profession. In Two Volumes. London:
Richard Bentley and Son. 1883.
2. *A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the
Age, from Personal Acquaintance.* By S. C. HALL,
F.S.A., &c. Second Edition. London: Virtue and
Co. 1877.

Is the pursuit of literature as a profession conducive to the enjoyment of long life? It is a question of much interest, and in answer a good deal may be said on both sides. In the books at the head of this article we have a strong argument on the affirmative side. In them a veteran of the press, who saw the light in the first year of this nineteenth century, draws forth from a well-stored memory, and with a hand that has not lost its cunning, recollections of the days gone by, and of the brilliant host of writers whom he has met, missed, and mourned. But while Mr. Hall himself is a fine example of literary longevity, a considerable portion of his contemporaries passed away in early or middle life. And such, we fear, is the fate of a large proportion of the brain-workers, the genuine "press men," of the present day.

In the case of some who flourished fifty or sixty years ago, the fault of their fewness of days was entirely their own. Fast living was then rather the rule than the exception among literary men, as well as among the higher classes of society, and numerous were the admirers and victims of the Anacreontic style. Maginn—a man of vast learning and manifold powers, a valued contributor to *Blackwood* and *Fraser* in their palmy days, who with unprincipled versatility wrote at the same time slashing articles in the *Tory Age* and the *Radical True Sun*—died, a miserable wreck, at the age of forty-eight. Theodore Hook—the marvellous improviser of verses in any number upon any topic, the ready wit and daring practical joker—was an old man when he should have been in his prime, and died at fifty-three, "done up," as he himself phrased

it, "in purse, in mind, and in body too." And these were but samples of many minor martyrs to the bad customs, slaves to the "free living" of the day.

But manners and customs have changed since those days; and though the literary man is, on the average, not more longevous than formerly, the shortness of his career is due rather to hard work than to fast living. In many cases, in the full bloom of youthful enthusiasm he realises an honourable ambition by getting on to the staff of a daily paper; then has to work by night, and every night, under pressure of the waiting monster that must "go to press" in the small hours of the morning, and, just when his brain should be regaining its spent vigour by repose, has to tax it to the uttermost in order to write brilliantly, or at all events, freshly and interestingly, on topics which he has treated again and again till he is tired to death of them. It must be indeed a tough texture that will stand the strain; and of late years a host of promising young writers have been sacrificed on the altar of this Moloch of journalism.

Then, as to the struggle for existence; was it greater amongst the literary men of fifty years ago than it is now? It could not be greater, and we incline to think it was much less. For, though there was then, as always, much hardship for the bulk of rising authors, there was a less crowded market—if not higher prices, better chances—a more certain income, for the vigorous ones who could fight their way to the front. Then, as now, the young author had to get a commission on the staff of a magazine or review, to gain a name amongst men, and to find food for himself and his little knot of dependents, whilst he was preparing the *magnum opus* which was to wake up the deaf and callous world and shake it out of its heartless *insouciance*. Battling against want and cold and debt and disease, sometimes he would win the victory, and command such work and such pay as he had scarcely ventured to dream of before. More often he has sunk, after a weary fight of ten or fifteen years, exhausted just as his last charge had carried the day; and the world has showered freely on his obsequies the applause and sympathy which it had dealt out to him, when alive, with such a niggardly hand. Butler and Chatterton, in their antitypes, like "the poor," we have "always with" us, at our very doors.

We will not dwell on the pecuniary phase of an author's

life. But it must not be ignored, since it is the big burden of daily care which gets between him and heaven, and shuts into eclipse all shine of sun and star; dwarfing his high aspirations, stunting the noble growths of his intellect, and chilling his genial warmth of heart. For, when the author—by profession, we mean, not amateur or occasional—finds his home threatened with disaster, the very existence of wife and children, or mother and sisters, trembling in the scale, he can no longer keep to the fond illusion that he is a prophet commissioned to propound his own particular views to an eager and astonished world. Perforce he has to learn from the indispensable middleman what the public is supposed to want or wish for—what will “take” and what will “pay.” And so, without hinting even to himself that he is flagging in his high purposes, or putting off the fulfilment of his noble plans, he submits, and cannot but submit, to be ground down to the ideas and arrangements of those whom he knows to be his inferiors in the inner and higher life, but who have the upper hand of him in that important outer life which swallows up so much thought and energy. Too often, drudgery and care combined wear out the tissues of the brain, and the author sinks under sudden paralysis, or slowly dwindles into numbness and imbecility. The latter is seldom the fate of the ladies: authoresses, as a rule, keep bright and nimble to the last, and live pretty long lives. Still there are notable instances of early decay; and while on the one hand we have the longevity of Hannah More, Amelia Opie, Barbara Hofland, Mary Somerville, Lady Morgan, Mary Russell Mitford, Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Bray (92), and others, these are counter-balanced by the comparatively short lives of Felicia Hemans, Grace Aguilar, Emma Tatham, “Ruth Elliott,” Mary Robinson, &c.

For man and woman alike Charles Lamb’s faithful warning to Bernard Barton holds good now as when it first was written :

“Throw yourself on the world without any rational plan of support but what the chance employ of booksellers would afford you!!! Throw yourself rather from the steep Tarpeian rock—slap, dash, headlong upon iron spikes. . . . Come not within their grasp. I have known many authors want for bread, some repining, others enjoying the blest security of a counting-house, all agreeing they had rather have been tailors, weavers—what not ?

than the things they were. I have known some starved, some go mad, one dear friend 'dying in a workhouse.' O, you know not—may you never know!—the miseries of subsisting by authorship."

Still, the profession of letters always will have supreme attraction for the young and talented. And the perusal of these interesting volumes of Mr. S. C. Hall will certainly not detract from the charm. What a crowd of illustrious names moves in his pages! Orators, statesmen, poets, philanthropists—he has conversed or corresponded with, or at least rubbed against, two generations of the most famous of them, and can tell us much that we wanted to know about the appearance, manners, disposition and character of these remarkable personages. His recollections carry him back to the earliest days of the century, and he notes down many a feature of London life that has long disappeared from view. The ancient tinder-box, the oil street-lamps, the old watchmen or "Charlies," the mail-coaches, the footpads, the pillions, the pattens, the many-caped hackney coachmen, the sedan chairs, the turnpikes, the pillory, the stocks—each of these departed glories has a few words of mention, in connection or contrast with the inventions and improvements that have superseded them. His retrospect has strongly impressed him with the opinion that the present age is in most respects better off than the preceding ones—those terrible "hanging" times, when in the space of but seven years, from 1819 to 1825, there were *five hundred and seventy-nine* executions, most of them being for such offences as cattle, horse, and sheep stealing; arson, forgery, burglary, uttering false notes, sacrilege;—those wine-bibbing times, when Pitt and Dundas are said to have entered the House of Commons in such an after-dinner condition that the one could not *see* the Speaker at all, while the other was so far privileged as to see *two* Speakers in the Chair;—those profane times, when oaths of the coarsest kind garnished the conversation of men of all ranks, and were not repressed even by the presence of ladies.

Yet there were some things in those old days which the veteran now misses with regret: notably the courtesy which caused a man to shrink from taking the wall of a lady, or keeping his hat on in her presence, or offering her his arm while a cigar fumed in his mouth. Vauxhall

Gardens, too, he considers to be badly replaced by the detestable music-halls, and he holds the cruelty of cock-fighting to be far surpassed by the wholesale heartlessness of pigeon-shooting.

It is not with the change of manners, for better or worse, that we purpose now to deal, but rather to take the opportunity of glancing rapidly over the popular literature of the last fifty years, availing ourselves occasionally of the help of Mr. Hall's valuable *Retrospect* and of his beautiful *Book of Memories*.

Fifty years ago, most of those who had made great names as authors in the brilliant period of letters which succeeded the close of the long war with the first Napoleon, were either dying off, or sinking into that torpid state which has been the fate and the dread of many a man of genius. Lord Byron, the unscrupulous poet of passion, who had burst the icy bounds within which the English Muse had for long years been frozen up, had died of fever at Missolonghi. Sir Walter Scott had just breathed his last sigh at Abbotsford, and left the domain of historical romance free for any master who could conquer and rule it as he had done. Thomas Campbell was eking out his pension by editing magazines—a task for which he was specially unfitted—and otherwise putting his Pegasus to the drudgery of a bookseller's hack.

Of the coming men, Charles Dickens was still on the staff of the *Morning Chronicle*, schooling himself for future Dutch painting by the minute observation of detail required in a press reporter. Bulwer Lytton had just issued his *Eugene Aram*, and was succeeding—with little success—Campbell in the editorship of the *New Monthly*. Macaulay had made his mark as an essayist and parliamentary orator, and was about to go over to India for a time, to brood over and evolve a grand scheme of law for our Eastern empire. Thackeray was travelling and constantly exercising that ready pencil which was *not* to gain him riches or renown, while his pen lay almost untried, its power unguessed even by himself. Carlyle was trying to find a London bibliopole who would venture on the publication of the first of his works in his later or grotesque style—the famous *Sartor Resartus*. Tennyson, the coming poet of the cycle, was just making his second essay as an author, and beginning to win a small but ever widening circle of readers.

The early part of these fifty years was especially nota-

ble for its wealth of tale-writers. In 1837 Dickens made his appearance with the *Pickwick Papers*, which at once gave him a reputation and attained a success which has scarcely been paralleled by any subsequent fiction, with the exception of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Though vastly inferior to his later writings, *Pickwick* developed his talent for minute description and humorous characterisation, extending a vitality even to inanimate things; and its telling effect was aided not a little by the ingenious illustrations by Seymour and "Phiz," which clothed in tangible embodiment comicalities which might have seemed vague and rapid by themselves. A host of readers looked out for the monthly parts of this boneless tale, with an intensity of eagerness unknown to the present generation, and Sam Weller, with his racy cockneyisms and startling anecdotes and comparisons, was welcomed to many a table as "a fellow of infinite jest and humour," an English Sancho Panza equal in originality to Cervantes' renowned creation. But there was little in *Pickwick* to warn the world of the tragic power which lay in the grasp of the young author; and when *Oliver Twist* burst into life, it came as a surprise to the public, disappointing those who cared for nothing but amusement, but convincing the reading world that a writer of intense earnestness had developed from the chrysalis of the comic penny-a-liner. Then followed in due time the mixed humour and pathos of *Nicholas Nickleby* and *Martin Chuzzlewit*, leading up to the most perfect of his works, the quasi-autobiographic *David Copperfield*. We will not attempt to assign to these and his subsequent books their relative place in the classics of the land: but any one who is doubtful of the advance made by Dickens beyond previous writers of the domestic novel, has but to compare *David Copperfield* or *Bleak House* with the tales of that class which had previously held sway in the circulating library. In the one there is life—life in all its details, etched with the hand of a master, and worked up into a dramatic *ensemble*, that is permanently photographed on the sensitive plate of memory: in the other there is but a faint and washy copy of insipid scenes, or a patchy presentment of impossible catastrophes. The former are the perfection of realism tempered with romance: but in enduring these and the other children of his soul with such intensity of life, their author parted with a large portion of his own vital energy, and his brain, taxed too

heavily with the conception and realisation of human affairs in all their mixed humour and tragedy, and with the "readings" which drained his very heart, sank suddenly beneath the pressure of engagements to which his nobler and better self, untempted by greed of money or applause, should have given a resolute "No."

And here, reverting to Mr. Hall's volumes, we note that, although that gentleman knew the great novelist as a boy, who, with bright, intelligent face, brought "penny-a-line" matter to the office where the elder Dickens was employed as a parliamentary reporter, he prefers to leave the subject almost untouched, as he "can write of Dickens nothing new, nothing important, nothing valuable." But he gives, under another head, Mrs. Hall's pleasant picture of the author's home in the earlier, happier days of his married life.

"In what is now 'the long ago time' Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dickens invited their friends to a juvenile party in honour of the birthday of their eldest son. Who would decline such an invitation? Who did not know how the inimitable story-teller made happiness for old and young?—his voice ringing out welcomes like joybells in sweet social tune, his conjuring, his scraps of recitations, his hearty sympathetic receptions pleasantly mingling and following each other, while his wife—in those happy days the 'Kate' of his affections—illumined like sweet sunshine her husband's efforts to promote enjoyment all around. It was understood that after an early supper there was to be 'no end of dancing.' This was no over-dressed juvenile party, but a hilarious gathering of young boys and girls; not overlaid, as in our present days they too often are, with finery and affectation, but bounding in their young fresh life to enjoy a full tide of happiness."

We pass on to another style of fiction, in which another master of the art was making his early essays. Mr. Lytton Bulwer—afterwards Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer Lytton, and finally Lord Lytton—had attracted much notice by his novels of passion and fashion combined. His earlier works are not always of the most healthy tendency; but he rose to higher ground in his historical romances, and the domestic tales of his later years—*The Caxtons*, *My Novel*, and *What will He do with It?*—show a large advance in moral power and in exquisite delineation of character. His women especially are wonderfully fine and agreeable when compared with the bulk of the females whom Dickens portrayed.

In Thackeray we come to one who will probably live in his works as long as any imaginative writer of this half-century. Comparatively late in producing his really good work, this great master of satire spent year after year in sketches and studies, trials and essays, which were but prevenient shadows of the perfect forms which were to take their place. It would be absurd here to compare the two great novelists of these times, Dickens and Thackeray, and to dispute about their respective merits. They were totally different in matter and form, in spirit and body. Dickens could no more have conceived the symmetric beauty of *Esmond*, or have added the nice touches of honour and delicacy which abound in that masterpiece, than Thackeray could have irradiated with a flood of light and love and pathos the poor homes and ragged children and world-despised men and women whom Dickens's pencil set forth with a magic born of the highest genius. A noble pair of brothers! The one, labouring, with touch upon touch, line upon line, till at length, when friends are almost tired of watching and waiting, the perfect figure fills the canvas and satisfies the eye. The other, thoughtfully weaving plot and plan, and then running off rapidly, yet with consummate art, counterparts of the common people around us, yet so picked out and gilded with the halo of imagination as to become the most interesting and amusing specimens of humanity possible. We need not enumerate Thackeray's works, the majority of which form a chain of pictures of several generations, and introduce a succession of family characters. He had just broken new ground among the smugglers of the Sussex coast, and was getting well into the history of *Denis Duval*, when his pen fell from his hand, and his promising story was left unfinished—a striking illustration of his favourite maxim: "*Vanitas vanitatum! omnia vanitas.*"

In stories of naval life Captain Marryat bears the bell, and was greatly in advance of writers of the Smollett school. His tales are still widely read, and have a special value, beyond their rough facetiousness, as accurately depicting a state of affairs on board the old wooden men-of-war, of which the present race of sailors know little or nothing.

A more prolific writer was G. P. R. James, whose name held a high place for at least half a century, but whose works are now not much sought after by the great body of

readers. This gentleman might have been thought to manufacture novels by machinery. Give him a famous name, a special era, or a striking incident, and he would clothe it with the historic properties of costume and custom, weapons and retinues, and all the paraphernalia of the period; reeling off to his hard-worked amanuensis an almost endless thread of glittering romance. Had he but written less, or, to speak more accurately, had he himself *written out* his stories, they would have been fewer in number, but much more forceful in character and lasting in popularity. His tendency to heap up minute circumstances in description, to overdo the upholstery business proper to such works, to paint too gaudily the field of the cloth of gold, had the effect of burying his better qualities—his high principle, good sense, historic insight, and encyclopædic knowledge—under a wealth of garniture like that to which good Queen Bess was prone. Yet no mean praise fell justly to his share by the award of Alison the historian, who says: "There is a constant appeal in his brilliant pages, not only to the pure and generous, but to the elevated and noble sentiments. He is imbued with the very soul of chivalry, and all his stories turn on the final triumph of those who are influenced by such feelings. Not a word or a thought which can give pain to the purest heart ever escapes from his pen." His private life rose fully to the high standard of his works, and proved him to be in every respect a Christian gentleman.

The name of the novelists at this era was "legion," and we cannot pretend to chronicle even the topmost of them; but we must spare a line for Charles Lever, who, if in his early works he gave the rein to his high spirits, racy wit, and frolicking fancy, in his later ones has not been surpassed for the mingled sadness and humour of his delineations of the life of the sister country. Mixed up with his most romantic tales there are invaluable sketches of Irish history and character, drawn with unrivalled power, and based on deep and accurate knowledge of the people and their past. In his later stories diplomatic life, of which he knew the inner workings, plays a prominent part, and from them much is to be learnt of a career and of a class of people quite unfamiliar to the stay-at-home plebeian.

The great name which Benjamin Disraeli—afterward

Earl of Beaconsfield—made as a statesman, naturally throws into shadow his work as a *littérateur*; and yet at the same time it adds interest and draws attention to that very work. The splendour of the position which he achieved as the successful leader of a powerful party, and then as the Prime Minister of a nation, is apt to dazzle the critical eye in weighing his merits as a novelist. Of course we are reminded that “the child is father to the man;” and, taking up that axiom, and applying it to his youthful works—beginning with *Vivian Grey*, which saw the light just fifty-seven years ago—we become liable and likely to torture sentiments and misconstrue speeches and twist situations, in order to show that the principles of the policy of his after life are embedded in these ancient strata. But this a somewhat misleading method; for in no case does the mind expand more rapidly than in that of a rising statesman; in none are the narrow principles of policy, which in the heat and inexperience of youth seemed fixed and unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, so completely lost sight of or reversed; and whether it be a Peel or a Gladstone or a Beaconsfield, the cramping trammels of childhood are speedily thrown off and forgotten, when the manhood of responsible power is attained. Still, no doubt some of the grand realisations of Disraeli's later years may be found in embryo in *Vivian Grey* and its successors; and while his tales from *Coningsby* to *Endymion* have a special interest as portraying from the life the world of politicians and schemers of the last forty years, his earlier ones will long excite sufficient curiosity to save them from oblivion. As a writer Lord Beaconsfield had a lively, biting, satirical style; and a dull paragraph is as rare in his novels as in his speeches, while the former commend themselves to the thoughtful reader as the outcome of a thoroughly original mind, the experience of a man who has seen much of the world at large.

Where must we class George Borrow—that delightful narrator of Spanish adventure and depicter of English roadside life? Novelist or historian, which is he? His *Bible in Spain*, which was published forty-one years ago, is one of the most charming of books, full of romantic story and picturesque description, with nice shades of mystery here and there, but no clouds of gloom. It well deserves reissue, with a series of characteristic illustrations, when it

would come as a new sensation to a generation almost unused to such really original work. The puzzle is that one is scarcely certain whether this book with a serious title is not, in part, a romance; and whether, on the other hand, his three-volume tale, *Lavengro; the Scholar—the Gypsy—the Priest*, which followed in 1851, is not a fragment of actual autobiography. At all events, it will well repay perusal. In all his works Borrow asserts a healthy individuality, and we cannot wonder that gypsies, both Spanish and English, were fascinated by such a rare athlete and linguist and explorer of highways and byeways.

It was in 1855 that Anthony Trollope issued his first tale, *The Warden*—brief and quiet, but giving promise of the remarkable family of which it was the father, and whose production extended over five-and-twenty years of unflagging, painstaking work. How the hand that limned the old Warden with such a firm yet delicate touch grew in power and skill and well-deserved popularity year by year, we must not stay to tell. In all the vast workshop of authorship there is no more conscientiously thorough work than that of Mr. Trollope, who has but recently disappeared from our midst, and in whom, we believe, his less fortunate brethren lost a most generous friend. To our mind he was at the best when he drew that exquisite picture of Lillie Dale in the *The Small House at Allington*—a feminine portrait to which neither Dickens nor Thackeray has produced anything at all equal in tenderness and sweetness and grace. In his later tales, though there is apparent much knowledge of man and woman kind, with excellent literary manipulation, the characters delineated are not of a description to deserve the labour bestowed or the study demanded; and, attached as the diligent reader may be to a writer who has won his esteem and admiration, he cannot but feel that it is not worth while to waste time and spirits in the perusal of works so depressing in their tendency.

To the very highest rank of tale-writers belongs also Charles Reade, whose *Never Too Late to Mend* and *Put Yourself in his Place* not only are amongst the liveliest and most fascinating of fictions, but inculcate the grand principles of kindness to the fallen, pity for the prisoner, and doing to others as we would be done unto. In the same category comes also the much-loved name of Charles Kingsley, who, in the stirring times of French Revolution and English

Chartism, threw his warm philanthropic genius into *Alton Locke* and *Yeast*, and won his spurs on a wide field of glory, as poet, naturalist, novelist, and writer for children. A wise and loving soul. Nor must we disserve from him his brother Henry, a writer well deserving of the success which he achieved; but, like his greater brother, taken from us all too soon.

From the pen of Wilkie Collins the latter part of these fifty years has been enlivened with stories of the most ingenious construction, their strong point being the skill with which the plot is concealed, while being worked out with wonderful naturalness and smoothness. The mystery of *The Woman in White*, and of other tales from the same source, has held many a reader to his seat till the book was finished. Of quite a different school are George MacDonald's stories. Far from being *doctrinaire* or sectarian, they yet inculcate the highest lessons, and add to that chosen company of bosom friends whom we gain from the society of the best novels, and who live in our hearts and give us counsel and sympathy.

Of other living novelists we can only record a few of the names. Amongst the veterans, Grant, Sala, Yates—all famous as journalists as well. Among younger men, Besant, Black, Blackmore, Fenn, Hardy, McCarthy, Meredith, Payn, Clark Russell—a roll which gives the best assurance that there will be no falling off in our day in this very important department of literature. But we must not forget to make mention of some of the ladies who have excelled in this branch of labour.

Hannah More, whose stories, chiefly in the form of long and lively tracts, exercised a mighty influence for good on our forefathers, died in 1833, at the ripe age of eighty-eight. Story-telling surely agreed with her active brain. In 1834 Miss Edgeworth, who had already won a niche in the Temple of Fame by her admirable tales, took up her pen once again, at the age of sixty-seven, and gave yet another excellent work—*Helen*—to the generation whom she had done so much to instruct and delight. Miss Mitford had by this time completed her beautiful series of sketches of English rural life, *Our Village*—a striking illustration of the proverbial "Eyes and no eyes," inasmuch as a large portion of the loveliness of character and surroundings, which gives a charm to her pictures, emanated from her own "internal consciousness." On

this point we cannot resist the temptation to quote a good anecdote from Mr. Hall :

“‘Sunny Berkshire’ was a very Arcadia to Mary Russell Mitford : she fought for it against all comers. Now and then, she was forced into admission that it was not quite perfect ; and very reluctantly confessed that its peasants were sometimes boors. She told me this story—how one day she was taken aback. A lady was walking with her through one of the lanes ; they had a tussle of words : one asserting, the other denying, that the peasantry lacked natural courtesy and politeness ; and both had warmed with the discussion. They had to pass through a gate : suddenly a boy who was leading a cow started forward and opened the gate for them. Miss Mitford was delighted : it was a death-blow to her antagonist. The lady was more than surprised : ‘Ah,’ said she to the lad, ‘you’re not Berkshire, I’m sure !’ This was the answer : ‘*Thee’rt a liar, vor I be !*’ I contrasted this illustration of natural courtesy with an anecdote I have heard my father tell. He was in a boat with the daughters of Puxley, of Berehaven ; the six rowers did their best ; each was rewarded by a glass of whisky ; but a merry lass of the party, aiming to play a joke, observing that one of the boatmen was looking away, dipped the wineglass into the water and presented it to him. He drank it off, seemingly without notice, returned her the glass, saying, ‘Thank ye, mee lady,’ instead of the sputtering she expected. In much astonishment she said, ‘What, Pat, do you like salt water ?’ This was his answer : ‘No, mee lady, I don’t like salt water, but if yer ladyship had given me a glass of poison, I’d have drank it !’”

It was in this department of literature that Mrs. S. C. Hall first made a name. She began with *Sketches of Irish Character*, and soon became known as one of the happiest and most kindly delineators of Hibernian peculiarities. These were followed by longer and more ambitious works ; but she is chiefly remembered by her hundreds of sketches and short stories, rather than by her nine novels, which are now rarely to be met with, but which Mr. Hall hopes to issue “as a series—revised, annotated, and prefaced by” himself, with interesting additions. Blessed with a sunny nature, she had the excellent habit of looking on the better side of people and things ; and when she had to point out foibles and defects, she contrived to do it in a way that should not hurt the parties concerned, enlisting her readers on the side of amendment and advance. In a long literary career her pen was a power for good in the cause of temperance and other social reforms, and in softening the

asperities that seem inseparable from Irish politics and controversy; and her whole life was a chain of good works in the sister countries, and leaves behind it a memorable track.

To the earlier part of the fifty years at which we are glancing belongs Mrs. Hofland, as the writer of nearly a hundred books, principally tales for the young. Some of our elder readers will perchance recall the eagerness with which, in their youthful days, they begged or borrowed or bought *The Son of a Genius*; a tale for the copyright of which, for the term of twenty-eight years, Mr. Hall tells us that Harris, of St. Paul's Churchyard, gave the authoress *ten pounds*! realising probably as many hundreds by the numerous editions issued in that period, and grudging an additional ten pounds for the renewal of the agreement. It is the old moral, from Virgil's time downwards: "*Sic vos non vobis mellificatis, apes.*" Mrs. Hofland exercised a mighty influence for good by her writings, which steadily inculcated, as an unknown critic has observed, "the vital importance of fixed principles of justice, honour, and integrity—of Christian virtues founded upon Christian faith—of all that is truly noble in man and lovely in woman." She was a Sheffield lady. Mr. Hall tells us that one of her earliest friends was James Montgomery, and he evidently regrets that the good poet did not marry the sweet authoress in her first widowhood, and so forestall her marriage with T. C. Hofland, the landscape painter, who was an undoubted genius, but as crusty and crabbed as Carlyle himself.

Grace Aguilar belongs also to this period; a young authoress who, dying at the early age of thirty-one, left a name precious alike to her Jewish kindred and to the great circle of Christian readers who treasure her pure and pathetic works. Mrs. Hall's portrait of her is very interesting:

"At our first introduction we were struck as much by the earnestness and eloquence of her conversation as by her delicate and lovely countenance. Her person and address were exceedingly prepossessing, her eyes of the deep blue that looks almost black in particular lights, and her hair dark and abundant. There was no attempt at display, no affectation of learning; no desire to obtrude 'me and my books' upon any one or in any way: in all things she was graceful and well bred. You felt at once that she was a carefully educated gentlewoman; and if there was more

warmth and cordiality of manner than a stranger generally evinces on a first introduction, we remembered her descent, and that the tone of her studies, as well as her passionate love of music, and high musical attainments, had increased her sensibility. When we came to know her better, we were charmed and surprised at her extensive reading, her knowledge of foreign literature, and actual learning, relieved by a refreshing pleasure in juvenile amusements. Each interview increased our friendship, and the quantity and quality of her acquirements commanded our admiration. She had made acquaintance with the beauties of English nature during a long residence in Devonshire, loved the country with her whole heart, and enriched her mind by the leisure it afforded. She had collected and arranged conchological and mineralogical specimens; loved flowers as only sensitive women can love them; and with all this was deeply read in theology and history. Whatever she knew, she knew thoroughly; rising at six in the morning, and giving to each hour its employment; cultivating and exercising her home affections, and keeping open heart for many friends. All these qualities were warmed by a fervid enthusiasm for whatever was high and holy. She spurned all envy and uncharitableness, and rendered loving homage to whatever was great and good. It was difficult to induce her to speak of herself and her own doings."

These ladies, workers in the golden mines of fancy, have had worthy successors in a bright host of authoresses. Miss Charlesworth, in her *Ministering Children* and *Ministry of Life*—Miss Mulock (Mrs. Craik), in her *John Halifax* and other stories—Miss Yonge, in *The Heir of Redclyffe* and a long series of domestic and historic tales—have upheld the standard of female influence for good. At the present day a long roll of amiable women, with the best intentions and a fair average of talent, present again and again the woes and trials of their own sex, or detail the miseries of poor little street Arabs, till the batch of this sort of fancy bread is a good deal overdone and palls upon the public palate.

Of a different class, and void of any obvious moral purpose, are the remarkable tales, of which Miss Brontë set the fashion in *Jane Eyre*—powerful, no doubt, but full of an excitement that can scarcely be held to be healthy for either writer or reader. Much higher ground was taken by "George Eliot" (Mary Ann Evans) in *Adam Bede*; and her subsequent tales, by their exquisite art, fine analysis of character, and rich mother-wit, placed her at the very summit of the hill of fame. Of her we need say the less,

because an appreciative critique on her writings appeared in this REVIEW so recently as October, 1881. Mrs. Gaskell, whose pen dropped from her hand quite unexpectedly and too soon, will long live in the affectionate remembrance of all who have read her *Wives and Daughters*, the unfinished crown of a noble series of works. Amongst the living leaders of the great army of lady novelists may be mentioned such mistresses of the craft as Mrs. Oliphant, Miss Thackeray (Mrs. Richmond Ritchie), Mrs. Henry Wood, Miss Braddon, Mrs. Lynn Linton, Mrs. Riddell, who are followed by a regiment of fair aspirants to literary fame.

The old *mot* about making a nation's *ballads* is now pretty well out of date so far as England is concerned. It ought, in fact, to be altered so as to apply to *stories*. Nowadays you might make up a whole bunch of ballads, string together long strips of songs, and employ the sturdiest sons of Stentor to sing them through London or Manchester streets, without producing even a faint impression on national opinion. But there is a public, of every rank and condition, which will have tales of some sort, and gets them in the shape either of penny "weeklies," sixpenny reprints, or some more expensive form. And it is not quite impossible to insinuate unpalatable doctrines, without giving offence, almost indeed without the process being even suspected, in the engrossing pages of a well-told tale. To this fact many parties in the State are fully alive, and so we have High Church and Dissenting, Conservative and Liberal, Teetotal and other sentiments buried deep in delectable fictions, just as the jalap of early tradition was wont to be concealed in the attractive jam. Reading a miscellaneous assortment of novels, if not to be recommended as an intellectual tonic, at least should operate as an opiate to a careworn mind by distracting its attention from its own worries. But many of the well-meaning tales of the day have not even this recommendation. Lady authors are especially fond of depicting the disagreeables of business and family life in all their *minutiae*. What good end can be answered by such books we are at a loss to divine—excepting, that is, the subjective benefit, that they yield a scant livelihood to the hard-working women who spin these melancholy webs.

This swarm of stories, then, does it really influence public opinion, or is it simply the reflex of that opinion? Partly the one and partly the other. On the one hand, it

is natural for those who are not in the habit of thinking for themselves—and the number is not small—gradually to adopt opinions quite foreign to their usual ones, if they find them reiterated in a book or a series of books. On the other hand, the novel-writer frequently sets his sail to catch the passing breeze of opinion which may waft him into popularity and the safe harbour of publishers' esteem. So the reader is influenced by the writer's surface opinion, and the writer by what he supposes to be the reader's current of thought.

But we will pass on to higher ground. Turning to the poets of fifty years ago, we find Coleridge, after giving the world a taste of his quality in his unfinished *Christabel*, his *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, and his fragmentary *Khubla-khan* and *Odes*, subsiding into complete *dolce far niente* at Highgate, where he poured out unending discourses, on things visible and invisible, to a patient circle of admirers. His poetry still holds a high place in the regard of true lovers of the Muses, and his misty philosophy influenced not a little the metaphysico-theological schools of the coming generation. Mr. Hall was often privileged to be one of his auditors, and his reminiscences of the "old man eloquent," given in his *Retrospect*, and at greater length in his *Memories*, are deeply interesting.

"The wonderful eloquence of his conversation can be comprehended only by those who have heard him speak—'linked sweetness long drawn out;' it was sparkling at times, and at times profound; but the melody of his voice, the impressive solemnity of his manner, the radiant glories of his intellectual countenance, bore off, as it were, the thoughts of the listener from his discourse, who rarely carried away any of the gems that fell from the poet's lips.

"I have listened to him more than once for above an hour, of course without putting in a single word; I would as soon have attempted a song while a nightingale was singing. There was rarely much change of countenance; his face, when I knew him, was overlaid with flesh, and its expression impaired; yet to me it was so tender, and gentle, and gracious, and loving, that I could have knelt at the old man's feet almost in adoration. My own hair is white now; yet I have much the same feeling as I had then, whenever the form of the venerable man rises in memory before me. Yet I cannot recall—and I believe could not recall at the time, so as to preserve as a cherished thing in my remembrance—a single sentence of the many sentences I heard him utter. In his *Table Talk* there is a world of wisdom, but that is only a

collection of scraps, chance-gathered. If any left his presence unsatisfied, it resulted rather from the superabundance than the paucity of the feast."

"At the time I speak of, he was growing corpulent and heavy; being seldom free from pain, he moved apparently with difficulty, yet liked to walk, with shuffling gait, up and down and about the room as he talked, pausing now and then as if oppressed by suffering. I need not say that I was a silent listener during the evenings to which I refer, when there were present some of those who 'teach us from their urns;' but I was free to gaze on the venerable man—one of the humblest, and one of the most fervid, perhaps, of the worshippers by whom he was surrounded, and to treasure in memory the poet's gracious and loving looks—the 'thick waving silver hair'—the still, clear blue eye; and on such occasions I used to leave him as if I were in a waking dream, trying to recall, here and there, a sentence of the many weighty and mellifluous sentences I had heard—seldom with success—and feeling at the moment as if I had been surfeited with honey."

If Mr. Hall could never recall a single sentence from Coleridge's lips, he has at all events succeeded in giving us a vivid picture of his oratory, which was wonderful in its flow, but left no rich deposit on the memories of his hearers—words, "brave words," and nothing more.

The laureate of the period was Robert Southey, whose name as a poet lives rather in his ballads and shorter pieces than in his longer poems. In fact, we fear that his famous epic, *Thalaba the Destroyer*, with its wealth of beauty and grandeur of conception, is thought a little tedious by most of those who peep at it in the present day. Its rhymeless rhythm doubtless is much against it, as well as the redundancy of its descriptions. His *Curse of Kehama*, which had the advantage of rhyme, is perhaps his greatest poem; but the world is oblivious of grand mythological creations, and Southey to-day is known most widely by *The Battle of Blenheim* and other simple pieces, and as one of the best of our English prose-writers. Of all the literary men of this century none bears a more unblemished reputation; of all home-lovers he was the chief and model; and of all family groups, that found under his roof at Greta Hall was the happiest, till death and change broke in upon the charmed circle.

His successor in the laureateship was one whose name will ever be associated with the beautiful Lake country, of which for long years he was as noticeable a feature as the

mist-crowned hills and the sheeny waters. Wordsworth read in nature high hopes and noble aspirations for man. In contrast to the reckless passion of Byron, his poetry gleans lessons from common grass and simple flower and the unspoilt children of the dales; while some of the sonnets of his early days are as stirring in their patriotism and as lofty in their style as those of Milton. Wordsworth belongs to the last century as well as this, but can never be out of date. When many a noisy reputation of our own day has sunk into oblivion, and the poets of sensuousness have returned to their native clay, his pure verse shall still charm the ear and refresh the spirit.

In Mr. Hall these two Lake-dwelling wearers of the laurel crown find an enthusiastic admirer.

"I knew Southey" he says, "only in London, meeting him more than once at the house of Allan Cunningham. I wish I had known more of him, for in my heart and mind he holds a place higher than is held by any great man with whom I have been acquainted. To me he is the *beau idéal* of the Man of Letters: a glory to his calling, to whom all succeeding authors by profession may point back with pride. . . . My remembrance of him is that of a form, not tall, but stately—a countenance full of power, but also of gentleness; and eyes whose keen and penetrating glance had justly caused them to be likened to the hawk's, but that on occasion could beam and soften with the kindest and tenderest emotion. His head was perhaps the noblest and handsomest among English writers of his time."

"I knew him"—Wordsworth—"only in London, where he was more than once my guest; for among his admirers there were none more fervent than were we. I regard William Wordsworth—and I cannot think I over-estimate him—as taking rank next to William Shakespeare among British poets of all the centuries. . . . Walking with him one day from my house in Sloane Street to Piccadilly, I felt prouder than I should have felt if the king had been leaning on my arm. It was said of him that he admired his own poetry more than any other person could, and that he was continually quoting himself. I believe he had that miniature fault. I may recall an illustrative anecdote. He was breakfasting with me, in 1831, and the topic of his exquisite poem on *Yarrow Revisited* in some way came up: he complained that Scott had misquoted him, and taking from a bookcase one of the Waverley novels, read from it the passage—

'The swan *upon* St. Mary's Lake
Floats double: swan and shadow.'

" 'Now,' he said, and I shall never forget the solemn sonorousness

of his voice as he repeated the lines, 'I did not write that; I wrote—

“The swan on *still* St. Mary's Lake
Floats double : swan and shadow.”

It was evidently, to Wordsworth's mind, a most serious subject of complaint.

“Tall, somewhat slender, upright, with a sort of rude grace, his movements suggestive of rustic independence tempered by the delicacy of high intellect—such was Wordsworth to outward seeming when I knew him.”

Fifty years ago Thomas Campbell, who had produced his *Pleasures of Hope* just on the eve of the nineteenth century, was struggling with debt and difficulties, which weighed heavily on his once hopeful soul, and pressed it down below the level of poetry. In 1842, however, he gave to the world yet one more poem, *The Pilgrim of Glencoe*, which the ungrateful world did not receive in as kindly a spirit as it might have done, considering that it owed something to the veteran composer of *Ye Mariners of England*, and other classic verse. When Campbell was editing the *New Monthly*, Mr. Hall acted for a time as his “sub,” and his reflections on the way in which the chief performed his office are very amusing.

“There has seldom been a worse editor. . . . His friend and regular contributor, Talfourd, hit off his character in a sentence : ‘Stopping the press for a week to determine the value of a comma, and balancing contending epithets for a fortnight.’ . . . He never knew where to find the thing he was in search of. His study was a mass of confusion ; articles tendered, good or bad, were sometimes, after a weary search, found thrust behind a row of books on his bookshelf ; and he was rarely known to give an immediate answer, yes or no, to any applicant for admission into his magazine. In short, though a great man, he was utterly unfit to be an editor. I have nearly the same to say of Theodore Hook, Lytton Bulwer, and Tom Hood, who were his successors in the editorial chair.”

In considering the claims of such poets of the bygone years as Campbell and Moore, one may fairly ask, Would such a poem as *The Pleasures of Hope* now bring any young aspirant into the full blaze of popularity and make him a favourite with the public and sought after by the publishers ? Would a series of *Irish Melodies* now procure any man £500 a year for seven years ? We fear not. In

truth we are more exacting than our fathers, and the market is overstocked with precious wares. Probably there are at least five hundred men in the England of our day who are sure they could write about Hope to any extent of smooth hexameters; and there are certainly scores of ladies who fancy—not without some reason—that they could run off *Melodies* of Moore's quality to any amount ordered. But, if it were so, neither poet nor poetess would thereby attain rank or favour in the public eye: for the age has advanced in fastidiousness, and requires, to tickle its ear, something more than the easygoing verse that satisfied a simpler but not more prosaic generation. On the other hand, it is questionable whether the restless crowd of poets of to-day have the patience and the continuity of thought necessary to the composition of a few hundred couplets on one subject; and whether, again, their constant straining after effect would allow them to frame lays so simple, in humour and pathos, language and simile, as the *Melodies*, which, after all, it is more easy to sneer at than to outdo.

But, of all the veteran poets who still graced the stage of life at this period, there is none whose memory deserves more to be cherished than that of James Montgomery—the *Christian poet par excellence* of this century; the one on whom the mantle of the gentle Cowper had fallen, and who enriched our literature with a thousand happy additions of hymnal and other lyrical treasure. All honour to the brave and modest Moravian printer, who in his younger days suffered imprisonment for singing a joyous strain on the Fall of the Bastille, but who bore no bitterness for that against the powers that then had rule in this free England of ours! The mighty influence which he exercised on his contemporaries by his sweet but never vapid lines, his rounded but always purposeful verses—by his pleas for the climbing boy, for the slave, for missions, for progress and liberty of thought—by his hymns, adopted by nearly every Protestant denomination—can scarcely be over-estimated. The town of steel must never forget its quiet but most illustrious citizen.

With his we may join the name of Mrs. Hemans, whose lyrics, if more ambitious in style, and sometimes a little high-flown, are yet for the most part interwoven with the very fibres of the popular heart. In some respects she might be termed the English Longfellow, though she did

not live to carry out her workmanship to the polished finish and artistic excellence of the American master. Her admirers were not simply the select few, but the great body of her countrymen and women, by whom her shorter, less ambitious efforts, appealing strongly to home affections, were cherished as "household words." It is nearly fifty years since this highly gifted woman died, all too young, yet no way loth to leave a hard and troublous world. On Sunday, April 26th, 1835, just three weeks before her death, she dictated her last poem, *The Sabbath Sonnet*, which is characteristic at once of her style of thought and of her devoutness of soul :

"How many blessed groups this hour are wending,
Through England's primrose meadow paths, the way
Toward spire and tower, 'mid shadowy elms ascending,
Whence the sweet chimes proclaim the hallowed day!
The halls, from old heroic ages grey,
Pour their fair children forth; and hamlets low,
With whose thick orchard blooms the soft winds play,
Send out their inmates in a happy flow,
Like a freed vernal stream. I may not tread
With them those pathways, to the feverish bed
Of sickness bound; yet, O my God! I bless
Thy mercy, that with Sabbath peace hath filled
My chastened heart, and all its throbbings stilled
To one deep calm of lowliest thankfulness."

Among those who added lustre to this period, the name of Thomas Hood shines forth as a star. The quips and quirks and puns and happy conceits which stud his humorous pieces so thickly, and which have furnished a storehouse for the hard-beset scribes of the melancholy "comics" of our times, were not so much a part of himself as the more serious vein of poetry which he had worked but at intervals, and from which came forth the memorable *Song of the Shirt*, and the still more sterling *Bridge of Sighs*, which alone would suffice to keep his memory green amongst us. Though he was barely forty-six when he died, few pens have done more than his to enforce the true evangelic lesson of love to all, and of special kindness to the poor and unfortunate. He was succeeded by his son, Tom Hood the younger, a man of excellent parts and almost equal genius to his father, but whose brilliant talents and fine *physique* were quickly consumed in comic

journalistic work and the concomitants of a rapid public life. He died at the early age of forty.

We pass to a later generation of poets, among whom one commanding name bears sway—the bright, pure name of Alfred Tennyson, laureate by right as well as by royal appointment. His first volume of poems saw the light in 1830, and of itself would not have gained him permanent fame, though it contained the germ of later developments. His performance has been tenfold better than his early promise; and as a poet of the finest fancy and choicest diction, a religious philosopher of the highest stamp, a laureate fitted to commemorate worthily the death of mighty warrior or wise prince, or to draw immortal lessons from the loss of a bosom friend, he holds peerless rank in these later years of a stirring, advancing century. Long may he live, to charm and instruct a listening nation!

Standing nearest the throne of the poetic chief is the noteworthy figure of Robert Browning, a quite distinct and original genius, whose poetry is full—too full for the otiose reader—of an intense dramatic fire and force, piled up with life-like detail and allusion, yet even in its shorter pieces, attractive though they are, often demands three or four perusals before the intelligent student can get the clue to the riddle of its purpose. In his last volume, *Jocoseria*, Mr. Browning has made a decided advance in intelligibility, and there can be little doubt of his being one of the few who will live as a classic for the coming generation. His wife, Elizabeth Barrett, was of a different school. Learned as Lady Jane Grey or Elizabeth Carter, she yet was intensely human and modern in her sympathies, and has left the impression of being one of the very highest poetesses that England has as yet produced. For many years this distinguished couple were spared to do the best literary work side by side, fit companions in genius and geniality of spirit.

In like manner it was the happiness of the children's poet and story-teller, the good Mary Howitt, to pass a long life of literary work in the society of a noble-minded husband; he working away at his prose, and she at her rhymes and tales, or both conjointly at some miscellany of prose or verse. All honour to these worthy *collaborateurs*, who wrote so much to instruct and delight, and whose abilities were always enlisted on the side of the pure and

the just! William Howitt passed away in 1879, at the ripe age of eighty-four. Two of his early works—*The Rural Life of England* and *The Boy's Country Book*—deserve a niche on the shelves of every true lover of the country. The latter, in its unabridged form, is one of the best boys' books we know—that is, for the juniors, unadulterated by public school life.

The stirring times of the French Revolution of 1848, and of the Crimean War a few years later, gave impulse to much lyrical work, and several young poets burst into song. Amongst these are especially notable Sydney Dobell, Alexander Smith—both since dead, both full of the highest promise; the latter early giving up devotion to the Muse in consequence of the bitterly hostile and unfair criticism to which he was subjected by some jealous brother of the pen—and Gerald Massey, who still lives and writes, though unhappily he gives his old admirers no more of those sweet love-poems which won him fame thirty years ago, and one, or more, of which is to be found in nearly every standard selection from our best poetry. In this younger school are also to be included the names of Professor Aytoun, who published his popular *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, in 1848—Philip James Bailey, the author of *Festus*—George Macdonald, poet, preacher, and novelist—John Westland Marston, the dramatist—and Charles Kingsley, whose fine genius was essentially poetical, and proved its power in *The Saint's Tragedy*, and a few beauteous fragments. Charles Swain, at this and an earlier date, wrote many popular songs; Dr. Charles Mackay has during a long life enriched the land with some of our best national ballads; and a host of others still living have laboured in the same field. Into the poetic merits of Morris and Buchanan and Allingham and Swinburne—all men of mark—we must not stay to enter.

In hymn-writing a decided advance has been made in our time. As our forefathers held that it was unfair that the devil should have all the good tunes, so it has seemed right to this generation that the highest poetic talent should be devoted to the service and praise of God. Hence it comes to pass that in the hymn books of nearly every denomination will now be found, interspersed with the sound old dogmatic verse of the ancestors, the beautiful lyrics of Heber, Milman, Montgomery, Keble, Lyte, Stanley, Elliott, Waring, Havergal, Bunting—Wordsworth, Trench, Baker,

Bonar, and others happily still living; and there is now the less excuse for not selecting, at least occasionally, for the use of the great congregation, sweet strains of praise and prayer, instead of the condensed creeds in rhyme with which our fathers were too long content.

To pass to the region of history and biography. One bright name fills with its lustre the greater part of the era under review; and though, of late, a narrow criticism has endeavoured to dim its radiance, we may safely predict that Macaulay's *History* will outlive the toughest of its depreciators. It was in 1848 that the first two volumes of it appeared, and by their marvellous success made a red-letter day in the publishing trade, rousing the dingy depths of Paternoster Row to an unwonted excitement. And now, after the lapse of five-and-thirty years, the work is still read and re-read, and, spite of a few errors, exaggerations, and prejudices, will hold sway till some historian arises with mightier gifts and more charming style than this exceptionally qualified man possessed. Armed at all points with a perfect knowledge of the period he treats, furnished with an inexhaustible memory—the despair of his imitators and rivals, he gives a microscopic view of an absorbingly interesting portion of English story, and depicts it with a skill and on a scale that will always keep his work distinct as an unfinished and incomparable fragment. It is amusing to find Carlyle sneering at the work, recommending as a *passetemps* “the last volume of Macaulay's *History*, or any other novel;” since one is apt to remember that the sage of Cheyne Row was himself no mean romancer when he laboured ponderously to convert that pinchbeck professor, Frederick the Great, into a golden hero.

Lord Macaulay, successful in most of the affairs of this life, with brilliant reputation as orator, statesman, essayist, historian, and poet, was especially fortunate in having a model biographer—his nephew, Mr. Trevelyan, now filling with such ability the dangerous and glorious post of Secretary for Ireland—whose *Life* of his uncle is a most readable book.

To this period belongs also Carlyle himself, and in it he moves as one of the chief figures, massive, rugged, mystical. Some of his teaching, in his *Sartor Resartus* and *Heroes*, was perhaps calculated to produce good effect on the rising men of the day, by rousing them to a bolder form of

thought and action. Amongst much dross and dust and rubbish, the pure gold of energy and hard work rings out here and there with shrill effect. "Do the duty which lies nearest thee," without waiting for some ideal opportunity to present itself—this is one of the points on which he strongly insists. Whether it was necessary or desirable to envelope some very simple truths and well-known maxims in such a fog and cloud of words, and to construct such an outlandish tongue out of the good English of which he had once been a master, is a matter on which we will not pronounce. Possibly he was in this respect wise in his generation, knowing well that the thick air of mystery clouding his axioms would pique the curiosity of the multitude of readers, who are inclined, now as ever, to accept "*omne ignotum pro magnifico*." The absurdities of his pantheism and hero-worship need not here be dwelt upon. In his histories and biographies his homage was given rather to the men of strong nerves and unscrupulous action than to those of noble aspiration and patient performance. He was most at home in describing the attack on the Bastille, or illuming here and there the congenial cloudiness of Cromwell, or worshipping the selfish autocrat of Prussia.

The late Earl Stanhope—long known as Lord Mahon—takes his place in this half-century, in the course of which he published many painstaking and conscientious works of history and biography, which, if they have not the picturesque power of Macaulay, or the grotesque force of Carlyle, possess a quiet value of their own for the plodding student. For an excellent History of France we are indebted to Eyre Evans Crowe; and for a popular one of Modern Europe to Dr. T. H. Dyer; whilst Sir George Cornwall Lewis displayed his acute critical faculty in several historical and linguistic essays; and Dr. John Doran—one of the earliest contributors to the LONDON QUARTERLY—discoursed, in his own inimitable fashion, on *Table Traits, Habits and Men*, and a multitude of quasi-historical subjects, lighting up the highways and byeways of olden life and manners from his unbounded store of anecdote and antiquarian lore. With him we cannot but commemorate one of the most brilliant essayists of our day—Thomas M'Nicoll, for a time editor of this REVIEW; whose high poetic ability and exquisite critical taste were lost to the world by his early death. Another delightful

author who has gone over to "the majority" is Sir Arthur Helps, who shone not only as a historian of the Spanish Conquest in America, but still more in his *Friends in Council*, a book which brings the lonely reader into lifelike and enduring companionship and converse with the finest minds of the day.

Both as tale-writer and as historian the Chaplain-General to the Forces, Mr. Gleig, has distinguished himself, and thrown light on the military career. Nor must we omit mention of that indefatigable author, Sir Archibald Alison, whose *History of Europe* from 1789 to 1852, in no less than twenty-eight volumes, while presenting an excellent item of furniture for the shelves of a roomy library, has at least the merit of being a well-arranged storehouse of important facts. To Miss Strickland also we are indebted for a great number of volumes, evincing much original research, and containing Lives of Queens, Princesses, Bishops, and Bachelor Kings—the last certainly a most appropriate subject for the pen of a learned spinster.

Amongst the historians and biographers of the last five-and-twenty years special notice is due to the late John Forster, whose Lives of Goldsmith, Eliot, and Dickens are admirable pieces of literary workmanship; to Mr. Froude, who has treated with much research and freshness of view the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; Mr. Lecky, who has discoursed on the Rise of Rationalism and the early History of European Morals; Mrs. Everett Green, for her *Lives of the Princesses of England*, and other valuable works; Mr. Freeman, who has pictured the Norman Conquest with vigour and ability; Professor David Masson, who devoted twenty-one years to an exhaustive Life of Milton in conjunction with the history of his times; Sir Theodore Martin, whose *Life of the Prince Consort* is a fitting record of a noble career; Canon Rawlinson, one of our highest authorities on ancient history; the late Mr. Green, whose *Short History of the English People* was regarded as the prelude to still better work, and was accordingly expanded by him into a much more perfect book; and Mr. Justin MacCarthy, who, notwithstanding his Home Rule proclivities, has given to the world a very readable *History of our Own Times*. This department of literature is continually being enriched by the publication of diaries and autobiographies of great interest; as a sample of which we may take the *Diary* of Crabb Robin-

son, and *The Greville Memoirs*, both full of amusing gossip about great men and small.

In the literature of physical and metaphysical science, we must content ourselves with a bare mention of a few of the names that have lent lustre to the last fifty years. In geology, Sir Roderick Murchison, Professor Sedgwick, and Sir Charles Lyell lead the way; all three born in the last century, and lasting respectively to the good literary ages of seventy-nine, seventy-seven, and seventy-six: a brave hard-headed trio, who did much to advance a most interesting study. Michael Faraday, the great chemist, also, who rose from being a bookbinder's apprentice to be the renowned discoverer in electricity and the popular exponent of science to delighted audiences of princes, philosophers, and children, at the Royal Institution, reached the fair age of seventy-six. Charles Robert Darwin, the minute explorer into the wonders of animal and vegetable life, the ingenious inventor of theories which have given unnecessary shocks to the weak in faith, by his numerous works exercised great influence on scientific thought. The venerable name of Professor Owen will always be associated with the great advance made within the last forty years in the fascinating science of Comparative Anatomy; in which a younger and no less illustrious authority is Professor Huxley; while Professor Tyndall discourses enthusiastically, in lectures and books, on the wonderful properties of Heat, Light, Dust, &c. From a literary point of view special interest attaches to the name of Hugh Miller, who, devoting a great share of his life to geological research, possessed a remarkable graphic faculty, which enabled him to infuse grace and vitality into the driest mass of material. His autobiographic fragment, *My Schools and Schoolmasters*, will always have intense attraction for the lovers of a good personal history.

Those charming old romancers, the buccaneers and explorers of olden times, have had a more staid and accurate, though no less adventurous, succession of sons in the African travellers of our days—Livingstone, Speke and Grant, Baker, Stanley, and Du Chaillu; while the ladies have been well represented all round the globe by Miss Bird, Lady Brassey, Miss Gordon Cumming, and other itinerants.

The study of metaphysics can scarcely be said to have made much advance in this half-century, or to occupy so

prominent a position in literature as it did in the preceding fifty years. Men's minds, whether for good or for evil, are bent more on solving mechanical and economic problems than on discussing the *Ego* and the *Non-ego*, and mapping out the higher provinces of thought-land. The chief publications have been, on the one hand, the Lectures of Sir William Hamilton, carefully edited by Mansell and Veitch, and, on the other, the various works of the acute but limited John Stuart Mill.

A great feature in the literature of to-day is the multiplication of periodical works. Magazines, reviews, weekly papers, are produced in an ever increasing ratio, till at length every shade of thought, every trade and profession, seems to have its own particular organ in the press. Amongst the older papers *Punch*, by its wit and wisdom, still keeps a foremost place. About its earlier and wilder years clustered such a galaxy of wits as England has seldom seen united in any undertaking—Douglas Jerrold, Thomas Hood, Thackeray, Dickens, Gilbert Abbot & Beckett, Mark Lemon, Shirley Brooks, Tom Taylor; aided by the ready pencils of Doyle and Leech and Tenniel. And now, though in this, as in some other things, we may sometimes think that the former days were better than these, still, under the genial editorship of Mr. Burnand, this oldest of the "comics" still maintains a deservedly high position. A new departure has been the throwing open of the pages of certain periodicals for the discussion of controverted topics by eminent men on both sides: a method which has striking advantages, but which also operates for the propagation of doubtful and noxious tenets, which would command no attention or circulation in the ancient form of book or pamphlet, but, like the "Gipsy Countess," would be left "to die in their own native shade."

Our glance at the literary life of the last fifty years has, of necessity, been cursory and imperfect. Such is the number of new books constantly issuing from the press, that without converting an article into a catalogue, it would be impossible even to name those that win a temporary fame. And it does not at all follow that those only are the "fittest" which survive for a few years. Success is often due—in books as in soap or starch or blacking—to persevering puffing, and to the influence of powerful friends. This is evidently an age of "the making of books," in every sense; and with the multitude of books there seems

to come, more and more visibly, a tendency to universal mediocrity. Possibly this is only a lull before a storm of great writers bursts upon us, as has happened once and again in our national history. The world of bright thought and poetic emotion is by no means used up as yet, and the dull level of a critical, matter-of-fact generation may be but a bit of the high road to a paradise of appreciation in which the coming poets and other masters of the literary art shall bask and revel. May they, when they have to quit the stage of life, leave behind them as kindly a chronicler of their foibles and as brave an assertor of their virtuous qualities as Mr. Hall is for the men and women of bygone years! To his volumes we refer the reader for much pleasant gossip about authors and artists, with the latter of whom his editorship of the *Art Journal* for forty-two years brought him into close intercourse. Through the whole work shines a devout spirit, and the close of a long life of literary labour is in his case brightened by the comfortable assurance of soon rejoining the excellent woman who was his companion on earth for fifty-six years. We feel sincere respect and regard for the veteran whose career has been an honour to the profession of letters, and who, in his *Farewell* to his readers and friends, can thus speak of the last enemy :

“Why shrink from Death? Come when he will or may,
The night he brings will bring the risen day.
His call, his touch, I neither seek nor shun;
His power is ended when his work is done.
My Shield of Faith no cloud of Death can dim:
Death cannot conquer me! I conquer him!”

ART. VI.—1. *The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament.*

By G. A. JACOB, D.D. London: Dickinson.

2. *Inquiry into the Principles of Church Authority.*

By R. I. WILBERFORCE, M.A. London: Longmans.

THIS theory stands in the same relation to Romanism as the doctrine of Justification by Faith alone does to Protestantism; it is the key to the whole system. With it the entire Papal system stands or falls. Not without good reason do Romanist preachers and writers put "the Church" in the forefront of all their teaching. To argue out each separate doctrine of Romanism would be an almost endless task. On such a method conversions would be few indeed. The Romish controversialist takes a far more summary course. His whole strength is spent on the effort to establish the position that God has appointed a living, visible authority—the Church—to be the sole interpreter of His will and Word. We are to believe, not what we think Scripture says, but what the Church says the Scripture says. In other words, not our understanding of Scripture, but the Church's interpretation of Scripture, is to determine our faith. On this subject High Churchman and Ritualist are at one with Romanist. Almost any day teaching may be heard on this vital question from Ritualist lips precisely similar to the teaching of Rome. "Prove all things," St. Paul says. "Hear the Church," is the modern direction. The very fact that this doctrine is being disseminated so widely in such influential quarters and in such plausible forms, renders it all the more necessary that the character of the doctrine, the issues it involves, and the grounds on which it rests, should be well understood.

When the Council of Trent co-ordinates the traditions preserved in the Church with Scripture as a rule of faith, it co-ordinates the Church itself with Scripture, because only the Church can tell us what these traditions are. Let it be observed that while the Church is verbally co-ordinated with Scripture, it is practically made superior, because we can only know Scripture through the Church. We are not allowed to check tradition by Scripture. The Church

is thus interposed between us and God speaking in His Word. All direct contact with God is cut off. Our immediate dependence is on this secondary authority. The greatest genius, the sincerest inquiry, may fail to discover the distinctive doctrines of Romanism in Scripture—Purgatory, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, Virgin-Worship, Prayers to Saints, but if the Church decides that they are there, we must accept the decision.

One obvious remark is, that Scripture says nothing of this power that was in after times to be co-ordinate with itself. According to Romanist teaching it lay in Christ's purpose that an elaborate organisation should be set up to be the interpreter of His will on earth, and yet neither He nor His Apostles say a word on the subject. No such intermediate authority existed or was dreamt of in the first centuries after the Apostles. The modern Romanist system can only be got out of the saying to Peter and the simple utterances respecting the Church and Kingdom of Heaven by being first arbitrarily read into them. This is surely passing strange. The addition made to the New Testament by the theory in question is quite as great as the addition made by the New Testament to the Old. At least if it is not, on what ground can Rome anathematise all who dissent from her? But while the New-Testament dispensation was foretold and prefigured in every possible way, of the later development no intimation was given. That there was to be a visible hierarchy, alone commissioned to speak in God's name, was never said, or anything like it. No prophet or apostle gives any sign of having anticipated it. Considering the issues involved, is it not reasonable to suppose that the New Testament would have contained some intimations of the intended supplement as the Old did? We do not ask to be shown the Papal system in Scripture, but any presentiment of it in the future.

Is it not also reasonable to suppose that this outward authority, putting itself on a level with Scripture, would be attested by evidence equally clear and decisive? When Rome challenges our obedience as imperatively as Christ Himself, we ask, What sign showest thou? Like demands should be supported by like credentials. Where is the miraculous attestation of the Papal claims? It need not be permanent in one case more than in the other. We only ask that the evidence be as complete and trustworthy. It need scarcely be said that no evidence is forthcoming that

will bear comparison with the credentials of Scripture. The fitful displays of miraculous power sometimes alleged by Romanist writers will scarcely be brought forward in this connection. Alas for the history of the Gospels if its miraculous basis were no sounder than the history of Papal miracles! We are sometimes pointed to the antiquity and historical continuity of the Papacy. But old as the Papal system may be, it is not old enough for the purpose in view. Where was that system, either in theory or practice, during the first five centuries at least? Did Origen, Tertullian, Eusebius, the two Gregories acknowledge any dependence on Rome? Did not the High-Church Cyprian oppose the Roman bishop? Were the Great Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, Chalcedon summoned by the Roman bishop? Where during these ages is there any trace of the supremacy usurped since? What becomes then of the boast of unbroken continuity? As to the history of the Papacy, the best that can be said truthfully is that it is of a very mixed character. No higher wisdom, purity and mercy mark it off as God's kingdom upon earth. The motto of the Popes has never been, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal." There are no darker pages in human history than some of those which tell the lives and doings of the Popes of Rome. Wise advocates of Rome will not provoke retort by appeals to history.

It is evident that the theory of an interpreting Church implies that Scripture in itself is obscure, that the revelation given to teach man the way of life does not teach it effectually, that ordinary human judgment is not to be trusted to interpret Scripture correctly. And in fact all this is alleged in so many words by Romish writers as the ground of the necessity of an interpreter. The obscurity and incompleteness of Scripture, the danger of private judgment, the dissensions that are sure to spring up without an authoritative teacher at hand, are favourite topics with Romish advocates from Bellarmine to Moehler and Newman. As to all that is said about the Bible being a book with a history, a book steeped in strange associations, which must be understood in order to a perfect knowledge of the Bible, all this is beside the mark. No Christian writer of any age has made Biblical learning a condition of salvation. If it were, the majority of the members even of an infallible Church would fare poorly. In all that concerns the history, antiquities, chronology

of Scripture, an infallible Church gives no help. The only obscurity that can come into question here is that which is alleged to rest upon the central, saving truths of Scripture. Whether the fact is as alleged, we will not argue here, although we could do so with the utmost confidence. Assuming for the moment the truth of the statement, we ask, What is the substitute proposed? There is no more certain maxim of common sense than this, that anything professing to be an explanation should be clearer than the text it explains. Supposed to be unable to gather the teaching of Scripture for ourselves with certainty, we are sent to the authoritative definitions of the Church, which are to be found in the decisions of Councils and Popes, decisions scattered over a history of fifteen hundred years. Can we understand these? Every one knows that a very moderate acquaintance with all that there is to be known in this field is a mark of no ordinary learning. If there was ever a more palpable case of explaining the obscure by the more obscure, we never heard of it. As matter of fact, the believer in Church authority is not supposed to consult his teacher at first hand. The thing is impossible. The only part of the teaching of the Church that reaches him is what filters to him through ordinary fallible teachers. What then have we gained by forsaking the Bible for the Church? Instead of applying the reason God has given us to His own living words, we are applying it to the interpretation by a fallible priest of definitions and dogmas which we have no means of testing for ourselves, but which we simply accept on trust, and which the priest himself in most cases accepts on trust. Why not apply it at once to the original documents, which are the acknowledged basis of these human interpretations? Is one act more difficult than the other? To us the whole process seems like forsaking the fountain of living waters for broken cisterns that can hold no water.

We would here specially note how vain is the attempt to get rid of that terror of Romanism—private judgment. The right of the individual, on his responsibility to God alone, to interpret Scripture for himself, and try all teachers and teaching by it, is denounced in every possible form as the mother of heresy, the sin of Arius, Nestorius, Luther, and so on. One would think from the language used that it is only the Protestant who uses his own judgment in the acceptance of religious truth. Nothing

can be more fallacious. How does any one convince himself of the necessity of an infallible Church, and that the Romish Church is that Church, but by the use of the very same powers by which the Protestant judges of the truth and meaning of Scripture? How does any one persuade himself that private judgment is wrong but by the use of private judgment? If it is to be trusted on this question, why not on others? If it gives certainty to the Romanist, why not to the Protestant? How can any one, for example, outside the Romish Church bring himself to the admission of its claims but by inquiry and reflection, that is, by that use of the powers of reason which is so strongly condemned? All his subsequent course as a member of the Romish Church—his repudiation of the use of his own reason, his submission to authority—is based on that one supreme decision. The only difference we are able to discover between his position and that of the Protestant, is that the former concentrates the exercise of his reason into a single critical act, while the latter spreads it over his whole life.

Let us also carefully observe the nature of the question forming the subject-matter of this momentous decision. The question whether a particular Church is the infallible authority desired is purely historical, it can only be decided on historical grounds. We need scarcely say that there are no questions whose decision lays such a severe tax on the intellectual powers, as questions belonging to the sphere of history. To be quite sure that we have included all the necessary data, to hold an even balance between conflicting witnesses, to decide on opposing probabilities, to draw the right conclusion from a complicated mass of evidence, is the hardest of all possible tasks. And yet this is the kind of question decided in the present case. Before we can identify any particular Church with the authority supposed to be necessary, we must know the whole history of the Church, and be sure that it corresponds to the ideal. What is any question which arises for the student of Scripture in comparison with this one? If I am able to decide in such a case as the one proposed here, much more must I be able to understand all of Scripture that it is necessary to salvation for me to understand. It may be said that neither the born Romanist nor the convert to Romanism really decides any such question, but simply accepts the judgment of others. Still

he must decide respecting the competence and trustworthiness of those whose judgment he accepts. Turn which way we please, there is no escaping the necessity of reliance upon our own knowledge and reason. At last the faith of every one rests on the basis of his own convictions. "Every man shall bear his own burden." With what right, then, can Protestantism be called a religion of private judgment, the sport of individual fancy and caprice, and Romanism a religion independent of the fallibleness of the individual? What reason is there for this constant harping on the limits and infirmities of human reason? If such limitation and imperfection render a Protestant's faith uncertain, they do precisely the same to a Romanist's. Even if the latter really possesses—as he fancies—an infallible guide in religious truth, his belief in that guide as infallible rests on personal inquiry and conviction at some point. And the question which he has decided affirmatively is infinitely more delicate and complex than any which a Protestant has occasion to decide.

Another principal reason alleged for the necessity of a permanent authoritative interpreter is the possibility, and indeed certainty, of different views being taken of the meaning of Scripture. The "variations" of Protestantism are an inexhaustible topic of Romish controversialists. The misunderstanding prevalent on this subject is very great. A common mistake is in making Protestantism responsible for all the opinions of individual Protestants. There is no distinction on which Romanist writers more insist on their own side than the one between doctrines *de fide* (i.e., accepted doctrines of their Church), and allowable differences on points not settled, or different interpretations even of settled dogmas. But they always forget to make this distinction on the other side. Even learned writers like Moehler assume that all the opinions ever held by Luther, Calvin, and others, are part and parcel of Protestant belief, just as some writers nowadays assume that Wesleyanism is responsible for every opinion of John Wesley. Again, when Romish writers deny any distinction of essential and non-essential doctrines, they judge from their own standpoint. On the other hand, we strongly maintain the distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental, and assert that no divergence has ever arisen on any fundamental doctrine between Protestant creeds and Churches. Lutheran, Reformed, Presbyterian, An-

glican, Nonconformist, are all agreed on this class of questions. The most serious point of doctrine that has ever divided the Protestant world is Calvinism, and no Protestant would allow that it is fundamental. If the Romanist asserts that it is, we remind him that Augustine was the original Predestinarian, and that the same divergence has existed in his own Church. We know of no other doctrinal divergence within the limits of Protestantism that will compare in importance with this. The burning questions of Protestantism are, and always have been, questions of polity. The mode of controversy adopted by Romish writers on this subject is eminently unfair. Even the best of them invariably select the rare, exceptional cases, strong sayings of Reformers torn from their context, and treat them as representative. Never may Protestants imitate this example. To take a single example, much is made of the rigid doctrine of human depravity held by Luther, Calvin, and still more strongly by less known writers. But it is never stated that such phases of belief are peculiar to individuals or communities, and that Augustine, the favourite Father of Roman Catholics, held a doctrine of human depravity as extreme as the extremest ever professed in Protestantism. The argument from divisions of opinion must be made much better and stronger before it can serve the purpose of the Roman theory.

By way of showing the superiority of the Church to Scripture, Romanist and Ritualist preachers are fond of saying that the Church gave us the Bible and existed before it. As this mode of representation is calculated to impress ordinary congregations, it may be worth while to test its accuracy. When it is said that the Church is older than Scripture, to what extent is this true? The only period when the Christian Church was without the New-Testament Scriptures was during some portion of the lives of the Apostles, who were the living Scriptures of the Church. Any one who reflects on the matter for a moment will see that this must have been the case. Directly the inspired books were written, they became Scripture. If they did not bear this character at first, how could they have acquired it afterwards? The few extant traces of the New-Testament Scriptures during the earliest years, due to the scantiness of the literary remains of the period, the local circulation of some books, and the gradual coming into general use of all, do not affect the essential fact. All who

acknowledge the New-Testament books as the work of their inspired authors, as of course Roman Catholics do, must acknowledge that the case is as we have stated it. When the statement that the Church existed before Scripture is thus explained, to what does it amount? In what sense is the other statement true, namely, that the Church has given us the Bible? Not in the sense that the Bible owes its authority to the sanction of the Church. If it were so, of course the supremacy of the Church would be established. But we only owe the Bible to the Church in the sense that the Church is its guardian and witness. The Church received, it did not make, the Bible. The Christian Church has fulfilled the same function with respect to the New Testament which the Jewish Church did with respect to the Old. The functions of both are purely ministerial. The Church of the first centuries stood in the same relation to Scripture as the Church of the nineteenth century, *i.e.*, it is the servant, not the master, of the Word. This is the only representation which squares with the facts of history. If the Church ever by its own authority made any books into Scripture, *i.e.*, imparted to any books a canonical character which they had not before, it must be easy to say when and where this was done. But no such act can be pointed out. The first formal reference to this subject is at the Council of Carthage, 397 A.D. All that this merely local Council professed to do was to name the books which the Church then received and had received from the beginning as inspired. It would be absurd to suppose that it professed to do or could do anything else. Our faith in the New-Testament Scriptures rests not on the decision of this local Council, but on the continuous use and faith of the Church as ascertained from Christian writers long before. The next reference to the subject at any Council was at the Papal Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. These are the only instances of Church action on the subject, and on both occasions the Apocrypha was recognised as part of the Old Testament. We again ask, where and when did the Church by any official act ever attempt to constitute Scripture? In truth, the Church in its worst days has known better than to assume any such function. Before the days of the North African Synod, the great Councils of Nicæa (325) and Constantinople (381) appealed to the New Testament, and based their momentous definitions.

solely on its teachings. Every Council that has ever spoken in the name of the Church, great or small, has always appealed to Scripture as supreme. How then could Councils ever make Scripture? And we are not aware that the Church has ever spoken unitedly except through Councils. None would be more amazed at this claim of superiority to Scripture made on behalf of the Church in the nineteenth century than the early Fathers and Councils. The settlement of the Canon of Scripture by the Church simply meant the recognition by the Church that such and such books had been received from the beginning as Divinely inspired. In the nature of the case it could not mean that the Church gave certain books a character which they did not possess before. The Church could only recognise what was already fact.

Writers of the school we are criticising are fond of quoting a saying of Augustine's in one of his writings against the Manichæans: "I should not believe the Gospel if the authority of the Catholic Church did not move me."* What Augustine means by "authority" in this sentence can, of course, only be learnt from the context. In our judgment the context utterly excludes the meaning put on the sentence by our opponents, namely, that the Gospel owes its acceptance as Divine to the "authority" of the Church. Augustine means the authority of the Church as a witness to the fact that certain books had come down from the Apostles. If he meant his words in the other sense, he was mistaken, as he was mistaken on other points; for example, in his rigid doctrine of predestination. Where and when before his days did the Church do what is attributed to it? Before his days we find Christian writers constantly using and appealing to the books of the New Testament as Scripture. Bishop Stillingfleet, in his *Grounds of the Protestant Religion*, has conclusively shown that the quotation from Augustine will, in its context, bear no other meaning than the one we have given it. At least, if his explanation can be refuted, we should be glad to see it done. We quote a passage or two from Stillingfleet. "The question we see is concerning the proving the apostleship of Manichæus, which cannot in itself be proved but from some *Records*, which must specify such an apostleship of his; and to any one who

* Shedd's *History of Christian Doctrine*, Vol. I. p. 144.

should question the *authenticity* of those *Records*, it can only be proved by the *testimony* and *consent* of the Catholic Church, without which St. Austin professeth he should never have believed the Gospel, *i.e.*, *that these were the only true and undoubted Records, which are left us of the doctrine and actions of Christ.*" After other illustrations, he proceeds: "If the question be whether any writing itself be authentic or no, then it stands to the greatest reason that the *testimony* of the Catholic Church should be relied on, which by reason of its large spread and continual succession from the very time of those writings cannot but give the most indubitable testimony concerning the authenticity of the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists." "Neither you, nor any of those you call Catholic authors, will ever be able to prove that St. Austin, by these words, ever dreamt of any infallible authority in the present Church, as might be abundantly proved from the chapter foregoing, where he gives an account of his being in the Catholic Church from the *consent of people and nations, from that authority which was begun by miracles, nourished by hope, increased by charity, confirmed by continuance*, which certainly are not the expressions of one who resolved his faith into the infallible testimony of the present Church."

This question of the relation of the Church to Scripture is so important, and is so constantly brought forward by preachers of the school referred to, that we must ask leave to be allowed to confirm the view we have advocated of the nature of the relation by another authority. Professor Charteris, in his recent work, *The New-Testament Scriptures*, puts the matter thus: * "If then we are asked why these books of our Canon are canonical, we must answer that it is because they are apostolical, and because the Church is founded upon the Apostles. If asked whether this is not such an acknowledgment of the power of the Church to fix the Canon as Roman Catholic apologists claim, we can easily show that it was very different. By 'the Church,' they mean the organised corporation; in point of fact, its office-bearers formally constituted. Some of them—witness Cardinal Newman—even go so far as to say that we receive the Canon on the authority of the Church of the fourth or fifth centuries. But the Church gave no decision during

* Page 187. The whole chapter from which this extract is taken is most interesting and important.

those centuries. There is not in the whole history of the Church of Christ down to the Council of Trent, in 1546, any decree or formal utterance of the Church fixing the Canon. There was in Carthage, A.D. 397, a local gathering (what Presbyterians would call a meeting of presbytery), representing forty-four parishes, at which Augustine was present. Its 'decree' speaks of Canonical Scriptures, but it does not claim any authority to fix the Canon. It regards 'Canonical Scriptures' as already agreed upon, how or when it does not say; and its only concern is to forbid any other books to be read in church under the name of 'Divine Scriptures.' It throws us back to earlier times for the process and the conclusions indicated by its familiar use of the phrase 'Canonical Scriptures.' The earlier Council of Laodicea, A.D. 364, has left no genuine decree on the contents of the Canon. We can challenge the Roman Catholic, or any imitators, to point to any authoritative utterance of what he calls 'the Church' before the Council of Trent. Even if he shared the belief enjoined by recent decrees of the Vatican, and claimed that a Pope should speak with Church authority, he would find on this subject no sure voice of even a Pope till about a hundred years before the Tridentine Council, when Pope Eugenius (A.D. 1441) promulgated the same list of books as the Council afterwards sanctioned."

So again he says, "Eusebius (A.D. 270—340) founds upon the acceptance or rejection by the Church, but not as though the Church had authority to make a Canon. It is only to the historical testimony of the Church he refers." Where does the opposite theory land us? If the formal sanction of the Church was necessary to the authority of Scripture, and that sanction was never in fact given for fifteen centuries, what is our position? But in reality the whole theory is wrong. All that the Church ever did, ever could do or professed to do, was to transmit what it received, and this function it discharged with perfect fidelity. No other books come down to us with such evidence of authenticity.

The second book placed at the head of this article is noteworthy for several reasons. It contains the best statement we have met with of the theory of the Church we have been combating. On that theory the author went over to the Roman Church, a course in which he was followed by his elder, as he had been preceded by his

younger, brother,—all three, sons of William Wilberforce. The book has been characterised by Roman Catholic organs as a “great work.” And if the substitution of assertion for proof, of special pleading for manful dealing with the whole case, is any proof of greatness, we quite agree with the opinion. In reality we find it difficult to conceive how any able, sincere man, such as the writer undoubtedly was, could so thoroughly impose on himself by reading modern institutions into the past. The following are the positions laid down in the first five chapters: The unity of the Church is visible and organic, the Church is judge in matters of faith, this authority is universal and permanent, the collective Episcopate is the organ of this authority, the Episcopate necessitates Metropolitans, Metropolitans Patriarchs, Patriarchs a Pope. The natural sequence is delightful. But what of the proof? The proof of the first position is dismissed in six pages, and its most tangible portion is the assertion that no other meaning can be placed on the designation “body” as applied in Scripture to the Church. The chief proof of the second and still more fundamental position is that the Apostles, instead of settling the questions of the Creed and the Canon, left them to be settled by the Church! On the relation of the Church to Scripture the writer takes the view already criticised. The Church “judged what books were inspired!” The statement that the Church’s authority in matters of doctrine is “implied” in what Ignatius, Polycarp, and Clement say about submission to Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons, is not borne out even by the extracts given. We believe those early Fathers would be not a little astonished at the immense structure built on their few, simple sayings. When we ask for evidence of the transmission of authority from the Apostles to the Church or “collective Episcopate,” we are met by the statement that no “formal delegation” is necessary, “because the Church was not to come by observation.” It would be hard to conceive of a more effectual way of getting rid of the necessity of evidence. Again, nothing could be more unhistorical than the way in which the author quotes early writers respecting the office of bishop, as if the term had the same meaning during the first five centuries. On two pages (pp. 68, 69) we have Ignatius, Jerome, Cyprian, Tertullian, Augustine, Ambrose, all quoted in reference to this subject, as if the term meant a diocesan bishop in the days of Ignatius. It might just

as well be asserted that the elders or bishops of Miletus in Acts were diocesan bishops. The author also takes up a very cavalier attitude in relation to Scripture. Conscious of the inconsistency of a perpetual appeal to Scripture after placing the Church above it, he informs us that he employs it merely "as an ancient record," and "as an *argumentum ad hominem* with those by whom its inspiration is admitted." How different is such a course from that taken by the early Councils, which all claimed to be simple expositors of Scripture! A far more straightforward course for such writers would be to discard Scripture altogether, but in the absence of independent attestation this is impossible. Accordingly while arguing against the sufficiency of Scripture, they display the most feverish anxiety to appeal to it wherever possible. Our author constantly asserts that the authority of the Church rests, not on Scripture, but on the presence of the Spirit in its midst. If the Church is the body, the Holy Spirit is the soul. But this argument will carry us much farther than those who use it suppose. Does it not follow that the Church is where the Spirit is? And how do we discern the presence of the Spirit except by His fruits? How can it be proved that the Spirit was promised only to a particular Church? It is here assumed again that Christ's only idea of the Church was that of a definite visible corporation. And again we repeat that the language of Scripture is capable of other interpretations, to say the least as probable as this one.

The further course of the argument is in keeping with the beginning. Chapters VI. to XI. deal with the Papal supremacy as the final outcome of the long course of development. But the word "supremacy" occurs for the first time in the eleventh chapter. What the writer needs to do in order to establish his conclusion is to show that Peter was invested with supremacy over the Church, which was intended to be transmitted, and was transmitted. At least this supremacy should exist in germinal form. But all that is claimed for him is "primacy"—something very different. There is often primacy where there is no idea of supremacy. Those who bring the latter out of the former are pretty strong believers in the development of species. And what are the proofs advanced even for the primacy of Peter? Such as these: St. Peter's priority in the four lists of the Apostles; St. Matthew's calling him "First," or "the First;" his new name of Cephas; his appointment

to be the Rock of the Church, and the Key-Bearer ; his charge to strengthen his brethren ; his threefold commission to feed Christ's flock. Such are the bases on which the Papal theory rests. Any reader can judge of their strength for himself. The prominent position taken by St. Peter in the first part of the Acts is adduced in illustration of his actual primacy. We can only say that the Petrine primacy of the Acts is a very innocent one—one which every Protestant admits, and altogether different from supremacy. Of the latter there is no trace, even in germinal form, in Scripture. What of the Pauline primacy of the second part of the Acts ? In order to make it possible to develop the later supremacy out of the Primacy, there must at least be identity of nature between the two things. We fail altogether to trace the identity. The rebuke of St. Peter by St. Paul is the great stumbling-block in our author's way. First of all, he diminishes its importance by representing it in Tertullian's language as "an error of conduct, not of teaching." Fancy a Romish dignitary rebuking the Pope for "an error of conduct !" He then contrasts the modern interpretations of the incident with the ancient. But after all he utterly fails to reconcile the event with his theory. Our author does not think it necessary to prove that the primacy conferred on Peter was intended to be transmitted. This is passed over in silence as self-evident. The arguments used to prove that the Bishops of Rome are successors of Peter and the primacy of Peter in Ante-Nicene days are of the same unsubstantial kind. The incident of Cyprian's rebuke of Pope Stephen is treated as the incident of the two Apostles is treated. Then all at once we come upon the sentence, "The supremacy of the Bishop of Rome is the Church's interpretation of St. Peter's Primacy." "The Episcopate, Hierarchy, and Primacy of Ante-Nicene times," needed to be harmonised ; and this is done in the Papal supremacy. "The Episcopate, Hierarchy, and Primacy of Ante-Nicene times," are of the most shadowy kind. But the fact is that the whole theory is made up of assumptions from first to last. This and that must be, in order that such and such results may follow. A certain institution, fully developed in all its parts, is set up as Divine, and then the whole of the previous history must be remodelled in accordance with it. In no other way can the Roman theory be established. It is amazing to see

how large a part "antecedent probability" plays in an argument essentially historical. Wherever there is an awkward gap in the evidence, "antecedent probability" is appealed to. Very early we are informed that it "might be argued from antecedent probability that the Church was intended to teach." And what is meant by the simple word "teach" is explained in the next sentence, where we are told that the "decisions" of the Church have the same force in the system of grace as "the consent of mankind in the kingdom of nature." The argument for a hierarchy is of the same kind. "If it is necessary that all bishops should agree, some means must have been taken for securing their agreement. We may use the same argument as before; if the Church was designed to teach, there must be an arrangement for her teaching; if it is essential that her teachers should accord, there must be a provision for her accordance. . . . It was not the introduction of any new principle. . . . The Hierarchy was only an organised Episcopacy." The same argument is then applied to show the necessity of a Primacy. "The antecedent probability is in favour of the Primacy, and not against it" (p. 145). Hierarchy, Councils, Papal Supremacy, all rest ultimately on "antecedent probability." We have already referred to our author's practice of evading, instead of meeting, difficulties. A crucial instance occurs in reference to the convoking of and presiding at general Councils, a primary attribute of the modern Papal Supremacy. The reason assigned for the summoning of the Councils by the Emperors is "because all the bishops were their subjects, and because as Christians they were interested in their results. The bishops could not assemble without their consent. Their consent, therefore, was of necessity to be had, just as a scientific assembly in the present day may be said to meet with the sanction of the police!" The explanation is more ingenious than ingenuous. Would the summoning of a modern Council by the civil authorities mean no more than is implied in such a comparison? Whether the Emperor or Hosius of Cordova presided at the great Council of Nice, certainly neither the Pope nor Papal Legate did. A writer of the fifth century makes Hosius preside as the Pope's representative; but even Mr. Wilberforce says: "This is only the explanation, which was given in a later age, of circumstances which subsequent custom had rendered perplexing."

We have noticed these points in Mr. Wilberforce's argument, because it puts the theory in the most plausible form for English readers, a form convincing to the author and many others. A more detailed examination would only serve to show its weakness still more clearly. Every favourable circumstance is magnified to the utmost; everything unfavourable is explained away; assumption supplies the place of proof. A theory needing such advocacy ought to be very humble and tolerant.

It must be remembered that the Anglican and Roman Apostolical Succession are absolutely coincident up to the time of the Reformation. Their arguments and evidence, strength and weakness, are the same up to this point. Whether the mysterious authority was really transmitted at the Reformation to the Anglican Communion depends on the question whether Archbishop Parker was validly consecrated. The whole controversy between the two communions hinges on this question. If Rome's answer is the right one, Anglicanism is placed in a fearful position according to its own doctrine. We have no intention to enter more fully into the subject here. Some points in it have been already touched on. Very few writers of the English Church have written so sensibly on the subject as Dr. Jacob, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament*. He stoutly maintains that Apostolical Succession is "not the doctrine of the Church of England." It is not found in the Articles and Prayer Book, or in the Statutes of Elizabeth stating the conditions of ecclesiastical preferment. In former days the English Church received men who had only Presbyterian ordination. We heartily wish that his book were more widely read, and its principles acted on. He clearly shows that Sacerdotalism is the great hindrance to unity between the different Churches of England.

Let it not be supposed that we have been discussing a mere speculative question. No more practical question could be raised than the one which divides Romanism and Protestantism. The people need to be fortified against vital error plausibly put. The controversy argued by the Reformers may need to be argued again in all its parts, and no better weapons can be found than those which the Reformers used so well. Their writings are a mine of information. But the mines must be worked, and their treasures made available for popular use.

ART. VII.—1. *Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa, from hitherto Unpublished Documents, 1740-1742.* By the DUC DE BROGLIE, Member of the French Academy. From the French by MRS. CASHEL HOEY and MR. JOHN LILLIE. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

2. *History of Frederick II. of Prussia, called the Great.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. Six Volumes. 1858 to 1865. Chapman and Hall.

THE Duke of Broglie's book belongs to the now voluminous literature of the anti-Carlyle reaction. Such a reaction was inevitable sooner or later. The magic of Mr. Carlyle's style took the reading world captive, and it needed the rough shock of the Autobiography to break the spell. Since then, more even than before, men have begun to ask: "Is it true, all this abuse of men and things, which delighted us because it was couched in such quaint phrases? The verdict is often unfair, sometimes manifestly untrue, in regard to men and women whom we have known; how about those who have become historical personages? Is the Chelsea philosopher, with his trenchant style, his sentences that so easily become proverbs, less unfair to them?" To private reputations, Mr. Carlyle's method is felt to be so cruelly unjust that we hear of the American poet Whittier destroying his letters for fear that, if they fell into the hands of such an editor as Mr. Froude, they too might give pain to somebody. The truth of history must not, of course, be sacrificed in the smallest tittle to the fear of giving offence or causing pain; but if a man is found to be in private life reckless in assertion, unkind in suggestion, and given to impute bad motives to what might be explained quite otherwise, we cannot help surmising that he deals with history in much the same way, and we shall look with suspicion on a good deal that might else pass unchallenged, and shall pause every now and then and strive to lay hold on the fact amid the whirl of wild phrases with which writers of Mr. Carlyle's school are so fond of ushering it in. Hence the timeliness of the present translation. It deals

with just that part of Frederick's life which is essential to form a right estimate of his character. Was he "the Last of the Kings, of whom it befits the nations (and England too, if it hold on) in their despair — blinded, swallowed like Jonah in such a whale's belly of things brutish, waste abominable, more and more to bethink themselves;" or was he a schemer who found things made easy for him by the weakness of his neighbours; and who, thanks to the well-drilled army and well-filled treasury bequeathed him by his father, and to his own thorough unscrupulousness in using them, was able to take full advantage of this weakness? The latter is pretty much the verdict of contemporaries, in England especially. Our nation chafed under the necessity of aiding and abetting such a very unsatisfactory ally. Having a Hanoverian king, we were bound to defend Hanover; but during the years of which the Duke of Broglie treats, the real English feeling was strongly anti-Prussian, and all Frederick's dexterous attempts to put himself forward as the Protestant champion remained for a long while unavailing. The success of attempts to force public opinion by rehabilitating those whom it had already dressed in the mantle of shame has seldom been lasting. Hazlitt, followed though he was by Professor Beesly, has left the bad Roman emperors in public estimation pretty much where he found them. They were madmen, no doubt; but there was method enough in their madness to make them answerable to the tribunal of history. And the worst of them all, Nero, stands forth in the pages of his latest historian, M. Renan, in more lurid colours than before. With Richard III. it is the same. He passed some good laws; he was not a fool as well as a villain; in insight he was even beyond his age; that is all. No special pleading can take us further than that.

Mr. Carlyle first formulated into a regular system the principle on which it had been sought to free Richard III. from the odium that has gathered round his name. If a man is strong, and proves his strength by successfully completing the work that his hands find to do, we need not trouble ourselves to scrutinise too narrowly his ways and means. The end justifies the means, if only the end is gained. Our own opinion is that this blatant hero-worship has done far more harm than good. Mankind is only too prone to make living idols, to reverence the man so highly that they forget to bring his aims always to the one true

test. All the loudest talkers of the generation that is drawing to a close have done their best to strengthen this tendency. Moreover, imbecile fussiness has thereby vastly increased. To "do something" has appeared to many who would otherwise have been content with obscure inaction to be a man's work rather than to wait and watch. Of course, to think thus was to read Carlyle the wrong way. He is never weary of enforcing golden silence on those who have nothing to say, and calm waiting on those who have nothing to do. But then all his heroes have something to do, and do it; and who would not be a hero if only he could find his right work?

The school, too, as is usually the case, went beyond the lines traced by the master. It seemed as though the agent in every one of God's great works was to be reckoned good because the work which he helped to carry out had been a blessing to men. On this principle Henry VIII. in Mr. Froude's hands became very different from the Henry of history, because he was God's agent in bringing to a head the long-delayed reformation in religion. Elizabeth, again, was extolled in terms which to students of Hallam must have sounded strangely exaggerated, and her courtier statesmen were put forward as model patriots, because she and they succeeded in the great and necessary work of checking Spain. In this case the pendulum soon swung back into its normal position. Mr. Motley's *Netherlands* gave us an insight into the despicable side of Elizabeth's character, and Mr. Froude himself in his *History* dealt the shrewdest blows at that unreasoning idolatry which he and Canon Kingsley had done so much to create. We all know how Mr. Carlyle's view of Cromwell has been modified by later writers, how the very things for which the philosopher chiefly praised him are those for which plain people find it hardest to make allowance. The growth of the reaction is shown in books like Mr. Picton's, the work of a thorough Liberal, but of one on whom the Carlyle spell has ceased to work; just as such a book as D'Héricault's *French Revolution* enables us to measure the difference between the true view of that event and the view which Mr. Carlyle had managed to persuade so large a number of so-called thinkers to accept.

Frederick, to whom Voltaire, with that base want of patriotism which marks all his dealings with the Prussian king, first gave this title of "the Great" on the occasion of

his concluding a peace by coolly throwing his French allies overboard, was Mr. Carlyle's latest effort in this direction. His six volumes have all that one aim, to show that Frederick was right in all he did because he was strength and insight opposed to "purbblind Imbecility, enchanted wiggeries, phantasmal not to say ghastly and forbidding, not inviting to the human eye." They are delightfully written, and of the amount of research to which they testify we need say nothing. Very few histories can come near them in that respect; but then, if all our researches are made to establish a foregone conclusion, they are misleading in proportion to their thoroughness. With a superficial writer the reader is kept on his mettle; he is bound to think and to search for himself. But an apparition like that of Mr. Carlyle puts us off our guard. This man, we think, has read everything; he is sure to be right, for he must have had opportunities of judging far beyond those of the merely secondhand historian.

This plan of buttressing partisan views with a bulwark of small facts was carried to extremes by Lord Macaulay. As was shown in the Penn controversy and in other cases, his facts were all authentic; they evidenced a rare power of taking pains; but they were too well selected. There were other facts which were not produced, and which, when duly urged, profoundly modified the conclusions drawn by the very painstaking historian. So it is with Mr. Carlyle; his book is an enduring monument of industry; it is, like all his writings, full of fervid eloquence and grim humour, but it has not effected its purpose. Mankind will continue to think of Frederick pretty much as they thought of him before, and they will be strengthened in their view by the new facts which have been unearthed since the last of those six volumes was published.

For two reasons, then, Mr. Carlyle's was not the last word on the subject: first, because he takes up the subject with the fixed intention both of glorifying his hero and of decrying France at the expense of his favourite Germany; next, because so much has since been discovered to which, with all his zeal, it was impossible for him to have access. Mr. Carlyle had Rümer (*Beiträge der Geschichte Preussens*), but he made little use of it, calling it "a very indistinct," poor book, in comparison with what it might have been; but he had not Droysen, whose great work, in five volumes, on the history of Prussian politics, was com-

pleted two years ago, nor had he D'Arneth's *History of Maria Theresa*, the last volume of which was published at Vienna in 1879; above all, he had not Frederick's *Political Correspondence* (7 vols., Berlin, 1877-1881), which is as different from his general correspondence as his *Histoire de Notre Temps* is from the real facts of the case. Mr. Carlyle's work, completed in 1865, is altogether later than any portion of these authorities, except the first volume of D'Arneth, which came out in 1863. Had he seen the Correspondence, for instance, comprising, as it does, the royal writer's most private cabinet notes, his opinion of Frederick's letters would surely have been modified. From what he had seen he judged that "the chief feature of the letters is their refusing, in spite of their polite affability, their gracefulest flowing rapidity, to give you the least glimpse into the real inner man, or to tell you any particular you might impertinently wish to know." This "art of wearing among his fellow-creatures a polite cloak of darkness," Mr. Carlyle thinks, was learnt while he was living at Cüstrin, "corresponding with Papa and his Grumkow, and watched at every step by such an Argus as the Tobacco Parliament, a time when real frankness of speech was not quite the recommendable thing; apparent frankness may be the safer. . . . In this way gradually he became master of this art, as few are; a man politely impregnable to the intrusion of human curiosity; able to look cheerily into the very eyes of men, and talk in a social way face to face, and yet continue intrinsically invisible to them, an art no less essential to Royalty than that of the Domain science itself; and, if at all consummately done, and *with a scorn of mendacity for help*, as in this case, a difficult art." On the contrary, the verdict from this lately published Correspondence must be that, though he could wear his cloak of darkness when he pleased, he could be cynically frank when there was nothing to be gained by concealment. The letters to Podewils, his trusty counsellor, cited by M. de Broglie, show the innermost working of his mind, and prove that, instead of "a scorn of mendacity," lying on principle, deceiving every one all round, was part and parcel of his system.

Of course, M. de Broglie has his own purpose in publishing these volumes. He wishes to show the consummate folly of the France of that day in taking part with one who began as Frederick did by an act of gross injustice, and

to force his readers to draw a parallel between 1740 and 1860. Through dread of this bugbear of Austria which France has always felt herself called on to tear down, she was at both these dates setting up a power with which she would find herself wholly unable to cope. The Italian war of Napoleon III., by weakening Austria, prepared the way for Sadowa and the new German Empire and the disaster of Sedan. The war waged by Louis XV.'s marshals in concert with Frederick, by weakening Austria, forced her to give up Silesia, and gave the Prussian king such timely help that he soon grew powerful enough to crush his former allies at Rossbach. "It was not for the passing hour only, or for the issue of a single war, that France, by associating herself with Frederick's ambition, instead of crushing it in the germ, had dealt a blow, for which she could blame none but herself, to her own interests and to her future greatness : it was for a far-reaching future. In that old Europe where she had enjoyed undisputed sway, she not only left a new power which could henceforth disturb the general equilibrium by casting its sword into either scale of the balance, but she had fostered it. She had opened an era of spoliation and conquest, beginning at Silesia and extending to Poland, which has been perpetuated to our time throughout the vicissitudes of our revolutions, and from which we have suffered the most of all." Did France deserve to suffer? Yes, confesses M. de Broglie, who (we must remember) is not only a writer, but one who has himself helped to make history. Yes, because in spite of her engagements to Charles VI., she allied herself with one who, under favour of a quibble, began his king's career by entering a peaceful province that he might despoil a defenceless woman, the daughter of his benefactor. Knowing Frederick to be a man capable of such iniquitous aggression, how could she complain when by-and-by he threw her overboard because he found he could make a more advantageous bargain with the other side? France fell, as she has so often done, into the trap laid for her by her own vanity. At the death of Charles VI., one course, and only one, was open to her—loyally to support the young queen whose father had almost left Louis XV. her guardian.* That, unless she preferred to keep aloof from German politics, was her plain duty; but she was im-

* Charles VI. had intended to make Louis his executor.

pressed with the traditional idea that the humbling of the house of Austria meant the gain of France; she had not forgotten Blenheim and Mons, and Frederick lost no opportunity of working on Cardinal Fleury's ambition, and pointing out that if he now gave Austria the *coup de grace* in Germany he would have proved himself a greater benefactor to his country than even Richelieu was. To be able to take sides against Austria in spite of all the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction was a manœuvre that taxed all the ingenuity of the wily cardinal and his diplomatists. After all, France came out of the matter with honour sullied; it was felt that she, even more than any other power, was bound to abide by an arrangement her consent to which had been purchased by the cession of Lorraine. She elected to throw in her lot with the aggressor, when, by keeping the line which honour demanded, she would assuredly have been the gainer. Maria Theresa offered her Luxemburg if she would only insist on the restitution of Silesia. She might also without difficulty have gained the Spanish Netherlands, and so have brought her eastern frontier almost to its natural limits, those which were embraced by old Gaul and are marked out by the great river. Why should she have given up both honour and palpable advantage for the uncertain (and, as it turned out, ruinous) course of allying herself with Frederick? Partly, as we said, because she could not free her mind from this dread of her "natural enemy," Austria, nor resist the chance of crushing her; partly also because she was dazzled with the notion of moulding the German Empire as she pleased, of setting up as emperor her own nominee, of playing, on a grander scale, the game which Louis XIV. had tried and failed. This is what M. de Broglie calls "going to war for an idea," and there certainly seems to have been no notion of territorial aggrandisement; a divided Germany, with an emperor under French control, was a grander object of ambition than a part or even than the whole of the Catholic Netherlands, which might be again wrested from her by an Austria built up of all the remaining German states.

The "idea" was mainly due to Marshal de Belleisle, "Sun-god," "Belus," as Mr. Carlyle calls him. Grandson of Fouquet the financier, whose fall is one of the most remarkable events in Louis XIV.'s home policy, he had a hereditary genius for great enterprises. So long as the

Grand Monarque lived he was in obscurity—could only get into the army through his mother's relations, and was coldly passed over in promotions, though at Lille he had shown desperate courage, and had received an almost fatal wound. Under the regency he rose, not to favour only but to wealth, managing, among other things, to persuade the Government that Belleisle-en-Mer, the only remnant of Fouquet's property, was needful for the safety of the Breton coast, and so exchanging it for two rich Crown Countships in Normandy.

He had the fascinating manners of Fouquet, and he made the most of them; at the same time his talent for finance was considerable, and he was an indefatigable worker. Such a man was sure to make his mark among the frivolous nobility out of whom the heavy hand of Louis XIV. had crushed anything like originality. As M. de Broglie says: "Louis had so fashioned France that any man who aspired to rise knew beforehand how he must mould his character, and in what path he must walk." A noble's life was passed between fighting and canvassing for places at court. The enterprise of France went off chiefly to the colonies, doing in North America a work the importance of which was in its way quite equal to that of any of our English colonisers. The result of this iron system was the "French noblesse," a peculiar and not estimable type of aristocracy, having little claim to regard except on the score of personal bravery and fine manners. Over and over again, both in M. de Broglie and in Mr. Carlyle, we see that in Germany a Frenchman was looked upon as a fool, a feather-headed fop. Frederick says the Germans were astonished at M. de Belleisle; his quiet determined bearing impressed them. Adversity had thrown him out of the beaten track, and the path into which he struck was certainly a novel one. He had come well to the front during the last campaign under Berwick, that campaign the successes of which helped to keep Fleury in place, while its wasting effect on French finance was not felt till a generation later. At the end of that war we find him Governor of Metz, on intimate terms with the Elector of Bavaria, with whom indeed he claimed relationship through his wife, and maturing his idea of a divided Germany, out of which Austria should be altogether excluded, and over which France should be almost as completely sovereign as she was afterwards over Napoleon's Confederation of the

Rhine. The empire was to be given to France's old ally Bavaria, which had fought and suffered in her cause in the Marlborough-Eugene war. Of course, the empire was little more than a name. In Mr. Carlyle's emphatic words (vol. iii. 337) :

"It was pity that the 'Holy Romish Reich, Teutsch, by Nation,' had not got itself buried some ages before. Once it had brains and life, but now they were out. Under the sway of Barbarossa, under our old Anti-chaotic friend, Henry the Fowler, how different had it been! No field for a Belleisle, to come and sow tares; no rotten thatch for a French Sun-god to go sailing about in the middle of, and set fire to! Henry, when the Hungarian Pan-Slavonic Savagery came upon him, had got ready in the interim; and a mangy dog was the 'tribute' he gave them; followed by the due extent of broken crowns, since they would not be content with that. That was the due of Belleisle too—had there been a Henry to meet him with it, on his crossing the marches, in Trier Country, in Spring, 1741: There you see anarchic Upholstery-Belus, fancying yourself God of the Sun,—there is what Teutschland owes you. Go home with that, and mind your own business, which I am told is plentiful, if you had eye for it!"

Unhappily the world was not then arranged according to Mr. Carlyle's programme. Instead of Henry the Fowler, there was a Maria Theresa, brave and energetic, and determined to stand up for what she deemed her rights, but sore harassed through everybody repudiating the Pragmatic Sanction and her nearest neighbour seizing, without declaration of war, one of her fairest provinces. The Pragmatic Sanction, in fact, turned out not worth the sheepskins it was written on. "A Kaiser hunting shadows" is Mr. Carlyle's phrase for Charles VI., on whom, in vain, Prince Eugene used to urge that "a well-trained army and a well-filled treasury, that is the only treaty that will make this Pragmatic Sanction valid." "There never was such negotiating, not for admittance to the Kingdom of Heaven in the pious times. And the goings-forth of it, still more the secret minings and molecourses of it, were in all places. Above ground and below, no sovereign mortal could say he was safe from it, let him agree or not. . . . Most of the foreign Potentates idly accepted the thing,—as things of a distant contingent kind are accepted,—made treaty on it, since the Kaiser seemed so extremely anxious. Only Bavaria, having heritable claims, never would" (Carlyle, i. 554). And

Bavaria, besides these heritable claims, had claims on the gratitude of France; claims which could not be ignored, if gratitude is to count for anything in the dealings of nations with one another.

Everybody knows the object of this Pragmatic Sanction, to secure the empire, such as it was, to Charles VI.'s daughter. In Mr. Carlyle's clear trenchant way:

"That, failing heirs male, his daughters, his eldest daughter, should succeed him; failing daughters, his nieces; and, in short, that heirs female, ranking from their kinship to Kaiser Karl, and not to any prior Kaiser, should be as good as heirs male of Karl's body would have been. . . . The world in its lazy way was not sufficiently attentive to this new law of things. Some who were personally interested, as the Saxon sovereignty (which afterwards accepted it—for a consideration), and the Bavarian, denied that it was just; reminded Kaiser Karl that he was not the Noah or Adam of Kaisers, and that the case of heirs female was not quite a new idea on sheepskin. No; there are older pragmatic sanctions and settlements, by prior Kaisers of blessed memory, under which, if daughters are to come in, we, descended from Imperial daughters of older standing, shall have a word to say! To this Kaiser Karl answers steadily, with endless argument, that every Kaiser is a Patriarch and First Man in such matters; and that so it has been pragmatically sanctioned by him, and that so it shall and must irrevocably be."

He could urge, moreover, the fact that for some three centuries the empire had been hereditary in the Hapsburg family, and that for it to go elsewhere was at least as great a wrench as for it to pass into the female line.

The important point, however, is not what the Emperor aimed at, but what Fleury, in the name of Louis XIV., had assented to. Of course M. de Broglie is anxious to prove that France signed not unconditionally, but with reservations. He confesses that these reservations were not worth much. He admits "the righteous severity with which history should judge the conduct of France to Austria on the accession of Maria Theresa;" at the same time he thinks it fair to examine the arguments by which the Cardinal strove to justify his breach of faith. This he does in one of the appendices to his first volume. The justification turns on the phrase *salvo jure tertii*, "provided no injury is done to the rights already acquired by third parties." But then, as France had specially guaranteed the Sanction *contra quoscunque*, against everybody's rights, whether they

could be proved or not, she had placed herself in a difficult dilemma. The whole question, in its tortuous maze of seeming contradictions, is worthy of the strange intricacies of German law.

The very document (extracted by M. de Broglie from the *Correspondance de Vienne*, in the archives of the French Foreign Office) in which Von Schmerling is instructed to submit to the Cardinal that *contra quoscunque* means against Bavaria if needs be, ends with an unexpected and almost incredible concession, viz., that "the Emperor would never be for depriving Bavaria of the means of producing and defending its alleged claims; on the contrary, he intends to afford every satisfaction that may be justly claimed if the pretensions are well founded; and these alleged rights he wishes should be examined conjointly with France, although on no account before the peace. He is further willing to enter into special negotiations with the Court of Bavaria. . . ." After this, who will say that any of Mr. Carlyle's strong epithets on the strangely contradictory procedure of German law is uncalled for? The whole barren question M. de Broglie has patiently gone through, using the new lights of German history, and the archives of the French public offices, and his verdict amounts to this: France tried to get at the truth about the Elector of Bavaria's claims, sent the Marquis of Mirepoix for the purpose; but the Emperor on various pretexts delayed giving them. He feared to take a step which would clearly throw a doubt on his daughter's rights, and would leave those rights dependent on the interpretation of a very abstruse point of law. France ought to have insisted on these Bavarian claims being first thoroughly discussed, for to leave them in abeyance was to throw uncertainty over the whole treaty, seeing that one of the bases laid down in the Pragmatic Sanction was that *it injured no one*. But France was anxious for Lorraine, and therefore allowed all these matters—so important from a German point of view—to be slurred over. Another way of bringing the matter to a head would have been for Charles VI. to have had his son-in-law, Charles of Lorraine, crowned King of the Romans, *i.e.*, nominated successor to the Empire. The question would then, at any rate, have come before the Diet, and the Bavarian claims must have been discussed. What hindered him from doing this was Charles's unpopularity. He was far too French for his

German subjects; the Vienna populace disliked him so much that even Maria Theresa was also for a while an object of their dislike. Charles therefore delayed, hoping that in time this feeling would wear off. It did not during his lifetime; though, as soon as his death gave the signal for Prussian aggression, the young Archduke at once became the idol of his wife's subjects.

M. de Broglie is able to quote much good advice from Fleury to the Emperor respecting these claims: "Get them settled some way; give Bavaria something, a piece of territory even, if she will forego them altogether." There is no reason for thinking that the Cardinal wished to leave them unsettled, so as to have the chance of by-and-by interfering in German affairs in the interests of Bavaria. Fleury was more pacific than even Walpole himself. Unfortunately the wish to get Lorraine made him less emphatic till after the treaty had been signed, and when that was done it was Charles who hung back, not wishing to reopen a question which would inevitably disturb his beloved Pragmatic Sanction.

Enough of these miserable intricacies, amid which it is curious to note that a Lichtenstein was sent to Paris commissioned to give explanations on points of law, just as, before Louis Napoleon's Italian war, it was a Lichtenstein who had charge of Austrian interests at the French capital.

M. de Broglie abundantly proves that France would have been justified in postponing the recognition of Maria Theresa till the Bavarian claims had been examined; but then she must also have postponed the treaty which gave her Lorraine. She took her province, recognised the Archduchess, and then as soon as Frederick occupied Silesia she began to negotiate with him. This deprives her of the right of complaining when she found herself treated with the same perfidy. In M. de Broglie's words: "No subtlety can justify a breach of faith, as contrary to the law of nations as it is to natural equity." The fact is, the Cardinal was timid—almost in his dotage. On his accession, Frederick sent to Paris an Edict of Nantes *émigré*, Camas, with instructions (clearly set forth in the political correspondence) to work upon the French Minister's mind by pointing out that youth is enterprising. He was to say that if his master was neglected just now they could never be friends; while, if the French

won him over now, he could do them more good than Gustavus Adolphus had done. "Above all" (says Frederick), "excite as much as possible their envy of England. If they don't have me, England shall."

Fleury took the alarm. Frederick was increasing his already large and very efficient army. In his perplexity the Cardinal charged the congratulatory envoy, De Beauvau, to try to find out what all this enrolling and marshalling of troops meant. Beauvau could learn nothing; Frederick was markedly civil to him, and, as he was leaving, whispered one of those oracular sayings with which he was wont to rouse hopes that he never had the slightest notion of fulfilling: "Je vais, je crois, jouir votre jeu; si les as me viennent, nous partagerons." Voltaire, privately commissioned to find out all he could, fared no better. He was fêted and made much of, though he was soon allowed to find that the King of Prussia was a very different person from the Crown Prince who had looked on the friendship of the great Frenchman as a thing to be coveted. Then came the ignoble quarrel about money. Voltaire wanted his travelling expenses: "Solomon, who did not expect to pay for the visits of the Queen of Sheba, had something else to do with his money," and Voltaire went back to Fleury, wholly unenlightened as to the political situation, but able to say (and for the time to mean it): "If I have not been a good Frenchman hitherto, I am now quite converted." Beauvau's report, however, was sufficiently alarming: "Frederick detests France, and is seeking to do her an ill turn. His arming is the first act of a coalition; Camas brought back a very bad account of the state of our army and administration, and at the Rheinsberg it is the fashion to speak of France in a disdainful and insulting manner." That this last statement was true none knew better than Voltaire, who had abetted Frederick in his sneers. One wonders how any patriotic Frenchman can hear without disgust the name of the renegade who could listen to such verses as these:

"Ce peuple fou brutal et galant,
Superbe en sa fortune, en ses malheurs rampant,
D'un bavardage impitoyable
Pour cacher le creux d'un esprit ignorant;"

and who, when by-and-by Frederick had suddenly made a separate peace, throwing over his French allies, and

exposing them to certain defeat, could write: "You are then, Sire, no longer our ally, but you will be that of the human race. Your desire will be that each may possess his rights and his inheritance in peace, and that there may be no more troubles. This will be the philosopher's stone of politics, and it is to come out of your laboratory. . . . By slipping into your letter that pleasant word peace, you the bleeder (*saigneur*, a play on the word *seigneur*) of the nations have crowned my wishes." Everybody knows how the royal philosopher had this letter printed and scattered broadcast over Paris. Voltaire denied the authorship of it, but no one believed him, and he took the extraordinary expedient of leaving out in his *Siècle de Louis XIV.* all mention of this peace, in making which his royal friend had sacrificed his countrymen.

To return to Fleury. What he heard from Valori, the French ambassador at Berlin, only increased his alarm. There was much talk about "Prussia being able to help France in that Bavarian business without compromising her at all." "If the king reflects, he will see (added Frederick) that my alliance is not to be despised; but I warn you that I am in haste, and must know what I am to depend on." In spite of all this, Valori was full of distrust—knew that all the while Frederick had sent Count Gotter to Vienna to try to arrange about his claims on Silesia; and his advice, which chimed in with Fleury's temporising policy, was to wait and let the young king set Germany in a blaze without meddling either way.

A word about these Silesian claims, before we answer the question why Fleury did not act on his own feelings. Mr. Carlyle makes a great deal of these claims, which came from the Polish Dukes of Liegnitz, one of whom, in 1597, had made an *Erbverbrüderung* ("Heritage Brotherhood") with his friend Albert of Prussia, whereby on the failure of heirs to either, the other was to succeed to his lands. It was a question for German law whether a Duke of Liegnitz, being a crown vassal of Bohemia, could make such an arrangement. That it should have been thought possible shows how completely national feeling was overgrown with feudal and hereditary notions. Much in the same way it strikes one as incongruous that the king of Prussia should hold Neuchâtel, though it did not strike an eighteenth-century statesman as strange that Orange and Arles and other morsels of France should belong to out-

lying powers. Those who care to study the subject will find it canvassed in detail in Mr. Carlyle's first volume. The sum is that Ferdinand, king of the Romans, Charles V.'s brother, moved the States of Bohemia to declare the transaction null and void, and forced the duke to give up his deed of *Erbverbrüderung*, which was thereupon publicly burned. Joachim of Brandenburg refused to give up his copy of the deed, and the Duke of Liegnitz, dying without heirs, solemnly declared that he held the arrangement to be still valid, "though overruled by the hand of power"—a phrase which enters largely into Mr. Carlyle's further account of the matter. Other Prussian appanages were forfeited by John George, who took sides with "the Winter King" in that brief war in which we played such an inglorious part, and who, in consequence, was put under the ban of the Empire. This was in 1621. Forty years later the Emperor, much needing the Elector of Brandenburg's help against the Turks, and being met with a demand for the Silesian duchies, offered to give instead "the circle of Schiebus," which touched on the Brandenburg domains. The exchange was made; though the next Elector sold Schiebus back to Austria. On such paltry grounds it seems scarcely credible that any serious claims could be based, and M. de Broglie is content with the general statement that they had long died out, and that treaty after treaty between Austria and Brandenburg had been made without any reference to them. That the Hohenzollerns should have clung to them, though content to keep them in the background, is an instance of that tenacity which, combined with thorough unscrupulousness, may be looked on as the hereditary characteristic of that family.

The change in Fleury's policy was due to Belleisle. This brilliant schemer's plan would have been admirable had France been able to back it up with a large, well-equipped army. Instead of this, the last war had left her broken down in resources and almost bankrupt. To the success, then, of Belleisle's scheme it was necessary that France should keep on good terms with the rising power in Germany. Frederick knew this, and used his advantage mercilessly. M. de Broglie does not shrink from exposing the humiliation of his country, a humiliation all the deeper because so many Frenchmen of that generation, Voltaire among them, seemed insensible to it. The studious insults to Valori (Frederick, for instance, kept him constantly

on horseback, because, being a very fat man, he found horse exercise unpleasant), the coarse buffoonery (reminding us of Cromwell's practical jokes) which was played off on the representative of the Most Christian King, the fooling of Belleisle, the snubbing of De Broglie (Broglie, Mr. Carlyle will call this French Piedmontese), all had to be submitted to; "put up with everything, concede everything; at all events we must not lose our ally," Fleury kept repeating. France had got into a difficulty through which the co-operation of Frederick alone could carry her, and this he would not give. In spite of all Valori's submissions, in spite of the alternate pleading and protesting (equally energetic) of Belleisle, he kept the French dangling on in complete uncertainty as to his intentions, or, rather, forced those who had any insight to see that he intended not to trouble himself in the least about them, provided he could make a better bargain elsewhere.

And how came Fleury to have been persuaded against his convictions? Simply because he lacked energy to say "No." He was ninety-two, and yet he clung desperately to office. Belleisle, for whom (as for Fouquet) the ladies worked effectually, as they can always work in France, got the ear of Louis XV., through one of the sisters whose infamous *liaison* with the King the Cardinal connived at. President Hénault says that Belleisle gave Madame de Vintimille, the younger sister, 200,000 livres for her good word; but, remarks M. de Broglie, this was a needless expense, for he had her good word already. Fleury's fear was that if he did not give way with a good grace he would be overthrown by those who were already caballing for his successor. Piteously he pointed out that France needed rest, and that this was also the King's real opinion. Sadly he prophesied that no good could come of an alliance with such a proved trickster as the King of Prussia. But in the end he yielded, and Belleisle went off triumphant, and at last after an incredible waste of energy in persuading and bribing the electors, and after manifold rebuffs from Frederick, which often so galled him that he was fain to write to the Cardinal: "I am for turning to the other side, and no longer being the dupe of such a prince," he succeeded in getting the Bavarian Charles Albert crowned Emperor, as Charles VII., on the very day on which at Linz, in Upper Austria, Ségur, with a French army, had surrendered with little more than a show of resistance, to the

Austrian Khévenhüller. After this the affairs of the allies went from bad to worse. Frederick's own expedition into Moravia was an inglorious failure, "through want of French co-operation," said he; "because, eager to make a dash on Vienna, he refused to see the difficulties which we pointed out to him," said the French marshals. There was disunion between Frederick and all his allies. The Saxons he was surely justified in being enraged with when Augustus III., their Elector, had come to the siege of Brunn utterly unprovided with artillery, "because he had no money to buy any," while the day before he had given 400,000 livres for a diamond. There was also still more serious dissension between the French generals. De Broglie, supported by different female influence from that which had brought Belleisle to the front, came to the army almost as his censor. The officers, after the French fashion, began to take sides; and it was only by giving each rival marshal an army, and keeping them in different parts of Germany, that anything like unity was maintained. During the whole war the French had no triumphs but the bloodless taking of Prague, due to the skilful daring of Maurice of Saxony; the taking of Eger, also mainly due to the same dashing commander; and the little victory of Sahay, gained over Prince Lobkowitz. In spite of this last, the two Austrian generals were enabled by Frederick's inaction to unite and force the French into Prague, whence they made their famous winter retreat, only one in eight of the troops that had crossed the Rhine recrossing it. This retreat, "the only very cold expedition we know of, brilliantly conducted, and not ending in rout and annihilation," says Mr. Carlyle, ought to be almost reckoned as a success. The French brought off their sick and wounded; for Chevert, left with them in Prague to the number of 4,000, refused to surrender, and threatened to burn the city unless the Austrians agreed to provide waggons and convey them to Eger, where the remainder of their countrymen were resting. Mr. Carlyle's description of this retreat when "happily the bogs themselves are iron; deepest bog will bear," is one of his most telling pieces (vol. iii. 641). Six months before this Frederick had signed the separate peace of Breslau, after infinite tergiversation owing to Maria Theresa's strong dislike to giving up Silesia (she was, in fact, only urged thereto by the strong and persistent pressure exerted by our envoy Carmichael, Lord Hyndford). With this Hyndford,

and Sir T. Robinson, his fellow ambassador, Frederick had been playing fast and loose, and treating them in almost as cavalier a way as that in which he behaved to the French envoys. Behind their backs his language about them was couched in his coarsest style. To Podewils he wrote: "Get rid of this jackanapes of an Englishman. If he is not off in twenty-four hours I shall have a fit. Refuse him an audience if he demands one. Let him go back to his fool of a king," and so on. Yet on Hyndford, when at last the peace of Breslau was concluded, he lavished all his flatteries and fine gifts. He could afford to do so; for the British lord had at last gained him all he wanted, undisputed possession of the whole of Silesia, and the opportunity of doing what he so ardently wished, thoroughly snubbing the French and spoiling their game. On a former occasion, when Maria Theresa was standing out for some part of her much-loved province, Frederick thought that Lord Hyndford's zeal wanted a "refresher," and, knowing him to be in needy circumstances, got Podewils to offer him a bribe of not less than 100,000 crowns, receiving the well-merited rebuke: "The King does not know me, and does not know the peers of England." Yet Hyndford's conscience, tender on this point, on which he had all the ministers of the day against him, was elastic enough to countenance Frederick's double game, to the extent of writing to Frederick a letter that was to be shown to Valori, complaining of the King's impracticability and deafness to all proposals. "Send other letters of a like tenor all round, to Presburg, to England, to Dresden; if the couriers are seized it shall be well," said the king. So much for the strange way in which right and wrong were understood in that century even by highly honourable men.

M. de Belleisle's book, then, covers a very short space of time, less than two years (nearly all contained in Mr. Carlyle's third volume), from Frederick's accession to that peace of Breslau which was a betrayal of his allies, and above all of those French for whom, while holding them up to ridicule among his friends, he professed on occasion the most effusive admiration. Of course, this is only the first act in the drama in which Frederick was henceforth to be the chief actor. As he himself said, the stone of Nebuchadnezzar's vision, which broke in pieces the image of brass whose feet were of clay, was let loose by his victory of Mollwitz. Schwerin's victory rather; for Frederick and

the Prussian horse had fled, he narrowly escaping capture. We cannot resist quoting Mr. Carlyle's very characteristic summing up of the matter (vol. iii. p. 332) :

"Directly on the back of Mollwitz there ensued, first, an explosion of diplomatic activity such as was never seen before; Excellencies from the four winds taking wing towards Friedrich; and talking and insinuating, and fencing and fudging, after their sort, in the Silesian camp of his, the centre being there. A universal rookery of Diplomatsists—whose loud cackle and cawing is now as if gone mad to us; their work wholly fallen putrescent and avoidable, dead to all creatures. And secondly, in the train of that, there ensued a universal European War, the French and the English being chief parties in it, which abounds in battles and feats of arms, spirited but delirious, and cannot be got stilled for seven or eight years to come; and in which Friedrich and his war swim only as an intermittent episode henceforth."

Now, in this limited space of time, what are the chief differences between M. de Broglie and Mr. Carlyle, with whom Droysen agrees in so far that he cynically exposes all Frederick's double-dealing only in order to put it forth as an object of admiration? One we have already seen. Mr. Carlyle believes in the claims on Silesia (for which at one time the French suggested that Prussia should accept East Friesland). M. de Broglie does not. Then, as to the Pragmatic Sanction, while Mr. Carlyle thinks that France signed unreservedly, and was therefore bound without reserve, M. de Broglie points out that there were reservations enough to justify France in withholding her consent. She erred, not in insisting that Bavaria's claims should be discussed, but in first acknowledging Maria Theresa and then deserting her. Perhaps of all the nations she had the most excuse; for she was bound to Bavaria by ties of old friendship, and she was not seeking any fresh territorial aggrandisement. England, we must not forget, put herself also in a most dishonourable position. For the sake of protecting Hanover (upon which Frederick threatened the Prince of Anhalt Dessau should fall) she, too, repudiated the Pragmatic Sanction; and though Austria could not afford to give up her help, we may fancy that the relations between them were often much strained. The meanest, perhaps, and most offensive of all Frederick's deceptions, was his plea of "Protestant interests" both to George II. and to the States General. To the latter he said that he should always be warmly attached

to Holland as to the most devout of his co-religionists, and that it was in reality oppressed Protestantism which he was defending on Austrian territory (slily adding that the Dutch moneys in Silesia would run no risk at his hands). Writing to George II., though in reality appealing to the English people, he said: "The tyranny under which the Silesians have groaned is frightful, and the barbarity of the Catholics towards them inexpressible"—barbarity in which the Silesians proved their belief by rising, as soon as they learnt that Austria had not wholly given them up, and carrying on a fierce guerilla warfare against their self-styled deliverer. It is humiliating to think that the gullible English public could have believed in the Protestant zeal of the avowed agnostic and friend of Voltaire.

So much for the Pragmatic Sanction; another difference is in regard to the sham treaty or protocol of Klein-Schnellendorf, a sort of rehearsal of the separate peace of Breslau. M. de Broglie brings forward much out of Valori which Mr. Carlyle has not thought proper to quote. The interview, for instance, after the sham siege and capture of Neisse, was a very stormy one. Valori roundly taxed the king with double-dealing. Frederick replied: "Can I prevent mischief-makers from spreading lying reports and fools from believing them?" "But, sire, they come from Marshal Neipperg himself." "Ha! has he said so? That is a lie which shall cost him dear. . . . Count on my word of honour that the reconciliation is not made, and never shall be made, except in concert with my allies." And, when Valori still urged the assertion of the Austrian marshal, he answered: "This is an impertinence that shall cost his mistress dear; she will have a few provinces the less for it" (De Broglie, ii. 92). A fortnight after, at Berlin, he hastily said to Lord Hyndford: "My Lord, the Court of Vienna has entirely divulged our secret. Everybody knows it." On this and on Frederick's other acts of treachery, M. de Broglie writes with calmness and dignity. He differs little with Mr. Carlyle as to the facts, not much as to the way of setting them forth. The difference is in the estimate which each takes of the individual. M. de Broglie leaves the facts to speak for themselves; they prove Frederick to have been worse than Fleury or Belleisle, or any of them, inasmuch as the tempter is worse than those who fall into temptation, and because he clearly was not warring "for an idea," but from the most

selfish of motives. Mr. Carlyle actually justifies his hero's deceptions in a passage which is too characteristic not to be quoted: "Of the political morality of this game of fast and loose, what have we to say—except that the dice on both sides seem to be loaded; that logic might be chopped upon it for ever; that a candid mind will settle what degree of wisdom (which is always essentially veracity) and what of folly (which is always falsity) there was in Friedrich and the others; whether, or to what degree, there was a better course open to Friedrich in the circumstances? And, in fine, it will have to be granted that you cannot work in pitch and keep the hands evidently clean." And thus, having laid down the extraordinary principle that worldly wisdom (*i.e.*, shrewdness such as Frederick displayed) and truth are one, he goes on to talk about Frederick having "got into the enchanted wilderness, populous with devils and their works," as if he had not voluntarily chosen such a sojourning place when he began his reign by an act of ungrateful treachery.

In regard to the other gross betrayal of his allies, the peace of Breslau, M. de Broglie does set former writers, notably Mr. Carlyle, right. They speak of an Austrian general, Pallandt, mortally wounded, taken prisoner at Chotusitz, who told Frederick that Cardinal Fleury was carrying on a separate negotiation with the Court of Vienna. This M. de Broglie treats as a falsehood; and as the charge was Frederick's chief justification for deserting his allies, the point is important. Into that justification he enters at length; showing the absurdity of most of the points alleged, and remarking that, except the Pallandt myth, Frederick himself did not profess to set much store by them. This Pallandt story he gives very good grounds for discrediting. It is not noticed by Droysen or any of the latest German writers: "It was reserved," says M. de Broglie, "for French historians to pick up the lies which the Germans have flung aside." He has Michelet in view, whose hatred of the old *régime* led him to follow Mr. Carlyle in his glorification of Frederick. Our British historian, by the way, he only casually mentions, in company with Michelet. The fantastic singularity which at one time seemed likely to form a school in England, and which did lead Canon Kingsley and others into a good deal of wild writing, has clearly not made much impression on thoughtful Frenchmen.

Of course M. de Broglie's chief aim is to point out the folly of France (repeated more than a century later, with still worse results), in building up Prussia at the expense of Austria. She went to work, too, not only with a foolish aim but with such inadequate agents. France has often failed through the futile because ill-supported vanity of her ministers and diplomatists, made more mischievous by the imbecility of her rulers. Only a ruler like Louis XV. could have given up the reins to a Minister like Fleury, and have sent a man like Valori as his envoy-extraordinary. And, as M. de Broglie hints, her history repeats itself; the unutterable folly of an envoy like Benedetti, combined with the boastful recklessness of De Grammont and the rest, and feebly withstood by an Emperor whom sickness made as helpless as his *fainéant* ways made Louis XV., hurried her into the war of 1870. We have not quoted at length from M. de Broglie's book, because his strength lies not in fine writing but in plain straightforward statements. Even scenes like the taking of Prague he treats with brevity and dignified reserve; the storming of Eger is dismissed in a single line.

Our task is done. We are glad the book was written, if only as a protest against the Carlylean way of treating history, viz., fixing on a hero and setting down everything honourable or dishonourable, straightforward or underhand, to his credit, because in the final issue he carried his point. Against this gospel of success it is well to be on our guard. To accept it would be to ignore the moral instincts which lie at the basis of society. When a man like Droysen is found publishing all Frederick's shame and glorying in it, we feel that he has, by accepting this gospel, thrown conscience off its balance.

So much is clear. Another point which we think comes out very plainly is the moderation of France. The French statesmen and generals of the time were unwise in many things; they had the old dread of Austria and a childish desire to weaken her, no matter by what means; they were taken with the prestige which they thought would come from France acting as arbiter of the Imperial crown. But they were true to their old friendship for Bavaria, and they were eminently unselfish in the matter of territorial aggrandisement. Then was the time to have "rectified the frontier," to have insisted on making France conterminous with Old Gaul by giving it

the Rhine as a boundary except where the stubborn little Dutch States formed a sufficient barrier between her and Germany. Had this been done, how much war and bloodshed and bitter feeling would have been saved. The people of the Eifel and the rest of the annexed country would have become as French in feeling as the Alsatians ; for (despite the *fanfaronnade* of patriotic professors) they rejoiced in the French occupation during and after the Revolution, and to this day they are full of thankfulness for the Code Napoleon. Indeed, we think M. de Broglie rather overrates the dislike to his countrymen among the Germans of 1740. It was Louis XIV.'s manner, his high-handedness, that had done harm ; for, in the matter of annexation, the Grand Monarque was by no means unscrupulous. Locally, cruelties like those in the Palatinate had left a legacy of hatred ; but Germany had been too much accustomed to such a style of fighting during the Thirty Years' War to be greatly shocked even by Turenne's ruthless proceedings. When Frederick insultingly said to Valori : "The only objection the Germans have to making your Bavarian Elector Emperor, is that he is your friend," he was speaking not as a German but as a Prussian, and there are signs all through these volumes that the bitterness which showed itself in Napoleon's wars, and again in 1870, was not caused by Napoleon's ill treatment (as the Prussians are fond of asserting), but is due (as far as national feeling can be due to one man) to Frederick, who hated the French because in his every action he was wronging and fooling them. One thing worthy of note is the precision, at that early date, of the Prussian fire. Belleisle judges Frederick's army most favourably in all respects (and Belleisle knew war—had fought at Denain) ; but what struck him most was the firing, so steady and yet so rapid. "They fire as many as twelve shots a minute, and at least six when it is by platoon and division ; a thing incredible unless one has seen it" (Belleisle to Amelet)—and to M. de Broglie incredible altogether, seeing the nature of the firearms then in use. Belleisle consoles himself by saying the French would surely beat them with the side arms ; but he wishes the French officers were, like the Prussians, made to drill with the men.

It must not be thought, because we make no extracts, that M. de Broglie's book is deficient in style. On the

contrary, it is worthy of his high reputation as a writer. The portraits of Maria Theresa, so lovely that she fired old Sir Thomas Robinson, "florid Yorkshire squire," Mr. Carlyle calls him, with fatherly enthusiasm; and of Frederick, first at the Rheinsberg as prince, and then, as king, changing even more completely than our Henry V.—"though Voltaire was certainly no Falstaff," are well drawn. "I am setting on foot an army and an academy," is the only *mot* which shows that the new king did not forget the vows which, as prince, he had plighted to literature. The character of Fleury is sketched in masterly style; but the episode of Maria Theresa among the Hungarians is, perhaps, the most lively piece of writing in the whole work. The abject terror of the German councillors, when the young queen insisted that her Hungarians should be allowed to arm; the stampede from Vienna—the river being covered with boat-loads of precious things which the nobles were carrying to places of safety; the scene at the coronation at Presburg; the *levée en masse* ("insurrectio"); the meeting of the Chambers, at which the queen, in deep mourning, promised (in a speech wholly unlike that invented by Voltaire) to preserve the liberties of Hungary; and the assembly did not, indeed, utter the mythical "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa*," but with grave voice repeated after the prelate the yet more solemn words: "*Vitam et sanguinem consecramus*"—all this M. de Broglie paints most vividly. "It would be better to trust the devil than these folk," was the verdict of a German councillor, who had just been present in the Chamber—a sentiment which, muttered to his neighbour, but overheard, well-nigh cost him his life. This shows the incongruous elements with which the Austrian generals had to make head against the wholly homogeneous force of Prussia; just as the whole episode shows the strength of character and courage of Maria Theresa. Combined these were with rare wifely tenderness. Charles of Lorraine, the husband of her choice, for whom she had sacrificed so much, was in no way up to her level; yet she was a devoted wife in the full sense of the word. "Write often," she says, during a short absence; "far from you *je ne suis qu'une pauvre chienne*." In everything she insisted on his being associated with her; only in Hungary was it impossible to make the queen's husband a king-consort. The Magyar Diet would not hear of a regency, a new, unknown power

erected in favour of a stranger. D'Arneth draws a curious picture of the Grand Duke, who had no place in the ceremony of the coronation or of the procession, walking about all day in the city incognito, placing himself at the corners of streets, that he might exchange a look with his wife as she passed. M. de Broglie, while happily he does not affect Mr. Carlyle's monstrous mannerism, shows himself, on occasion, a master of picturesque narrative, though narrative takes the second place in a work which, as we have shown, has a special political import.

ART. VIII.—*The Two Holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to Scripture, Grammar, and the Faith.* By the Rev. S. C. MALAN, Vicar of Broadwindsor. D. Nutt, London.

THIS is an exceedingly valuable and well-timed treatise. It is the protest of an Anglican divine, deeply versed in patristic literature, against the errors, on the subject of the Eucharist, which have been winning acceptance in the Church of England for many years past, and never needed effectual refutation so much as they need it now. The essay was published many years ago, but has been long out of print. It is now reprinted with some alterations and the addition of a few pages on baptism. The whole furnishes a beautiful example of what controversy should be. We see the force which sound learning has in the hands of a man who knows how to use it without running into extremes. But it is much more than a controversial treatise. It is really a compendium of sacramental doctrine, in which are some strikingly put, if not original, views. On some of these we have a few remarks to make, which will have their use for many who are exercising their minds on the subject.

Something, however, must first be said as to the polemical aim of the book. The following sentences tell us plainly enough what opponents it assails and by what kinds of argument it assails them :

“For we hear a great deal of the Catholic Church and of the Catholic truth, as if they both were a new discovery, from certain men lately sprung up in the Church of England who call themselves Catholics, but ‘whom,’ said Archbishop Laud in 1673, ‘I ever observed to be great Pretenders for Truth and Unity, but yet such as will admit neither, unless they and their faction may prevail on all ; as if no Reformation had been necessary. For there is no greater absurdity stirring this day in Christendom than that the reformation of an old corrupted Church, will we, nill we, must be taken for the building of a new. And were not this so, we should never be troubled with that idle and im-

pertinent question of theirs: Where was your Church before Luther? For it was just there where theirs is now.' How well these words suit the present time I need be at no great pains to show. For, in sooth, one may well wonder at sundry things, both in doctrine and practice, which are now taking place in the Church; while the works of such men as Jewell, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Archbishop Laud, and Hooker are yet to be had. Are those writings too old or too plain, too sound, too honest, or too learned, for some of the present race of clergy, who talk and write as if they alone were 'the Catholic Church,' and alone knew 'the Catholic truth;' and as if wisdom was born, and would die, with them? Strange that they should strive so hard—'as if no Reformation had been necessary'—to undo the work their fathers did, by disloyal acts towards the Church for which those frail yet great and good men hazarded their lives unto death."

"To the law, however, and to the testimony. To that word which, says St. Augustine, 'nunquam silet, sed non semper auditur,' 'which, though it never be silent, yet is not always heard. That it is never silent is His great mercy; and that it is not always heard is not the least of our misery,' says again Archbishop Laud. For Holy Scripture alone draws the boundaries of the Catholic Church, and settles what is the Catholic truth; against, over, and above all possible assumptions, pretensions, or professions of men, be they who they may."

These words read like a specimen of the style and spirit of a class of men who are becoming more and more rare in the English Church: men who stand by the English Fathers of the Reformation, search into the earlier Fathers for support of their new teachings, and at the same time appeal over the heads of both to Holy Scripture as final authority. And why is their number diminishing, their influence becoming gradually less, and their cause growing almost hopeless in their hands? Because they have never, from the beginning, been perfectly faithful to the last of these three conditions of all ecclesiastical controversy. If "Holy Scripture alone draws the boundaries of the Catholic Church," what right have they to exclude and throw outside of that sacred boundary so many Christian communities which, equally with themselves, maintain the principles of the Reformation, respect catholic antiquity, and base their whole fabric of religion on the Holy Scriptures? In this they are deeply inconsistent. They hold fast the continuity of the Church of Christ, which was in the constitution of the Anglican Church only reformed, and thereby admit the catholicity of the ancient corrupt communions; but they deny

the term catholic to all bodies in England besides themselves. Does the Scripture they appeal to limit the Church of any land to a national communion, or anywhere draw a line which, if continued into future ages, should shut out one half the Christian world? Holy Scripture "settles what is catholic truth:" does it ever deliver as truth any such doctrine of the Church as these advocates of Anglicanism maintain? This is a subject which branches out into large issues. We cannot follow them now. Our business is with Dr. Malan's protest against the sacramental tendencies of a large and always increasing part of his own community.

This is commenced by a luminous disquisition on the terminology of the sacraments. The term Mysteries was applied by the primitive Apostolic Greek Church to these "outward and spiritual signs of inward and spiritual grace," in token of the deep, hidden and mystical relation of the visible signs to the invisible graces, "whereon our faith is brought to bear as evidence of things not seen." But our author lays more stress than is usually laid on the element of secrecy contained in the ancient Greek meaning of the word; and, as this idea pervades his whole interpretation, we must give his own language:

"The term mystery is said to come from *μνέω*, to initiate, itself derived from *μύω*, to shut one's mouth, and partly one's eyes, in token of silence to be kept about things hidden, little understood, and too sacred to be made known. Hence *the mysteries*, a household word in every Greek family, was said of the sacred rites and ceremonies to which only certain persons were initiated (*memnemenoi*) and taught the hidden and mystical bearing (*mustikos logos*) of things represented by outward signs or symbols, which they were forbidden to mention, not only because they were sacred but also because they were mystical, hidden; and, therefore, but dimly seen, imperfectly known, or altogether unintelligible. The public festivals connected with these outward symbols, or representations of mystical subjects, were celebrated with great pomp in the presence of the people; but the rites themselves were performed with the utmost secrecy; and only before the initiated, for whom they were held to be of untold benefit by reason of the mystical thoughts and contemplations to which they led."

This was the term which was readily adopted by the Greek Church to express all doctrine and revelation that was beyond man's intelligence. For them the word was at hand, and sprang into universal use as it were naturally. Indeed, it may be said that the New Testament sanctioned their employment

of it ; for St. Paul and St. John sometimes use the word for revelations which must be rather pondered than spoken, or signs the full meaning of which will appear hereafter. So Justin Martyr speaks of the bounds of the sea and the course of the heavenly bodies as "God's mysteries, which all elements observe faithfully." It must be remembered, however, that the inspired writers never apply the term mystery to the sacred rites either of the old or the new covenant. There are points in the teaching of the Epistle to the Corinthians where one might have expected the word to be introduced, and where its absence may be supposed—by us, that is, versed and vexed in later controversy—to be intentional and deeply significant.

Our author has not noted this : had he done so, it might have modified his subsequent remarks. For, turning to the word *Sacramenta*, which the less imaginative and less elegant Western Church substituted, he argues as if *mysteries*, with its meaning of secret and reserved, had been the better norm from which the Latins had departed. Neither mystery nor sacrament has the sanction of Scripture. Still it is a good use which is made of the term, and a good lesson that is drawn. Dr. Malan thinks that the use of the word *Sacraments*, a word which does not directly express a mystical act, and which therefore does not by the very sound of it lay an interdict on speculation, is the reason why so much strife has taken place about the "sacraments." He charitably thinks that if men looked upon them more as *mysteries*, namely, things which, as Bishop Taylor says, "are not fit to be inquired into," they would hearken to Hooker's sensible advice, "rather to meditate with silence what we have by the sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner how." This is expressed only as a "charitable hope." But we cannot help thinking that the term "*mysteries*," as applied to these ordinances, has not, as matter of fact, been the protection that is here presumed on. This little volume gives many honest and discreetly-culled proofs that "the manner how" was quite as keenly investigated by the Greek as by the Latin Christians. A long list of theological terms might be quoted in proof of this : quite enough to show that the maligned Latin term *Sacrament* is not responsible for the sacramental polemics of Christendom.

But that word itself, what was its meaning ? "The term *Sacrament* comes to us from the Latin *sacramentum*, which has various meanings, all of which, however, imply faith, and

the sanctity of that faith when pledged." As the Greeks found the "mysteries" of initiation ready to be sanctified for Christian service, so the Latins found the "sacramentum," or the oath of faithfulness pledged by a soldier when enlisted to his captain, ready also for its sanctification. The passages usually quoted, which are in this volume collated better than anywhere else, make it plain that both the oath and the peculiar sanctity of its obligation were expressed by the word; and that it was applied in various significations where, however, sacredness was the leading idea. Hence, among the ecclesiastical writers it was used with great laxity: Ambrose, for instance, who called the sacraments *mysteria*, speaks of the sacrament of truth preached, of Christ in the flesh; and Tertullian, who took great liberties in the application of Latin terms, adopts the word sacrament for religion generally, for the Gospel, for the incarnation, for martyrdom, for divinely-inspired dreams, for parables, for the resurrection, for Christ Himself, and, among the rest, for Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Dr. Malan would have done good service had he used his large patristic learning in a complete examination of the mutual bearings of the two words Mysteries and Sacraments on the construction of the sacramental doctrine of the earlier and later Church. This is a subject of considerable importance. It is certain that they joined in one common meaning: that the rites which they designated were in a deep and peculiar sense sacred in the sense of reserved, and exclusive and separate from all other observances. To that meaning they alike converged, whether both started from it or not. But, while they united in this, they retained more or less their several and distinct significance. The Greek word kept always its meaning of profound, unfathomable "mysteries" of communion between God and the soul, in the Christian rites; the Latin word never altogether lost its meaning of binding obligation implied in the performance or acceptance of them. Hence it is obvious that the Latin word more aptly than the Greek expresses the relation which the two rites bear to the covenant character of the Gospel. The Lord in them binds Himself, as it were, by a sacramental oath to confer the blessings of His grace, and gives His pledge to that effect; and the believer in them binds himself to comply with all the conditions on which that grace is suspended. But the Greek word more fitly expresses the spiritual meaning which underlies the outward

act : a spiritual meaning which scarcely any Christians deny, whatever may be their sacramental theory. The external ceremony certainly signifies more than meets the eye : what more it means is its mystery. Combining the two—as they were sometimes combined, though more often by the Latins than by the Greeks—the word *Mystery* expresses the benefit of the two Christian ordinances ; the word *Sacrament*, their sealing character in the covenant of redemption. We partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and we renew our pledges of devotion in the strength of the Divine renewal of His pledge ; we partake of the mystery of the Lord's Supper, and we enter anew into the fellowship of that union with Christ which it signifies. Similarly, baptism as a sacrament is a transaction in which Divine and human obligations meet : the Divine obligation to confer on the baptised the blessings promised in the covenant Christian, on the condition that the recipient undertakes the obligations which are binding on him ; and, as a mystery, it directs the eye of faith to the blessings of the Christian estate into which it gives admission.

There are many who disapprove equally of both terms, as innovations on the phraseology of Scripture. They would prefer, if possible, to give each rite its Scriptural name, and leave the idea common to them where Scripture leaves it—undefined. But practically they find that impossible ; just as they find it impossible to do without the terms *Trinity*, *Incarnation*, and many others. The substitutes they really adopt are not really improvements. For instance, the term “ordinances,” or “sealing ordinances,” is a halting one, which expresses the more limited meaning of the old Latin sacrament, but omits the meaning which the Greek mystery connects with it : in other words, it does full justice to the “seal,” but less than justice to the “sign.” Could a word have been found which should blend these two in one, that would have been the word. But it cannot be found.

This, however, must be admitted : that the use of the two terms *Mystery* and *Sacrament* brought with them the inconvenience that they were too wide to be limited to the two covenant rites of Christianity. This objection lies against both ; for both in the East and in the West other sacred things besides these were erected into mysteries and sacraments. But that would have been the case whatever words had been adopted. Dr. Malan is a second time rather hard on the Western word. As he thinks that the notion of

"mystery" might have saved these rites from the irreverent scrutiny to which they have been subjected in controversy, so he thinks that the Latin word, with its wide laxity of application, is responsible for the gradual addition to the sacraments. But surely he knows—no one better knows than he—that the extension of the sacramental idea had its growth in East and West simultaneously. But here are his words :

"To this variety of meaning given to the term *sacramentum* in the early Latin Church, we may ascribe the origin of the five other sacraments than the two we receive, as having been ordained by Christ; namely, Baptism and the Holy Communion. For, as to the other so-called sacraments of chrism, repentance, holy orders, extreme unction, and marriage, generally observed by the Western and Eastern Churches, not only do they rest on no special institution by Christ—but as some of them are neither necessary nor generally applicable to all, it is clear that they are not indispensable; and that therefore they are not, strictly speaking, Sacraments in the sense in which we rightly understand Baptism and the Supper of the Lord; that is, means or channels of certain spiritual graces, which, for aught we know, are necessary to salvation in the Church of Christ."

"For aught we know;" this is a parenthesis which is not quite in harmony with the general style of the volume. Surely the Author of Christianity would never leave for a moment undecided what is and what is not necessary to salvation. Neither sacraments nor anything else in the economy of the Gospel can be said to be absolutely necessary to that salvation which is given only through His name and faith in His name. It is right to make qualifications, and say "generally necessary to salvation," or even in a subordinate sense necessary, but not "for aught we know." But perhaps the limiting part of the assertion lies in the words "in the Church of Christ." But, even then, it is painful and perilous to assert that the sacraments are necessary "to salvation." Without them a believer has stopped short of his duty and of his privilege; and his relation to the visible Church is questionable, to say the very least. But the word "salvation" carries with it issues too sacred and too awful to be placed in the same category. Certainly, there is something vague in making the distinction between the two sacraments and the additional ones, surreptitiously brought in, consist in this, that the former are needful to salvation and the latter not. It is only right, however, to say that afterwards a clearer note is

given, to which we shall return. Meanwhile we will follow this honest representative of High Anglicanism in his remarks on these added sacraments in particular.

And, first, as to *Chrism*, in the Greek Church, which uses this term, Dr. Malan quotes the testimony of an Armenian theologian. "It is administered in memory of the descent of the Holy Ghost at Jordan, and also at the Pentecost, according to our Saviour's promise. The Holy Ghost was conferred by the laying on of the Apostles' hands; but this sacrament is now administered by anointing the forehead, nose, and other organs of sense." And this, let it be remembered, both before and after baptism. Rome, calling it *Confirmation* or *Chrism*, administers it when the child reaches years of discretion. On this, Dr. Malan says, after denying the sacramental institution of Christ:

"If so be the 'inward and spiritual grace,' whereby we understand the promise and gift of the Holy Ghost, implied in baptism, is deferred until later in life, it not only derogates from the intention and meaning of that sacrament, and makes it of less effect, but it also places the baptised child in a less happy relation to his heavenly Father. But chrism, when administered at baptism, whether by pouring it on the water as a figure of the Holy Ghost at Jordan, by anointing the child, or by both ceremonies, is an entirely human addition to the rite of baptism as ordained by Christ. For, if so be chrism is intended to represent the gift of the Holy Spirit, then (1) our Saviour's words 'and of the Holy Ghost' used at baptism are useless, and (2) if the gift of the Holy Ghost be delayed until afterwards, and not promised, offered, or given to the child from the first, according to his years, in what relation does he stand to God as member of His Church?"

The question of confirmation or chrism is here regarded as a concomitant of infant baptism. But it should be remembered that both the Greek and the Roman communities based it upon certain passages in the Acts of the Apostles (for instance, Acts viii. 14-17, 2 Cor. i. 12, 22) which refer to adults. The imposition of the Apostles' hands certainly conferred on adults sundry gifts of the Spirit which without it they had not; but the sealing of the Spirit in the Epistles was most assuredly simultaneous with their believing, and not divided from it by any necessary interval. The rite of confirmation in the case of infants has, of course, no Scriptural basis; and those who think that a certain negative benefit is conferred on children in baptism which a positive benefit supplements in confirmation, have no support in the

teaching of Scripture as to the baptism of adults. Hence we quote the rest of the passage with much satisfaction :

“For this chrism, as part of baptism, we have no warrant whatever in Scripture ; and by Scripture we will abide. ‘*Ad initia redeundum est,*’ rightly says Bishop Jewell. The Church of England, therefore, very properly holds Confirmation to be what it really is, namely, a holy rite whereby the promises made for the child at baptism are solemnly confirmed by him and God’s gifts ratified ; wherein it differs greatly from the Greek Church, that teaches respecting a chrism administered immediately after baptism that ‘the grace it confers, namely, receiving the Holy Ghost, is different from the grace given at baptism.’ This, however, is clearly against Scripture and common sense. For if it were true, and the sacrament of baptism were thus divided into two distinct rites at the will of man,—the one of water for the outward sign, and the other of holy oil for the inward grace,—then would this inward grace clearly become man’s gift, as much as the outward sign. Man’s part, however, is only to administer the outward visible sign, as a minister of God’s ordinance ; but the inward and spiritual grace is God’s gift, and His only.”

These last words are sound and true. Those which immediately precede them seem rather obscure ; but this, at least, is plain, that our author will not divide the sacrament. Whatever baptism does or confers, it confers and does without need of supplement. That being granted, we may concede everything as to the value of a subsequent ceremonial or rite which shall solemnly mark the season when the children of the Church’s promise give themselves voluntarily to God and the service of His Son, and resolve to abide by free choice in the Church which they entered without any concurrence of their own. No Christian community is thoroughly organised without this. It is well to speak of a grace that grows up with Christian children ; and none can withstand the evidence that multitudes of them go from strength to strength through early years guided by the good Spirit. But there must come a time of deliberate consent to the will of God and the service of religion. It has been a true instinct which from the beginning has shaped the services of all churches more or less in this direction : in a most perverse and superstitious way indeed, as the quotations above given show, but with a certain groping after the right way that cannot be despised. We pass, however, to the next false sacrament, or rather to those two which cannot well be separated, Penance and

Orders. Here we shall condense a few sentences, which will show how an Anglican, himself high enough, admonishes his Romanising brethren.

“Even supposing this ‘power of the keys,’ as it is called, to have been handed down from the Apostles, in the same degree in which they received it—a doctrine for which assertion does not suffice, but which requires proof, seeing sundry other gifts, such as healing the sick, raising the dead, &c., made to the Apostles, ceased altogether with the Apostolic office—if the inward grace of the remission of sins, said to follow upon the outward and visible sign of the priest’s absolution, constitute this a sacrament, then clearly must other priestly functions be sacraments as well. Faith, which is often called ‘sacramentum,’ is a grace that ‘cometh by hearing,’ and hearing comes by the outward preaching of the Word of God; preaching, therefore, must also be a sacrament.” “There would at first sight be more to say in favour of the so-called sacrament of Holy Orders; for if so be Baptism is an enlistment into the ranks of Christ, what else are Holy Orders than that in a greater degree? Yet, neither is this a sacrament in the sense we take it, inasmuch as it does not belong to the whole of Christ’s body, but only to some of its members thereby set apart for their office, neither is it necessary to their salvation, inasmuch as they might be saved more easily without it, since it entails on them far heavier responsibilities than on any other members of the Church. Yet, the more the clergy look upon these orders in a sacramental light, the better for their own individual benefit.”

These last words are meant in a very good sense; but they may be read by some who will think that they betray something of the spirit and tendency which produced the added sacraments which our author is condemning. As they are meant, they are of great importance. The minister of the Gospel who is set apart to its service has given his pledge to have but one business in the world, and he has received in his ordination a gift which he is to “stir up.” But between that and the sacramental relation to Christ which makes him as it were a living sacrament, the channel of grace which may not be obtained save through him, there is an enormous difference. Looking at their office in too sacramental a light, is one of the greatest errors of the ministers who form the majority in England. There lies the secret of their affinity with Rome: they are priests of the mysteries, and embodiments of the sacrament in themselves. Dr. Malan is evidently here under

restraint. "I will not here discuss the question of absolution, leastwise that of *Indulgences*, sold or given by the Romish Church; but only state that, how far soever the question of Absolution be supposed to reach, and howsoever it be understood, it was neither ordained nor instituted by Christ at any particular time for any definite object, like Baptism and the Lord's Supper; but it only was a power given to His Apostles as part of their Apostolic office; to be by them used at discretion, as occasion required." We must believe that Dr. Malan here gives the right solution, in part at least. The authority was given to the Apostles as a body; even as it had been given to St. Peter as their representative; when it was given to St. Peter, it was a personal prerogative, marking him out as the first of the Apostles of the circumcision to the end. But it was repeated, and with an important change, to the whole company, lest St. Peter's primacy should be misunderstood, and in fact to condemn beforehand that gigantic misunderstanding which was foreseen. It must be remembered, however, that on the second occasion, or the renewal of the commission, the whole company of the Church were present. The authority was given to the Eleven in their midst, in their presence, and as part of them: betokening that their departure would not rob the Church of its prerogative to represent the Saviour in the world. The Apostolic office ceased, and with it the special functions and prerogatives that were limited to the time of the Church's foundation. When they were gone, that part of their function which was for permanent service passed on to the ordinary members of the Church, whose first representatives the Apostles themselves chose.

But why do Dr. Malan and all his brethren persist in retaining the word Priest, now that the term has become almost the watchword of a certain class of extreme opinions? He is careful, when dwelling on the function of the "priest" at the Lord's Table, to say that the priest is no other than the presbyter or president, so called in the earliest documents, and that "no supernatural virtue comes from his hands, as virtues of healing came from those of the Apostles; for he has nothing in himself, but his authority lies wholly in his office." We have no complaint to make against our author's orthodoxy in this respect. But his constant and very noble vindication of the supreme and sole authority of Scripture as the norm and regulator of all views, and of all the methods of their statement, suggests the inquiry why in this particular he does not raise his protest. Of course it

will be said that the formularies give the word, which it is not for him to change. But the word means something different from what it originally meant when used for presbyter. A "priest" standing before the table is perilously suggestive of officiating at an altar. To a very large portion of Christendom the term is appropriate. They believe that there are "priests on earth" who as really offer up the Eternal Sacrifice as the High Priest offered Himself on the altar of the cross; and "that they might have somewhat to offer," change by their priestly authority the bread and wine into the very Sacrifice Himself. The English priest, in Dr. Malan's teaching, is a very different office-bearer; and we wonder that, leaving scarcely an error unnoticed by his keen and well-instructed eye, he nevertheless says nothing about the absence of a priest from the ministry of the New-Testament Church.

Turning to the Two Sacraments themselves, we are impressed first with the vigorous exhibition here given of their counterparts—if such a word may be used—in the Old Testament. The reader or student must try to follow the author through his discussions of the ancient analoga or prefigurations of baptism: the more thoroughly he masters the subject the better for himself. We shall content ourselves with an extract or two, rather for our own readers' instruction than anything else, respecting the much-vexed question of the baptism of Proselytes. On this subject, Dr. Malan follows Maimonides, whose testimonies he analyses and sums up as one who knows the great rabbinical authority at first hand, and puts a confidence in him which modern strictures have not shaken. Referring to the stricter class of Proselytes—those of the Covenant—he says:

"When a Gentile presented himself to the Sanhedrin for admission into the Jewish Church, or, in other words, 'to gather himself under the wing of the Shekinah,' he was asked why he wished to do so, and many other searching questions. He was told to consider the reproach of Israel, as well as the glory thereof; and a strict inquiry was made into his antecedents and into his knowledge of the Jewish faith. If he persisted, he was then baptised, after again professing his repentance of his past life of heathenism, in presence of three witnesses or assessors; who repeated to him the commandments, while he stood up to his neck in water—whether in a font or in some other place—three cubits deep. After that, he bowed his head under water an instant, as being dead to the past, and buried; and then came out thence,

another man : that is, in an altered condition. A female proselyte was baptised before three women, who also repeated the commandments to her while she was in the water. If she was with child, her offspring was considered as being baptised with her, and was not rebaptised when born. The offering after baptism was two turtle doves, or two young pigeons, or some head of cattle. But as now there is no place of sacrifice, this is omitted ; and circumcision with baptism is held sufficient for men, but baptism alone for women."

Now comes the point. The proselyte after baptism was regarded as "like an infant or a child born anew of water." He was dead utterly to the past, and alive to the new life of the future. "Some Rabbis held that circumcision is alone necessary ; but a greater number of Jewish doctors contend that baptism alone is sufficient ; asking how their mothers in the wilderness, and afterwards, could have been 'taken under the wings of the Shekinah' except by baptism, which always accompanies the sprinkling of blood (Ex. xxiv. 8)." Thus in rabbinical writings there is a tendency to carry baptism as the rite of proselytes up to a very early time ; and even to exalt it above circumcision, which they do not regard as a distinctive badge of Israel, it having been practised by Egyptians, Phœnicians, and other nations. This ancient union between circumcision and baptism, and even rivalry between them, is very remarkable. It might almost appear as if the Jewish doctors, seeing that the new rite had robbed their ancient rite of its pre-eminence, took this method of making baptism their own, and something that Christianity borrowed, as they assert it borrowed the Trinity and most of its peculiar doctrines. This, indeed, is the account given by many of those who are bent on disturbing old opinions, and see the full bearing of the fact in favour of Christianity, and of the sacramental institute in particular. For ourselves, we are quite content with our author's learned guidance, and shall let him say a few more striking things, which we shall condense in our own fashion.

As the Jews well knew these rites of admission, our Saviour justly wondered at Nicodemus, a Master in Israel, not knowing these things. "He who was of that sect which 'compassed sea and land to make one proselyte,' might have understood what was meant by being born again of water, even if he did not know what to be 'born of the Spirit' could mean." The fact that certain privileges were

conferred upon him—the adoption, the glory, and the covenants, and all that St. Paul describes (Rom. ix.)—would make his baptism more than a mere ceremony to the proselyte : it was the sacramental means of his sharing the prerogatives of the people of God. “At any rate, these privileges became his, whether to receive or reject, the moment he was admitted into Abraham’s family, by being baptised, and thereby incorporated into the Jewish Church. If this baptism, then,—a mere washing administered in nobody’s name,—was of such significance even under the law, is it likely, nay, is it possible, that the same sacramental rite when ratified, perfected, and instituted by Christ Himself, as the rite of admission into His Church, should be of less avail than the shadow of it was to a proselyte ? It cannot be.” Of course the pith of this depends on baptism having been administered under the old covenant. Dr. Malan is of opinion that it was. Supposing him in error on this point, his remarks will still hold good, inasmuch as he regards the Church of God as having had the two sacraments in a figure, even before the giving of the law. “Even then had the sacraments of ‘the Paschal Lamb,’ and of ‘Baptism, in the cloud and in the sea,’ been instituted : both of them so much greater than other legal ceremonies, and than the civil rite of circumcision, as Abraham’s faith was higher, greater, and of more value than the seal put to it after he had believed.” At this point we mark a note which had escaped notice : which might well be the case, unlimited as the notes are in their affluence, though there is not one of the smallest of them which ought not to be marked.

“There has been a question among scholars as to whether Christian baptism was, in form, borrowed from the baptism of proselytes, or that of proselytes from the Christian rite. One of the chief arguments in favour of the latter opinion is the total silence observed in the Old Testament regarding it in the admission of proselytes. But (1) it may have been taken for granted, since Jewish Doctors say it was greater than circumcision ; (2) we have no account of a formal admission, under the law, of a ‘Proselyte of the Covenant ;’ and (3) Jewish Doctors, who bear no love to the Christians, are unanimous on the subject.”

When our author comes to the second sacrament, he follows in the same track, linking it with the Old Testament in a very striking and in some respects original manner. “Without dwelling on facts familiar to us all, we must

nevertheless notice how little of chance or of accident, and how much of deliberate purpose and settled design, there was in the way in which God led His Church at her beginning. Christ, says the holy Apostle, was with her in the wilderness, where He already fed her with spiritual meat and drink; yet only after she had been baptised in the sea, unto death in Egypt, and unto life in God." But did not the ancient Eucharist precede that ancient Baptism? Yes, as an institution, just as the Lord's Supper was instituted before the baptismal formula was given. Here we must quote a passage which will require some pondering:

"But as the salvation, the rescue, and the flight, could only be wrought that once; and as the same circumstances would never again take place, so also were all the special ceremonies connected with that one night only, never again to be repeated; as, for instance, the sprinkling of blood, the common way of eating the lamb, the hurried departure, &c., reckoned to nine particulars, which distinguished 'the Passover of Egypt,' say the Jewish Rabbis, from the Passover of the following generations; the Egyptian Passover being the Institution of the Feast, and all other after celebrations of it being kept only in remembrance of that one. Thus in the wilderness was Israel told that when he came to the land of Canaan the Passover would only be killed in one place; in the place which the Lord would show. And He showed Jerusalem, the Salem of Melchizedec, who, there also, met Abraham and refreshed him with bread and wine. For, while Israel was with Joshua taking possession of the Land of Promise, no particular place could be named wherein to celebrate the Passover; since the country was not yet declared to be God's territory, nor Jerusalem the city of the great King. The first Passover, therefore, of which we hear after the one kept in Joshua's time, was at Jerusalem, neither could it have been kept anywhere else; when once the Ark had found a resting-place in the temple, reared on Mount Moriah, hallowed as this hill had been by the sacrifice of Isaac, by the blessing of Melchizedec; and consecrated as it was to be, for evermore, by the Sacrifice upon the cross of the Son of God Himself—of the lamb without blemish and without spot, prepared before the foundation of the world. 'The sacrament (mystery), therefore, of the lamb which God commanded to be sacrificed at the Passover, was a type of Christ, with whose blood those who believe in Him sprinkle (anoint) their own houses, that is their own selves, according to the analogy of faith in Him (Justin M.)' It is here, therefore, at Jerusalem, that we must look for the rites and ceremonies of the Passover, which bear directly on the institution of the Lord's

Supper by Christ, at the last Passover which He kept with His disciples."

Then follows a dissertation on its relation to the season of the year, and the prescriptions for the permanent reckoning of the time, and other particulars, which we reluctantly omit, coming to the celebration in the time of our Saviour. The fourteenth of the month was strictly the Passover; the next day was "the feast," commencing the seven days of "unleavened bread." "But, inasmuch as the Passover was eaten with unleavened bread on the night of the fourteenth, therefore was this night reckoned both to the fourteenth and the fifteenth day, according to Jewish custom; which was, in civil matters, to reckon from sunrise to sunrise, and, in sacred ones, from evening to evening:" a statement of considerable importance in reading the Gospel narratives. "Then did the people rejoice greatly, every man thinking himself honoured with the office of a priest, when every one of the people killed for himself, not waiting for the priests; the law having granted to the whole nation (*πανδημεί*) one chosen day every year, for them to offer their own sacrifices" (Philo): a shadow, as our author says, of one real and holy priesthood, and a fact that deserves notice in connection with the celebration of the Lord's Supper, as our Passover.

After the preparation of the lamb, it was suspended with a stick of pomegranate wood thrust from the mouth downwards (according to Justin Martyr, with a transverse stick, thus forming a cross), and laid roasted on the table; with it were laid the chagigah, or feast-supper proper, and unleavened loaves, and the charoseth, a thick mixture of apples, pears, figs, with morsels of ginger and cinnamon, to represent bricks, straw, and stubble used by the Israelites in Egypt, and bitter herbs with vinegar into which the loaves were dipped. The lamb was eaten last, that the guests should be full when they partook of it, and no second course might follow it. The loaf was blessed whole, and a broken portion given to every guest. The cup of wine was blessed also at the beginning, and mixed with a little water. After the lamb was finally partaken of, "the Body of the Passover," and the affliction in Egypt was memorialised, the cup of blessing was passed round, a hymn was sung, and the company dispersed. All this, from the sacrifice to the eating, was called *ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα*, to celebrate or keep

the Passover; and must be so interpreted in the Gospels: the Lord did not bid the disciples to sacrifice when He said "Do this," but simply to keep the new feast. This our author abundantly proves; and it is of great importance as against all who found upon this word the sacrificial meaning of the celebration. The Evangelists render our Lord's words, when He ordered the room to be ready, whatever they were as He used them, by two Greek phrases, having the same meaning: "that I may keep" and "that I may eat" "the Passover."

It seems hard, when treating of the institution of the New Passover, to be obliged to discuss the reconciliation of the Evangelists, and to determine precisely on which day the Lord kept the feast. Dr. Malan declines the task; but gives his own view, that He ate the Passover on the Thursday evening which was reckoned to the Friday on which He suffered. This, the fourteenth, was both the day of the Passover and "the preparation day" before the Sabbath: it was, however, "the preparation of the Passover," not as of the eve of the feast, but as that "preparation day" on which this year the Passover was kept. The evening of this thirteenth was called, as by St. Matthew, chap. xxvi. 17, "the first day of the feast of unleavened bread," this day being considered as one with the following, or, more probably, the "first" means "before" the actual day when they killed the Passover. But into the discussion of these points we need not enter. It is refreshing to lift our minds out of them as our author does, in the following way:

"Interesting as these details be, and awful as the warning is, that among twelve disciples who were sitting down with the Master at His table one was a traitor, yet are such details mere incidents in the outward acting of the mystery that was then being fully wrought out. On that small band of men, humble and despised, who sat at meat in that upper room of a poor dwelling in a crowded city, Angels, Watchers and Archangels waited in worship, unheard and unseen; bid as they were by their King to stand aloof, and leave Him alone, until He had wrung out the very dregs of that bitter cup of sorrow He was about to drink for our sakes. This was His last Passover on earth: the next would be in the kingdom of God. When? He had earnestly longed to eat this one with His disciples ere He suffered; that side by side with the emblem of Himself, He might point to the real sacrifice. He, the true Paschal Lamb, without blemish and without spot, prepared even before the foundation of the world, was about to

accomplish : that He might point to Himself, the victim of propitiation then offered for the sins of men ; and that He might make His Apostles, to whom He gave this earth, pass over at once from the shadows of the Old Testament to the realities of the New ; from the bondage of the law He was now obeying to the uttermost to the freedom of a spiritual worship which is life and peace."

Dr. Malan then proceeds to the heart of his treatise, which is the Benefit of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to ourselves. And he begins with a noble vindication of faith as the sole means of our intercourse and communion with the Redeemer. He gives us a glowing picture of the triumphs of faith during our Lord's sojourn on earth before the cross ; and leaves the impression on our minds that faith is the everlasting bond of union between the sinner and Him whose virtue saves the sinner, a bond which nothing sacramental or other should ever supersede. "That is 'the one thing needful;' all the rest, whatever it be, comes after this—living faith. In no other way can we place ourselves in fellowship with Him who is present with us in spirit only." But his application of this to the reception of the Eucharist requires a little caution. For instance, it is well to dilate on the fact that ignorant but faithful Christians, who understand nothing about real presence, transubstantiation, consubstantiation, receive the "same practical and real benefit, neither more or less, as the priest who administers to them the sacred elements," and to urge that "the 'healing in His wings' is not matter of intellect, but of feeling, in those whom He quickens into new life. It depends less on education than on the heart opening itself like a flower to His rays, through unfeigned faith in Him ; and the process that then takes place is spiritual, in all men alike ; for all men have a spirit, though all men have not intellect." All this is perfectly true as a protest against the attempt to understand the mystery of the sacrament. Still, we cannot but think that in this, as in every mystery of the Gospel, faith must have its object. We cannot understand "the undiscernible secret, not fit to be inquired into," of the Incarnate Person of Christ ; but the believer's faith in Him who is God and man steadfastly beholds Him as such, and is taught to acknowledge Him as this and no other : not only to wait on Him as a Power to be felt, but also to go out after Him as actually the Son of God incarnate. So the believer must bring a specific faith to the sacramental commemoration, a faith

ad hoc, a faith that must be educated to know what it may expect there: in other words, it must be not general but specific. Faith is "the evidence of things not seen." As our author beautifully says: "The spirit, like light, gives as it were form and colour to the spiritual, unseen things of God, which faith beholds." But we hesitate to follow him when he says that "in this as in everything else that belongs to our spiritual life, faith comes first and the Spirit follows; or rather comes with it, though second in order, into the heart." Hardly "second in order" in the case of the worthy communicant, to whom, according to the theory of the Gospel, the Spirit shows the things of Christ to the faith which first sees them and then lays hold on them. Doubtless, we are really at one with the author in this matter. But we are desirous to guard against an error which is very prevalent, and one which this book itself does much to guard against, that it is a matter of no moment what idea of its meaning is brought to the holy ordinance; that the blessing is there for all who come, eating and drinking with the simplicity of little children fed by their parents with food convenient, but knowing nothing and caring nothing about the source and nature of the provision. All the noble sayings on this subject which are quoted from Jeremy Taylor, and Hooker, and the Fathers, are true and memorable, as they refer to the impenetrable secret of Divine communication of grace in the sacrament. These fine sayings, "summed up in the words of St. Isaac the Great, Bishop of Nineveh, 'Faith beckons to thee; draw near and eat, in silence; and drink; but ask no questions,' " express the profoundest and most blessed truth. But we must believe with the mind as well as with the heart: "by faith we understand." And it seems to us that it is no small part of the duty of Christian pastors, "stewards of the mysteries of God," to show their people what is the object of faith when they draw near to the table of the Lord. Those who pervert the simplicity of the Gospel, and are written against throughout this volume, forbid attempt to penetrate the mystery; but they set a very clear object before the faith of their votaries. Those who receive the sacramental wafer firmly believe in a transcendent object. And the great value of the book we are reviewing, not to say our justification for reviewing it, is that the thorough study of the subject helps to give clear apprehensions to our believing communicants.

The consecration of the Eucharistic elements occupies much attention in this volume, and is handled in a masterly way, as against the extreme Ritualists. But while Dr. Malan is successful against them, he seems to us somewhat inconsistent with himself. He sets out with the assertion: "We believe that a 'riteful consecration' of the elements, whether of water at baptism, or of the bread and wine at the Eucharist, gives them their supernatural efficacy: that is, fits them for the purpose intended by Christ, as outward symbols of inward union and communion with Him." Applying this specially to the Lord's Supper, he goes on: "What, then, is this riteful consecration? It is in the Eucharist the act performed by the priest, presbyterus, or, as it used to be, 'president of the brethren;' in place of our Saviour's 'giving of thanks' and 'blessing,' together with 'the words of institution' or 'consecration.'" Now, if consecration gives the elements "their supernatural efficacy," and consecration is an "act performed by the priest," we naturally ask what the precise act is which accomplishes so great a result. "It resolves itself into the devout utterance of a certain form of words embodying a portion, or the whole, of those spoken by our Lord at the Last Supper, the mode of which differs in the several Churches of Christendom, but is unquestionably fullest and best in the English Church." We cannot help feeling that there is some confusion here. Dr. Malan tells us that "we must give heed not to the opinion of any one man, since no man understands this secret—but to the words of our Lord; resting on them, and on nothing else, according to the proportion of faith of every one of us in particular. Unless, indeed, we had the unanimous voice of the Church in explanation of these words." Now, surely the Saviour gave no command as to this consecration, viewed as the "giving the elements their supernatural efficacy." There are many words which might have been used by Him, and by St. Paul after Him, to express this kind of consecration. They are not used. The Church, and the ministers of the Church as its representatives, invoke the Divine blessing in the form of a prayer of thanksgiving; in this closely imitating the Lord Himself. But there the function of the ministry ends. They do not in any sense continue the mysterious power of the Lord, who by His Spirit does give a "supernatural efficacy" to the elements, or rather to

the believing reception of them, that is, to the whole sacramental act. This is precisely what Dr. Malan really means, as is evident from the entire tenour of his argument; but it is unfortunate to speak of "giving them their supernatural efficacy." It is precisely the language which the advocates of the Objective Presence, in Rome and out of it, would elect.

But to return. The words of consecration are not to be found authoritatively in our Lord's institution. Dr. Malan proves triumphantly that we have no exact guidance here, either in the Gospels or in antiquity. As to antiquity, he sets Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch (340), with his "figures of the bodily members of Christ," against his brother Theophylact (1100), with his "elements which are not a figure, but the Body itself." As to the words of institution there is the same difference. Rome says that "This is My body," said by the priest, causes a sudden transformation, while the Greek Church teaches that the change, whatever it be, is wrought entirely by the efficacy of the Holy Ghost, who is asked to come down on the bread and wine. Again, St. Gregory tells us that the Apostles consecrated the Eucharist by only saying the Lord's Prayer. "Which of the saints," says Basil, "left us in writing the words of invocation in the offering of the bread and wine of the Eucharist? For we are not satisfied with those left on record by the Apostle, or in the Gospel; but we use many others before and after," &c. Dr. Malan, whose quotation of course this is, adds: "This is indeed true; for of the very many liturgies I have examined, not two are exactly alike." While Jeremy Taylor, than whom we have no greater and better authority on this subject, adds this consideration: "That it is certain Christ interposed no command in this case, nor the Apostles; neither did they, for aught appears, intend the recitation of those words to be the sacramental consecration, and operative of the change, because themselves recited several forms of institution in St. Matthew and St. Mark for one, and St. Luke and St. Mark for the other, in the matter of the chalice especially; and by this difference declared that there is no necessity of one, and therefore no efficacy in any as to the purpose." Now we do not complain of the phrase "words of consecration," or "consecration prayer." They precisely express that heavenly invocation of our Lord which blessed the Table to the end of time; and that

emphatic declaration of the Apostle Paul concerning the "cup of blessing which we bless." No solemnity, no reverence, no ardour of gratitude, no beauty of fervent words, can be imagined to exceed what should precede this celebration: at which we invoke the Lord's blessing, in His own words, on His own Feast. But we have the choice words of St. Basil still in our ears: not in the translation, but in the original, where *ἐπικλήσις* says all that consecration means, and quite enough for us, and *ἀναδείξις* says all that the "offering" of the elements means, and quite enough for us. All possible beauty of devotion within the limits of the old Greek Invocation! None so profitably partake with the Lord and of the Lord as those who prepare themselves at the table, as well as before coming to it, by entering into the spirit of this prayer. Invocation, not consecration! And the "offering" that follows surely is rather a "spreading out" or an "exhibition" or "an ordering" of the feast than its presentation to God, though in another sense, and not as a feast, there is a commemorative oblation too. Dr. Malan insists on the Scripture alone. And he is not far from perfect submission to his own canon: only not far.

The form and words of our Lord's institution are very elaborately treated; but, before discussing them, Dr. Malan refers to the way in which our modern celebration deviates from the symbolism of the first feast, a deviation which, in somewhat exaggerated language, is said to "give us little or no idea of what took place at the institution thereof, in the upper chamber at Jerusalem." That may be, and is, deplorably true of the dramatic exhibition of the mystery of the Passion which the old communions present; but is not strictly true of the celebration to which the Protestant usage has habituated us. Our author bids us remember that in Scripture there is no such thing as "bread" distinct from "loaf." Our Saviour at His Supper took "a loaf," saying as He blessed and brake it, "Take, eat, this is My Body (not 'My flesh') which is broken for you."

"Taking this in connection with His being, not 'the bread come down from heaven,' but—if one could express the idea of the original by 'the loaf,' the one whole Staff of Life for the world; and not a portion only—'this (loaf) is My Body broken for you' might, perhaps, imply His Body; the Church, which He condescended to love, to redeem, to save, to join unto Himself, and to break and divide into several members; 'for you,' for His

Apostles, about to go forth and spread it over the earth, and for those who 'should believe through their word;' that every one of them might become a member of His Body, thus broken into many members for their sakes. 'Take, eat,' in token to them that they lived by Him, and He in them, for they 'could do nothing without Him' who is the Head of His Body, and who spake these words at the time. It is evident that a square bit of bread-crumb, divided into regular pieces, or a wafer, give no idea whatever of the symbol intended in the 'breaking of a loaf.' A very desirable alteration, therefore, would be the introduction of such 'a loaf' in the administration of the Holy Communion. It would be to the purpose; and it would tend to edification, by giving to one of the symbols in this Sacrament a meaning far higher and deeper than sundry vain ceremonies of human invention. We should then understand better the words of the Apostles, that bear on the breaking of a loaf: 'the loaf which we break is it not the communion, or fellowship, of the body of Christ?' 'Because we, however many we be, are one "loaf," one Body; for we all partake (share in) that one (loaf) Body' (1 Cor. x. 17)."

All this we cannot understand. The distinction between Bread and Loaf may have its value; but not to the extent here asserted. The "loaf" is, after all, better in the margin, where the Revisers have placed it, than in the text. We are persuaded that our Lord is the Bread or nourishment of life, in that more general sense which the Hebrew term as well as the Greek bears throughout the Scriptures. Our author quotes the language of the Temptation: "Command that these stones become loaves;" but he forgets what follows, "Man shall not live by bread alone:" not "by loaves." As to the symbolism of breaking the bread during the celebration, we do not feel the force of what is here so earnestly insisted on. The "breaking" of the bread is a doubtful word in connection with any account of the original institution; and in the description of the feast afterwards it is rather the conventional expression for joining in the feast generally. If the usage were retained, or rather adopted—for it has not been the catholic usage—the question would arise: Does it mean to symbolise the sacrificial violence done to the Lord's sacred body? or, Does it signify the One Body, the Church, in its several members? It is the latter which our author seems to prefer. But that seems quite inconsistent with the application of the word "Communion" in St. Paul's Corinthian passage; and even in that theory the breaking of the bread would make what after all is subordinate become central and supreme. Of

course, if the breaking refers to the Saviour's sacrifice itself, it is opposed to the Scripture, which says that "not a bone of Him was broken." With the symbolical "pouring out of the wine" the case is somewhat different.

The doctrine of the Real Presence lies at the basis of every error on this subject. And it has two bearings on it: the actual and real presence through transubstantiation of the Eternal Sacrifice in the elements to be offered; and the real presence of the glorified Christ in the elements to be received. It is the latter which is generally understood, and to that this book limits itself; but it seems obvious that the former also belongs to it. And the question arises: In what way, or by what words, or by what prophetic indication, did our Lord signify that He was to be offered in sacrifice after the consummation of the cross? The only expression that can possibly be pressed into the service is, "Do this in remembrance of Me;" or, rather, "Do this," since remembrance or commemoration of a sacrifice cannot be the sacrifice itself, excepting in typical ritual. "The Greek word," says Mr. Carter, the Anglican writer on "The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist," "is constantly employed in connection with the idea of sacrifice or offering; so that in the original 'Do this' would involve the thought of 'Offer this,' or 'Make this' sacrifice. . . . It involves a question of Greek scholarship."

Dr. Malan has, as we think, thoroughly settled the meaning of these words; and we recommend his pages to the Greek-Testament student with great confidence. In a few sentences we must give the pith of his argument. The appeal to the Septuagint is of no avail; for the Greek *ποιεῖν* does not mean there "to sacrifice" or "to offer," save in an idiomatic use, which explains itself, and is quite independent of its use in the New Testament. It implied a sacrifice "wrought with hand, which consists, as regards victims, in slaying, skinning, cleaning, burning, &c.; and as regards flour, wine, bread, &c., in mixing, kneading, baking, &c. All such sacrifices, wrought with hand, under the law, being fulfilled in that of Christ, we see why *ποιεῖν θυσίαν*, said in the Septuagint of legal offerings, does not once occur in the New Testament." The result of examination cannot be other than that to which we are here led. The Saviour could not and did not use the words "Do this" in a sacrificial sense; He simply enjoined on His disciples that they should do what He was then doing; to

bless and give thanks and eat and drink and distribute in remembrance of Him. He would not have used this indefinite and unsacrificial word to signify His supreme oblation: what terms He would have used we find everywhere throughout the Epistle to the Hebrews, and indeed the New Testament. Let the reader take the passage, Heb. vii. 27, where two words occur, one of which is "offer up" and the other "do:" "we have both 'this He did' and 'He offered up' so used—the former in its plain sense and the latter in the sacrificial, so that the one may not be taken for the other, but each retain its proper sense." The question seems one that may be easily settled; but the arguments of the opponents are very subtle, and the pains here taken to meet them are by no means superfluous. Moreover, we feel, with our author, satisfaction in thinking that the sacrificial interpretation of "Do this" is not supported by antiquity or the sound learning of any age. Neither Chrysostom, Clement of Alexandria, Ambrose, Theophylact, Euthymius Zigabenus, Nonnus, nor any of the Fathers—we are giving this on Dr. Malan's authority, "so far as I know"—even alludes to the sense which is thus put now on our Saviour's words, while Jeremy Taylor remarks: "The blessed Sacrament is the same thing now as it was in the institution of it. *Hoc facite* commences it, This do: What Christ did His disciples are to do. Christ did not give His natural body in the Last Supper, neither does He now."

The other part of the sacred words, "in remembrance of Me," is laid bare in a skilful and most instructive manner. Our High Priest, having accomplished His sacrifice on the cross, ceased from sacrificial functions altogether; He does not minister in Heaven, but sits as Intercessor and Advocate. He instituted the Eucharist in remembrance of Himself, "not as He is at present, but as He was then," when about to be sacrificed, and to die for us; that is, in remembrance of His death and passion, and of nothing else. The Greek word *ἀνάμνησις* is "the remembrance of a thing that is past and not of a thing present." It is of course for ever associated with Plato, and Dr. Malan gives us copious illustrations of its use by him, as well as of its distinction from its synonyms; as showing its original meaning before "the falling away of Greek philosophy and correct style." It has not the sense of "memorial." "In the sense of memorial or monument—in any other sense, in short, than

the metaphysical operation of the mind that recollects things gone by, it is *infimæ Græcitatīs*." Here, again, however, the Septuagint becomes a stumbling-block to those who are superficially versed in it; but confirms the true meaning, rather than otherwise, when thoroughly studied. "It must be self-evident to every accurate scholar, that *anamnesis* cannot be used for the objects through which the remembrance is produced in us, except in debased style; for it is a barbarism." In the important passage, "in these sacrifices there is a remembrance (*anamnesis*) made of sins every year," the word does not signify "a memorial, to remind God of them:" "an expression utterly unintelligible; since the command given to offer those sacrifices for sin was a standing order from God, that there was a daily or yearly account to be settled with Him; which He, therefore, never forgot; but which sinners themselves might easily overlook." The "memorial" was not in "the remembrance," but in the sacrifices appointed to cause the remembrance. "Had He meant that His disciples should do this in memory of Him as He would be soon afterwards, and as He is now, in glory, He would have said, 'Do this in memory,' not 'in remembrance:' *mnemen*, not *anamnesin*." "As regards the intention and performance of the holy rite itself, it has regard to that sacrifice only; while the contemplation of the further 'benefits of His passion,' gained for us by it, is left to the thought and consideration of every faithful partaker of the Sacrament; but forms no part of the rite itself." Finally, Dr. Malan directs attention to the objective form of the personal pronoun *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν*, not *μοῦ*, which gives a peculiar force. "It is somewhat singular that those who find a great deal more in *anamnesis* than it ever meant in Greek, overlook this, I may say, earnest and touching expression in our Saviour's words."

It is of great importance to bear in mind that, as the Eucharist is not the repetition of the sacrifice past, so it is not the reflection on earth of a sacrifice going on in heaven or continually offered there. Mr. Carter represents the Roman doctrine, toned down for Anglicans thus: "St. John saw our Lord thus offering Himself as 'a lamb as it had been slain,' His death-wounds still visible on His body. He saw Him there still pleading His sacrifice once offered on the cross, and thus interceding, and applying its merits for the salvation of the world. Our Lord ordained that

this same offering, with this same worship, should continue to be celebrated in a sacrament on earth, even as it is visibly within the courts of heaven." Concerning which our author says: "All that is pure imagination. Pious imagination, no doubt; yet still a mere fancy and nothing more; for, where and when did our Lord ordain such an offering?"

The advocates of the Real Presence as objective—that is, in the elements, apart from the faith of the recipient—are flatly contradicted by the doctrine of the Articles of the Church of England. "The Body of Christ," says Article xxviii., "is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." Our author gives us his earnest testimony on this subject of the real presence only in faith in words which we will not condense:

"The offence some people take at the words 'real presence of Christ in the sacrament,' comes from mistaking them. Both Papists and Anglicans use the term 'real presence;' but Papists—whether certain men who call themselves Anglicans, while teaching Romish doctrines, differ much from them, I cannot tell—mean by 'real presence' that Christ is materially present in the bread and wine; or rather that these symbols are changed into His natural flesh and blood. So that they materially and mechanically eat and drink Him; a doctrine so gross and so forbidding that the mind recoils from it; as also from details into which those who hold it are obliged to enter. Whereas Anglicans, such as Jeremy Taylor, Hooker, and other like sober-minded men, understand by real presence in the sacrament—not that Christ forms part of the elements, which after the consecration remain in every respect unchanged in form, nature, and substance, as Theodoret says—but that Christ is then specially present in a spiritual or sacramental manner; and that He thus verily communicates Himself in His whole Person as 'EMMANUEL, God with us,' to every faithful partaker of the Lord's Supper: 'the mean,' says Article xxviii., 'whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Lord's Supper being—faith.' He then is really present, as He also is really present where two or three meet together in His name; and everywhere and at all times, with those who love His company. In prayer, in thought, in contemplation, in the study of His life and of His doctrine; in sorrow, in danger, or in fear—were it not for His real presence with us, life would often be too heavy to bear. So that it can only be from a misunderstanding that His real presence in the same way should be denied at the commemora-

tion of His death ; of the only act on His part that won for us the boon we would sooner die than lose, namely, His being one of ourselves."

It should be remembered, however, that the term "Real Presence," *presentia realis*, gives offence simply because it has become, indeed always was, a technical term for the expression of the very doctrine that is here protested against. They do not object to the doctrine that the Lord is present in the most sacred service that He instituted on purpose to make His presence a reality ; nor do they hesitate to believe that, as He is present in all assemblies, He is specially present in this, or that as He is always giving Himself to His people's faith in a perpetual feast, so in this, "the great day of the feast," He gives them "the finest of the wheat." We would go further than this ; and say what Dr. Malan often hints at, but never formally and sufficiently lays down, that in this sacrament the Mediator of the new covenant gives the great and abiding pledge and assurance in the confidence of which all other ordinances are resorted to and used : it is the standing seal of all the blessings of the covenant of grace. But the term "real presence" has an ineffaceable stamp on it that forbids its use. It fares with it as with the word priest, of which our author, though he uses the dangerous word, says : "Nowhere do the Apostles, or the Apostolic Fathers, use the term *ἱερεὺς* for priest in the Holy Catholic Church, but only *πρεσβύτερος*. The so-called Apostolic Liturgies are utterly worthless as authority. Even in the so-called Apostolic Canons, 'priests' are never called *ἱερεῖς* but presbyters."

The interpretation of John vi. in relation to the Eucharist is of essential importance ; and all the more because the discourse there recorded was not spoken with direct reference to the sacrament, the institution of which lay yet in the future, and had not yet been in any way alluded to by our Lord. The Divine Teacher, however, "knew what He would do" hereafter, and so ordered His teaching that it should in the future bear an application of which the hearers in Capernaum had no foresight. And when the Evangelist was moved by the Spirit to record the words which for that purpose were brought to his remembrance, he must have had the Supper of the Lord present to him in every

sentence that he wrote. As his third chapter was written and read with the sacrament of baptism in presence, so the sixth chapter was written and read in presence of the sacrament of the Eucharist. The right exposition of this chapter is therefore vital to the whole question.

The two sayings, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing," and "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life," cannot be taken as perfectly distinct, but as explaining each other. But much depends on which of them is the key of the exposition. If the former rules, the flesh is the human nature of our Lord, and the spirit His Divine nature; and then comes in the extreme sacramental theory that it is the Divinity of Christ which gives the reception of the elements its quickening power both in the souls and in the bodies of faithful recipients. If the latter rules, then it is the intention of our Lord to say that His whole discourse must have a spiritual and not a carnal interpretation. And for this Dr. Malan pleads, with his usual force of argument and wealth of patristic illustration: Athanasius is quoted as showing that "the Lord spake of the Holy Ghost, in contrast with the flesh, not of Christ's body, but of our sinful nature." Basil: "The Apostle speaks of the law as of the letter, and of the doctrine of the Lord as of the Spirit: witness the Lord Himself, who says, 'My words, they are spirit and they are life.'" Chrysostom seems first to blend the two expositions: "By bread here He means either the saving doctrines, and the faith that is in Him, or His body, for both receive the soul." But on "It is the Spirit that quickeneth" he writes: "What He means is this: you must understand spiritually the things which concern Me; for he who understands them according to the flesh neither profits at all nor benefits thereby. It was their carnality to doubt that He was come down from heaven, and that He would give His flesh to eat. All these things were according to the flesh, which they ought to have understood mystically. My words are divine and spiritual, having nothing carnal; neither are they to be construed literally, for they are above any such necessity." After other citations, Dr. Malan concludes: "This is assuredly enough to show that those 'godly doctors' of old did not, like younger ones, take the words 'flesh and spirit' in this sixth chapter of St. John to mean the human and the Divine natures of Christ; even when they admitted that a portion of this chapter might pos-

sibly refer to the Eucharist." And he makes the application thus: "Certain it is, as far as we can understand these words of Divine mysteries, according to the analogy of faith, that the symbols of bread and wine are then fitted, by virtue of Christ's institution, to be the special means of making the soul travel back to the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, in remembrance of it; or, more correctly, 'for remembrance of it,' in order to bring it present to the memory, and on it to dwell, and spiritually to feed by faith."

"The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." This seems plainly enough to declare that only believers enjoy the benefit of grace which it pleases the Redeemer to connect with this sealing ordinance. But worshippers of our Lord's Real and Substantial Presence in the elements, and the advocates of the Lutheran Consubstantiation, will have it that all receive, some to their benefit and others to their hurt. The Anglicans feel perplexed by the word "faithful;" and resort to the device that the word does not stand for true believer. Canon Carter says, "Its meaning in the catechism is not its meaning in the ordinary use of the present day; but as we use it when we speak of Abraham as the Father of the Faithful, *i.e.*, believers as distinct from heathen." With this our Doctor joins issue: fortifying himself and us with wholesome quotations from the Fathers of the English Church and the Church catholic. Some of these are familiar enough to some; but will bear repetition. That from Hooker is good music: "The Real Presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not, therefore, to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament. And with this the very order of our Saviour's words agreeth, first, 'Take and eat,' then, 'This is My body which was broken for you;' first, 'Drink ye all of this;' then followeth 'This is My blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ, when and where the bread is His body or the cup His blood, but only in the heart and soul of him which receiveth them. As for the sacraments they really exhibit, but for aught we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really nor do really contain in themselves that grace which with them or by them it pleaseth God to bestow."

The examination of ourselves prescribed by the Apostle is strictly connected with the spiritual character of the Sacrament as "purely of the province of faith." It is very emphatic that this is a personal matter. The words of Chrysostom here quoted are of great interest in the light of modern abuses of confession; especially this sentence: "The Apostle does not enjoin that one man should be examined by another; but that every man should examine himself: thus settling that the judgment be not public, and that the proof be conducted without witnesses." This leads to another point: the question of the frequency of communion. As to this, our author repairs as usual to precedents from the Primitive Church, which certainly are very striking, almost startling. For instance, in this style St. Chrysostom addresses his hearers: "I address you all, therefore—not only you of this place, who communicate once or twice a year, or oftener still—but those also who live in the desert: for these communicate only once a year, and sometimes even only once in two years. What then? Which of them will be most approved of us?—those who communicate once, or those who do so often, or those again who do it seldom? Not any of these, but those who come to the Lord's Table with a pure heart, and with a life unrebukable. Let such men always draw near; others not even once." How does a testimony like this comport with the theory and practice of those who make the Eucharist not only the sum and substance of Christian worship, but the sole appointed channel of the sustenance of the spiritual life? Their theory and St. Chrysostom's are almost contradictories. But it is no disparagement of the feast to deny to it this almost exclusive prerogative. It is not intended to be "the daily bread" of the household of faith: He whose ordinances are wisely ordered in all things has not limited the nourishment of the soul to a daily common feast, which only under very rare conditions can be found by the hungry soul. No disparagement, we say: there is a special refreshment provided at set times, which is all the more desirable because of its comparative infrequency. "For, albeit Christ commune with us otherwise than in the Eucharist, as, for instance, in prayer as our Advocate and Intercessor; in meditation on Him as our Friend; and in sickness of heart as our Physician; yet, unless we receive, through the Eucharist, the special benefit it is intended to

confer, which is our being refreshed and strengthened in our souls by spiritually feeding on Christ's death and atonement for us, thereby growing in grace and union with Him, we cannot be sure of receiving it equally in another way, at another time."

Few sentences in this earnest and honest book will be felt by Ritualistic Anglicans to be more shocking than this: "As to early communions, fasting, they are not quite after our Lord's example, who instituted His own Supper, after having eaten the Passover in the evening. And, as to late communions, though more in accordance with His institution, if against custom, they need not be introduced. As regards daily or weekly communions, there might be danger for some lest the Holy Eucharist, if taken too frequently, might become too common, and thus lose its awful solemnity; while others, differently constituted, do not think they can take it too often. But this, again, must depend entirely on a man's own feeling; for St. Chrysostom, we see, tells us that it matters little one way or another." This is undoubtedly true; but it is scarcely satisfactory to leave the matter thus. The member of the Christian Church is not left altogether to his own discretion. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a common feast, appointed for a set time; and, that set time being fixed by the community according to the discretion allowed by the Master, all are expected and supposed to be there. According to the theory which has become prevalent, the feast is supposed to be as it were always spread; a kind of embodied Christianity, fellowship and worship, to which the faithful repair, according to the impulse of their own subjective feeling. One important element in the solemnity is withdrawn, if this is forgotten: the festal assembling in order to commemorate the death of Christ. But Dr. Malan lays open the very kernel of the whole subject in a passage which we must quote:

"If our faith were what it ought to be, so as to cause the spirit of adoption to reign in our hearts, and 'Jesus Christ thus dwelt in us by faith,' we should exist on His love for us, and on ours for Him; it would be, so to speak, the spiritual breath of our soul. Pledges of that love would then, of course, be most welcome and precious; and the Eucharist would then be for us a real refreshment and strengthening by the way; but not our daily food.

But here we are suddenly arrested by our limits, and take leave of our learned devout instructor with regret.

LITERARY NOTICES.

I. THEOLOGICAL.

FAIRBAIRN'S CITY OF GOD.

The City of God. A Series of Discussions in Religion. By
A. M. Fairbairn, D.D. London : Hodder and Stoughton.

THE series is divided into four parts, the first part discussing the general relation of religions and science, the second the Jewish revelation, the third Christianity, the fourth practical topics. Reversing the usual order, Dr. Fairbairn names his volume after the last discourse contained in it. While exception might be taken to incidental expressions and sentiments, and some readers might desire greater quietness of style, the volume as a whole must be pronounced equally timely and able. The author is familiar with every winding of modern controversy, knows every shoal and quicksand, and skilfully lays down buoys at every critical point to guide ordinary voyagers. Speaking without figure, ordinary readers will learn from the volume the bearings, the true and false elements, of modern scientific speculation. Full of admiration for the true achievements of modern science, the author none the less points out the dogmatism of many scientists in fields outside their own. Mr. Spencer is "as prosaic in handling ancient beliefs as he is imaginative in handling primordial forces." Unbelief is "most dogmatic where most sceptical, most omniscient where most agnostic." "It is significant that the most distinguished of our living agnostics, the man whose fundamental principle is that the Infinite, the First and Ultimate Cause, cannot be known, is yet the author of our most comprehensive and omniscient system of philosophy." Renan "was meant by nature to be a romancer." "The modern master of phrases" has borrowed Buddha's great doctrine of Karma, baptising it "stream of tendency," but is indebted to Christianity for the pregnant addition, "that works for righteousness." Significantly enough Dr. Fairbairn says, "This century has seen more than one man relegate God to the limbo of dying superstitions, but only to make the memory of a woman the centre of a religion infinitely lower and less human." In the

same paragraph he insists that atheism is artificial, not natural. Just as true is the following sentence: "We have more than once watched a distinguished scientist work himself into eloquent astonishment over the infructuose abstractions of schoolmen and divines, but only as a prelude to his losing himself in a wilderness of metaphysics, where, becoming enchanted, he has lavished on his physically-named metaphysical entities an affection that quite shamed Titania's admiring love of the illustrious weaver; only, unhappily, in his case the disenchantment has not been so clear or so complete."

We thoroughly agree with what Dr. Fairbairn says in his essay on "Faith and Modern Thought" respecting the spirit in which modern thought is to be met. A foe who reasons and constructs, who is reverent and ethical, must be shown that these elements belong pre-eminently to the Christian position. It did not lie within the writer's province to add the qualification necessary on the first point. But of course he would not with the Rationalist make reason the supreme and absolute judge of all truth. On the last point mentioned he has some strong, true words. We quite believe that the moral teachings of Scripture offer an unworked mine of wealth to Christian apologetics. "Christian teachers have never done even common justice to Christian ethics. . . Christianity is full of untouched ethical riches; its mines of moral teaching are almost unwrought. . . The Churches have been more concerned about doctrine than about ethics, about polity than about conduct."

Perhaps the ablest essay in the volume is the one in the First Part, on "Theism and Science," in which the author argues that the assumption of the theistic proof being bound up with a special theory of creation is without basis. Theism existed long before any theory of the mode of creation was worked out. We understand the author to accept the modern theory of physical evolution, and yet to maintain the theistic ground. We may acknowledge the soundness of his argument without committing ourselves to evolution. It is as plain as anything can be that evolution only gives us the mode, not the real cause, of creation; or, in our author's language, it is a modal, not a causal theory of creation. Dr. Fairbairn almost condemns the old "artificer" theory of world-making. He thinks it distinguishes too strongly between God and His work, approximating to the Deistic view. No doubt he touches here on a point which needs guarding. But is not his own view, that God is rather to be regarded as the immanent life or force of creation, exposed to a danger on the other side? How can he keep clear of Pantheism? If one theory distinguishes too sharply, does not the other go perilously near confounding the Maker with His work? Does not the truth rather lie in combining the two conceptions? It may perhaps

yet appear that the two are by no means irreconcilable. We do not see how it is possible to deny a resemblance between the kind of design apparent in nature with the kind apparent in products of human intelligence. The mode in which the Divine Artificer works may be very different from the one in which man works. He may be within, instead of outside, His work. Here the idea of immanence comes in. But how does it exclude the other truth? The use of such nicknames as "carpenter-theory," by Spencer and others, always seemed to us very unworthy. Why not take the higher forms of creative design in man? This essay will bear repeated perusal and careful study.

The essay in the Third Part, on 'The Jesus of History and the Christ of Faith,' is also singularly effective. Strauss wrote a work with the same title, with the purpose, of course, of proving the contradiction of the two pictures. Dr. Fairbairn proves beyond doubt that each corresponds to the other as the stamp to the impression. The one is unintelligible without the other.

Of a different order, but very tender and beautiful, is the sermon in the Last Part, on "The Love of Christ." The distinction between instinctive and rational love is well worked out and applied. "Many a devout soul has said, 'I cannot love my Saviour as I love my child. I do not, I cannot, love God more than I love my husband. I need to be reconverted. I must be altogether wrong.' But the error lies in confounding things that differ. Man's affection for man must be more or less instinctive. Man's love for Christ must be altogether spiritual. The instinctive must be intense, because passionate and confined; but the spiritual mild, because calm and expansive. The eagerness of the first, and the serenity of the second, belong to their respective natures. . . The one seems to be, but the other is, the greater. . . . We enjoy the privilege of never having seen Jesus. Ours is the blessedness of those whose eyes have never beheld the marred visage, whose fingers have never felt the wounds. The memory of weakness, or shame, or death, never troubles our love." We thank Dr. Fairbairn for a very notable addition to Christian Apologetics.

CHARTERIS'S CROALL LECTURES.

The New-Testament Scriptures: their Claims, History, and Authority. The Croall Lectures for 1882. By A. H. Charteris, D.D. London: Nisbet and Co.

THE present work does for the general reader what the author's *Canonicity* does for students. The substance of the work answers well to the title. Whoever desires to obtain a complete, trustworthy account of the "claims, history and authority" of the

books forming the New-Testament Canon, freed from all technical detail and put in bright, graceful language, cannot do better than get Professor Charteris's book. To professed students the work entitled *Canonicity*, and Canon Westcott's standard *History* are still indispensable. But general readers need something at once less condensed and less extensive. Much that is there taken for granted needs to be stated in full, while unfamiliar names and details have to be omitted or summarised. Dr. Charteris's book exactly meets the case. It is the opposite of superficial. A strong vein of reasoning runs through it, ample evidence is adduced, the whole field is covered. Not the least impressive feature in the book is its tone of assured conviction; and this on the lips of a master who knows the worst that can be alleged by the enemy is eminently satisfactory. He does not believe in shirking inquiry. "I speak as to wise men, judge ye what I say," said the fearless and frank Apostle. 'I think myself happy that I am to make my defence before thee this day,' were his words when called to expound his gospel to one who may be described as an educated sceptic. . . I believe with all my heart that the New Testament can bear the fiercest light of modern investigation. I believe that the unparalleled vigour of the critical assaults which have been made upon it since the nineteenth century began have not brought down a single tower of its citadel." The boldness of this language is more than borne out by the argument of the volume. Again, respecting the much-disputed testimony of Justin Martyr, the author says, "It may seem strange that Justin's testimony should be so much more of a battle ground than that of any of those others. But a battle ground it has been for many a day; though it needs no prophet to see that the tide of war must soon flow away from it, and leave it in possession of orthodox Christians. Our older critics and apologists claimed him as a witness for all our gospels; their recent followers, especially in England, have been too timid to take the same position, but now they are taking heart of grace again, as well they may."

An excellent feature in the work is the way in which it takes up and disposes of the most recent objections. The latest misrepresentation on the subject is that the New-Testament books are simply the survivors of an extensive literature of the same kind. We cannot even summarise the argument which disposes of this statement, but the result is worth quoting. "It has often been alleged that the books which we now have were 'selected by the Church' from among a host of competitors, so that our Canon is really the result of a 'struggle for existence,' in which the strongest won. There is a sense in which we not only admit this, but hold by it. These books *were* the strongest, and at one time—the first time of their history—there were others in cir-

culatation which have perished from their side. But that there were other books making such a claim as theirs, and that those books have perished, is not only not an ascertained fact, but the ascertained facts are against it. And that the Church at any date, or at any succession of dates during the first two centuries, took counsel and resolved to put an end to the existence of some books, selecting certain others for honour and permanent estimation, is a grotesque impossibility. . . We have no proof of either gospel or epistle like those now in our possession having once existed and being subsequently lost. The 'Gospel of the Hebrews' is the only gospel which can for a moment offer an apparent contradiction to this statement. But it was not another and independent gospel, like the four now in our possession. It was our Gospel of Matthew, with a few additions made by the Jewish Christians among whom it circulated."

We venture to think that the story of the *Muratorian Fragment* and Tatian's *Diatessaron* was never before told in such perspicuous language as by our author. Those to whom the names have been mere cabalistic terms will find them here lighted up with pregnant significance. We earnestly advise our readers to consult what is said about Tatian's work at pages 144 and 177. Tatian was a pupil of Justin in the second century. Antiquity makes frequent reference to his *Diatessaron*, but unfortunately the work itself is lost. Quite recently, however, a commentary on it by Ephrem, a Syrian scholar of the fourth century, has been discovered, which throws important light on its character. The *Diatessaron* was not a Harmony of the Four Evangelists, as the name might suggest, but a life of Christ constructed out of them. The prologue of St. John's Gospel forms his first paragraph. "It is not easy to exaggerate the importance of this, the most recent discovery in Biblical literature. It confirms the ordinary view of the Church as regards the age and authority of the books of Scripture. Its importance is immense, for it not only proves that Tatian used our Gospels in making his work, but it necessarily throws back light upon the earlier quotations in Justin, in Basilides and the rest, so as to show that even the Fourth Gospel was not an invention of the second century, as advanced critics would have led us to believe, but was accepted at the very earliest times as the work of the beloved Apostle himself." The author of *Supernatural Religion* denied that there ever was such a work as Tatian's *Harmony*, or that Ephrem wrote on it. "He will need to alter his text in regard to Tatian as he had to alter it in regard to Marcion." He has, however, a loophole of escape by a quibble about the word "Harmony," which of course the *Diatessaron* is not.

Another important point discussed is the relation of the Bible to the Church. There is no more frequent assertion of Romanist

teachers, repeated by popular Ritualist preachers, than that the Bible is the work of the Church and depends upon it. Like many such assertions, it is true in the sense which these teachers do not intend and false in the one they intend. The Church is the historical witness to the genuineness of Scripture, the appointed depositary and guardian of its treasures. But what atom of evidence is there to show that the Church ever made Scripture? What Council ever decreed that to be Scripture which was not so before? The Local Council of Carthage in 397 was the first to decide anything on the subject. But who will assert that it ever professed to do more than give expression to what had been the uninterrupted belief of the Church? Besides, if the question was settled then, what need, even on the Romanist theory, of a fresh decree at Trent in the sixteenth century? During the first four centuries was the Church without a Bible, received, appealed to, acknowledged as such? What book, uncanonical before, was canonised then, or at any time? The assertion referred to is the keystone of the whole Romanist and Ritualist system, and a more baseless position could not be taken. The whole statement of Dr. Charteris is so important and so just that we must be allowed to quote it. "If then we are asked why these books of our Canon are canonical, we must answer that it is because they are Apostolical, and because the Church is founded upon the Apostles. If we be asked whether this is not such an acknowledgment of the power of the Church to fix the Canon as Roman Catholic apologists claim, we can easily show that it was very different. By 'the Church' they mean the organised corporation—in point of fact its office-bearers formally constituted. Some of them—witness Cardinal Newman—even go so far as to say that we receive the Canon on the authority of the Church of the fourth or fifth centuries. But the Church gave no decision during those centuries. There is not in the whole history of the Church of Christ down to the Council of Trent in 1546 any decree or formal utterance of the Church fixing the Canon. There was in Carthage, A.D. 397, a local gathering, what Presbyterians would call a meeting of presbytery, representing forty-four parishes, at which Augustine was present. Its 'decree' speaks of Canonical Scriptures, but it does not claim any authority to fix the Canon. It regards 'Canonical Scriptures' as already agreed upon, how or when it does not say; and its only concern is to forbid any other books to be read in church under the name of 'Divine Scriptures.' It throws us back to earlier times for the process and the conclusions indicated by its familiar use of the phrase 'Canonical Scriptures.' The earlier Council of Laodicea (A.D. 364) has left no genuine decree on the contents of the Canon. We can challenge the Roman Catholic, or any imitator, to point to any authoritative utterance of what he calls 'the Church' before the Council of

Trent. Even if he shared the belief enjoined by recent decrees of the Vatican, and claimed that a Pope should speak with Church authority, he could find on this subject no sure voice of even a Pope till about a hundred years before the Tridentine Council, when Pope Eugenius (A.D. 1441) promulgated the same list of books as the Council afterwards sanctioned. There is therefore no acknowledgment of 'the power of the Church' when we accept the New-Testament Canon."

In the same interesting chapter from which the above extract is taken the author discusses the nature of the grounds on which we receive the New Testament as canonical. These grounds are not wholly objective, as in the Roman and Greek Churches, nor yet wholly subjective, as in writers like Coleridge and Martineau. Even the early Reformers, in their recoil from the Romanist extreme, went very near the opposite one. The right view undoubtedly is the one which seeks to combine the truth on both sides. The reference made by our author to Dr. Martineau and the late Professor Beck of Tübingen was very interesting and just.

Dr. Robertson Smith largely reproduces the views of German and Dutch writers, and reproduces them with all their errors of fact. Diestel, in his learned work on the History of the Old Testament in the Christian Church, makes Irenæus teach that "Apostolical tradition" is the key to the meaning of Scripture, the very ground taken by modern Rome. Dr. Smith duly repeats this statement, enlarging its sweep. The note (p. 224) in which this error of the original writer and his copyist is exposed is well worthy of consultation.

The subject is tempting. The criticism of Matthew Arnold and "his many beautifully verbose books" is exceedingly happy. Mr. Arnold "tells us at once what is the essential portion of any part of Scripture, what was St. Paul's original meaning in some of his doctrines, and how he grew out of any physical meaning of the phrases he used, spiritualising them altogether, though he himself never understood how he had changed, which, however, Mr. Arnold happily explains for him, and how most unhappily 'Paul was led into difficulty by the tendency—making his real imperfection both as a thinker and as a ruler—the tendency to Judaize.'" We hope we have said enough to induce many of our readers to study the book for themselves.

SEISS'S APOCALYPSE.

The Apocalypse. A Series of Special Lectures on the Revelation of Jesus Christ. By Joseph A. Seiss, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Holy Communion, Philadelphia, U.S. Three Vols. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1882.

A NOTE is appended to each of these three volumes, stating

that "This work has been put before the British public in conditions so unwarrantably mutilated and changed without knowledge or consent of the author, and with omissions and accompaniments so unfair to his presentations, that he has been moved to arrange with the present publishers to issue this complete and only authorised edition unaltered from the American copyright plates." The contents of the work are so extraordinary that we are not surprised at their being seized upon with avidity and published in various forms on this side of the Atlantic. We suspect, however, that he is indebted to his friends for the unfair treatment of which he complains. His opponents would be content to set forth his views accurately, with a strong conviction that to a very large extent they carry with them their own refutation.

In the preface to the first volume, published originally in 1869, Dr. Seiss informs us that his theological standpoint is that of Protestant orthodoxy. "He claims to be in thorough accord with the great Confessions of the early Church, and of the Reformation. Contrary to them he has nothing to teach, though he is quite convinced that they have not in every direction altogether exhausted the contents of the Scriptures. Their eschatology, particularly, is very summary, rendering further inquiry and clearer illustration desirable" (p. iv.). He therefore thinks it his duty to push his inquiries into unexplored regions of revealed truth, and begs that if anything is advanced in his lectures beyond what has been commonly thought, it may not be rejected too hastily, but dispassionately weighed in the fear of God, and in just regard for His infallible Word.

His claim to Protestant orthodoxy will be cheerfully conceded, and the Christian spirit which pervades the whole book will convince all his readers of his perfect sincerity and honesty of purpose; but his theological views revolve in two circles, the one within the other: and the inner one cuts him off completely from the great majority of his Protestant brethren. He is an ultra Calvinist: and he has adopted the extreme futurist mode of interpreting the Apocalypse. Though he is a very able exponent of this method, he has, by adopting it, placed himself in direct antagonism with the ripest scholarship, the deepest piety, and the most profound learning of the age.

The three volumes before us consist of fifty-two lectures, apparently delivered on Sunday evenings at his church in Philadelphia, during a period of about eleven years. They contain a complete exposition of the Book of Revelation, a new translation of which is given in sections as the texts on which the Lectures are based. A criticism of this new translation does not fall within the scope of the present notice. It is sufficient to say that there is, on the whole, a substantial agreement with our English Revised Version.

"Unto the ages of the ages," however, which our English translators have relegated to the margin, he has introduced into the text. We prefer the good old English "for ever and ever!" It is probably in his futurist views that our author claims to be in advance of the Christian scholarship of the age; and though there is little in his work which may not be found elsewhere, it will doubtless be received by the Christian public as the most complete exposition of the Apocalypse on futurist principles which has yet issued from the press. The style is clear and vigorous; sometimes eloquent and intensely earnest; but whilst there are some brilliant passages, the lecture occasionally sinks to the level of the ordinary Sabbath-evening sermon, and would have been improved by a little pruning. Such expressions as "Out upon such doctrine!" are offensive to the English taste: and his exposition of the "sacred numbers" which occur in the Book of Revelation and elsewhere, is occasionally so extremely fanciful as to tend rather to mirth than edification. For instance, "Six is the Satanic number. As the darkest hour immediately precedes the dawn, and the darkest years are the last before the Millennial Sabbath, so the number immediately preceding the complete seven is the worst of all. The sixth body in the solar system is a shattered one!" &c.; and we are solemnly assured that these numbers "have an important significance, rooted in the nature of things, and acknowledged in the Scriptures, and in the common language and thinking of the great mass of mankind. They are not inventions of men, but expressions of God and His works" (i. 137). Unfortunately for our author, it has been discovered, since this lecture was delivered, that Mars has two satellites, so that if the asteroids are really fragments of a broken planet, they represent the eighth body of the solar system, and not the sixth! It is also said of the seraphim, mentioned in Isaiah vi., and of the "four living ones" seen by John, that "each one had six wings;" so that the number seems to be quite as much angelic as Satanic.

These are minor blemishes, however. The strictures we feel compelled to pass upon the book refer to matters of a far more serious kind. We cannot regard it as, in any sense, a sober and instructive exposition of the Apocalypse. In its bald literalness of interpretation, it is a romance of thrilling interest and power, with which we should have been completely fascinated, but for the deepening conviction as we proceeded from lecture to lecture, that the whole scheme is unreal. It is not a true presentment of the sublime and mysterious scenes which it professes to unfold.

We shall only be able to follow the author a very little way, but we must in the first place briefly state his guiding principles of interpretation. (1.) He contends that, as the Apocalypse is

in its very nature a *revelation*, it was intended to be fully understood by Christians of all ages; and that, if its meaning is not quite as plain as that of some other portions of the Word of God, diligent study will bring out all its stores of wisdom and knowledge. By treating nearly all its symbols as facts, he seems to have no more difficulty in dealing with it than he would have in writing a commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. (2.) He contends that it is not a revelation *by* Jesus Christ, but a revelation *of* Jesus Christ—that is, of the power and glory bestowed upon Him by the Father, which can only be fully manifested at His Second Coming. This interpretation, however, is entirely at variance with the Inscription of the Book, “The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto Him to shew unto His servants things which must shortly come to pass.” This surely means a revelation from Jesus to His servants of truths which God gave to Him for the purpose; though of course it is a revelation of the Saviour’s glory, so far as it is described therein. The title of the book; therefore, does not shut us up to the closing scenes of the world’s history, and the very foundation of futurism fades from view. (3.) He contends that John’s declaration that he “was in the spirit on the Lord’s day” means that “he was caught up out of himself, and out of his proper place and time, and stationed amid the stupendous scenes of the great day of God, and made to see the actors in them, and to look upon them transpiring before his eyes, that he might write what he saw and give it to the churches” (i. 21). He can see no essential difference between ἡ Κυριακή ἡμέρα and ἡ ἡμέρα Κυρίου translated respectively *the Lord’s day* and *the day of the Lord*; nor is there any essential difference of meaning in the corresponding English terms; but they are, nevertheless, used in an entirely different sense by common consent. There is no ground whatever for the futurist interpretation that this expression refers to ‘the day of the Lord,’ as in 2 Thess. ii. 2;”* and however John’s words are translated we shall still apply them to the Christian Sabbath. There is not the slightest indication in the text that John “was caught out of himself and out of his proper place and time;” but, on the contrary, the Saviour’s words directed his thoughts across the Ægean Sea to churches then existing, and with which he was personally familiar. With these unwarranted assumptions as his guides, he takes the entire Apocalypse, and, stripping it as far as possible of all mystery, weaves it into a connected and literal description of events, the greater part of which are to occur within the next few years, and the effect of which will be to destroy the Church of Christ on earth, to break up human society, to deluge the world with blood, to let loose upon mankind untold horrors

* *New-Testament Commentary for English Readers*, in loc.

from the bottomless pit, and to deliver over a large proportion of them to swift and terrible destruction.

In the author's view the Book of Revelation, from the beginning of the second chapter to the end of the twentieth chapter, deals exclusively with the final judgment of mankind. The judgment of the Church is described in the seven epistles to the churches of Asia Minor, which represent 1. The Universal Church as it existed at the close of the first century; and 2. The entire course of the Church through seven stages of ever deepening darkness and corruption till it reaches the Laodicean state, and is finally cast off with loathing and abhorrence; the few righteous meanwhile being caught up to meet the Saviour in the air, together with the saints who have part in the first resurrection. This is the first vision of judgment. The second is the marshalling of the glorified saints for Christ's forthcoming to judge the world. (Rev. iv., v.). Thirdly. We have the judgment of the seals, including the prophesying of the two witnesses, and the overthrow of Babylon. Fourthly. Christ's manifestation to the world in the great battle of Armageddon, &c. Fifthly. The final resurrection and judgment of the rest of mankind. We cannot deal with all these points, but must touch briefly on one or two of them.

The epistles to the seven churches represent prophetically the whole course of the Church of Christ on earth. Ephesus stands for the Apostolic age; and, therefore, according to our author, the final judgment must, in some sense, have commenced from the day of Pentecost itself! Smyrna represents the Church of the second and third centuries—the age of persecution. Pergamos sets forth the development of prelacy and priestcraft in the fourth and following centuries. Thyatira is popery full-blown, and Jezebel is the scarlet woman. Sardis is the type of the reformed churches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The great revivals of the eighteenth century are represented by Philadelphia; and now the Church universal has reached the Laodicean stage, and is about to be cast away! But in what sense can we regard these epistles as visions of judgment at all? In six of them there is commendation of that which is good; in five there is reproof and threatened punishment; but in all seven there is exhortation and encouraging promise. In no case is the decision final, as the door of mercy is left open to all, so that the epistles take their place, not amid the closing scenes of the dispensation, but amongst the "all Scripture" which "is given of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."

And how does it appear that the Church has sunk lower and lower from age to age in its moral and spiritual condition? In what sense was Smyrna worse than Ephesus? The latter had left its first love and was threatened with destruction; the former

was commended for its works and its patient endurance, and received no reproof at all. To get over this difficulty Dr. Seiss incorporates the blaspheming Jews with the Church at Smyrna ! But in that case the words should have been "I know the blasphemy of those Jews who say they are Christians and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan;" and they should have been threatened with punishment, unless they repented and did the first works. These men were clearly unconverted, and had no place in the Christian Church whatever, and if it be true, as our author affirms, that there was a vast increase of judaising teaching through the second and third centuries, there is no indication of it in this epistle—a clear proof that it was not intended to be prophetic of the state of the Church of that period. It may be confessed at once that Pergamos was worse than Smyrna; but Thyatira, notwithstanding the monstrous wickedness of some of its members, was in a better state than either Pergamos or Ephesus; for it was commended for its "works and love, and service, and faith and patience;" and punishment was threatened, not against the Church, but against Jezebel and her followers.

How is all this applicable to Popery? Was the Church from the sixth to the sixteenth century in a better spiritual condition than it was during the Apostolic age? Sardis had not a single word of commendation. A few individual members only were undefiled, and should walk with Christ in white. Was the Reformed Church, then, worse than the Popish one, and was the Reformation a step from bad to worse? So says our author, in effect; and further, he is compelled to admit that this epistle was not a prophetic description of the whole Church, but only of the reformed section of it, and he thus abandons his principle of interpretation. This he does still more emphatically in the case of Philadelphia. He applies the epistle, not to the Universal Church of the seventeenth century, but only to a small, struggling fraction of it; which was, perhaps, hardly a thousandth part of the whole. The little revival band has not only survived to the present day, but has leavened every Protestant Church in greater or less degree. It has spread itself nearly over all lands, so that it is shaking existing nations, and moulding the religious life of the infant communities which will be the great nations of the future. It is doing more in a single generation for the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom than the Universal Church did during a millennium of stagnant corruption. It is altogether the vastest power for good the world has ever seen, not excepting the Church of the Apostolic age; and yet our author, driven by the necessities of his prophetic theory, asserts that it has sunk into a state of Laodicean indifference—in its own estimation "rich and increased with goods, and needing nothing;" but in the judgment

of its offended Lord "wretched and miserable, and poor and blind, and naked." Nor is there any possibility of improvement. Christ is about to inflict upon this Laodicean age the Laodicean fate. The final scene may be expected any day; the trumpet is about to sound; the dead in Christ are about to rise; and all living saints are about to be caught up to heaven. The author knows of nothing in the prophecies of God which stands between the present moment and the first resurrection except perhaps a fuller development of existing evils.

And what will follow the rapture of the saints and the close of the dispensation? The greatest revival the world has ever seen! Not the concession of sinners, for that will be impossible; but the Laodiceans who have been "spued out of the Saviour's mouth" will be so awakened and alarmed that they will repent and turn to the Lord; and though there will be no thrones and no crowns for them, as they can never belong to the "general assembly and Church of the first-born," they will be admitted into heaven as the *servants* of the Church! They will pass through the tribulation of the first five seals, and will then be translated to heaven without dying. This will be the second rapture of the saints. These recovered Laodiceans will be the great multitude before the throne, with palms in their hands, as described in Rev. vii. Their state is unspeakably glorious; but it will be very inferior to that of the throned and crowned ones. Dr. Seiss estimates their number at four millions, or thereabouts!

Much of the foregoing will be familiar to many of our readers. To those who have not heard of them before, we have only to say that "the half has not been told." We would gladly go further, but our space forbids. We will only indulge in one more statement. The author believes that the two witnesses who are to prophesy in sackcloth and ashes for three years and a half, and then to be slain, will be Enoch and Elijah; and that the Beast and the False Prophet who are to slay them will be Nero and Judas Iscariot, whose souls are to be brought up from the bottomless pit, and their bodies "resurrected" by Satan for the purpose! We think we need offer no apology for saying that we reject Mr. Seiss's futurist scheme as a perversion of the Truth of God.

REDFORD'S PROPHECY.

Prophecy: Its Nature and Evidence. By the Rev. R. A. Redford, M.A., LL.D. London: The Religious Tract Society.

THIS volume, following closely upon *The Christian's Plea Against Modern Unbelief*, by the same author, possesses both the

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good qualities and the defects of its forerunner. The evidence of the Divine origin of Christianity, supplied by the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, is developed with unanswerable force; and the supernatural character of the revelation is clearly exhibited. The predictions contained in the Holy Scriptures are carefully distinguished from the forecasts of the unaided human intellect. Such terms as "insight," "intuition," "inspiration of genius," and others of like import, are examined and set aside; and Mr. Redford contends successfully that, after making all allowance for the exercise of the natural faculties of the sacred writers, we have in the Bible a body of moral and religious truth which was miraculously communicated to the authors, and through them to the Church and the world. Sometimes the revelation was "from mouth to mouth," and we have the very words of God, as in a large proportion of the writings of Moses, embodied in the Pentateuch. In other cases the impression might be mental, but so vivid that the very words of the Divine communication were again exactly reproduced. On the other occasions the revelation was by vision, the prophet being in an ecstasy or trance; his natural faculties being in abeyance, or under the direct control of the Holy Spirit; and dreams were also used by the Spirit as the medium through which the will of God was revealed to man.

It will be seen, therefore, that our author is an able and zealous defender of the Christian religion; and he upholds the cardinal doctrines of our faith with complete fidelity; but it is to be regretted that he uses the word inspiration in a sense so low that, if his theory were true, many parts of the Holy Scriptures would possess no more Divine authority than the writings of Wesley, or Jonathan Edwards, or Spurgeon, or any other of the great lights of the Christian Church of modern times. In the preface Dr. Redford says, "The view of inspiration, which underlies the author's method in dealing with prophecy, is expounded in his Handbook of Christian Evidence, *The Christian's Plea Against Modern Unbelief*." The latter work was noticed in this REVIEW some time ago (No. cxiii. p. 206), and we then took exception to the author's view of inspiration as conceding too much to the rationalistic spirit of the age, and seriously weakening the authority of the Bible as a whole. We need not, therefore, go largely into the subject now; but must briefly indicate the opinions which we cannot endorse. If all the objectionable passages were gathered together they probably would not fill half a dozen pages: but, being there, they flavour the whole book and greatly detract from its value. For example, we occasionally meet with such passages as the following: "It cannot be doubted that very much of the extreme bitterness which has been introduced into criticism, and the controversies

attending it, is owing to a reaction from a bigoted and narrow-minded bibliolatry; from the worship of the mere letter of the sacred writings; from the overstrained literalism of some of the interpretations of prophecy," &c. (p. 121). "When a prophet sat down to write history he may have adopted methods which were handed down to him from former times, or were the result of a diligent application of his own faculties to the matter in hand. . . . But it is going too far to take it for granted that he was miraculously preserved from historical inaccuracy, or miraculously directed as to the arrangement of facts and description of them. In like manner, when he preached (and it must be remembered that a great proportion of what is now preserved to us under the name of a prophet is probably the remains of his preaching) . . . there is no need for us to suppose that he was lifted up by a supernatural afflatus above the use of his ordinary faculties. If he spoke poetry, it was because he was poetically endowed. If he uttered lofty sentiments of morality, it was because he was living and acting daily in a region of lofty feeling; he was filled with the spirit of righteousness; he drank deeply into that Word of God which had already spoken to the fathers." "His heart was open to the suggestions of God's Spirit on contemporary events, and on the moral and spiritual condition of the people." "While, therefore, we recognise in a large proportion of the prophetic language just such words as a faithful prophet would feel it at the time quite natural to utter, we do not on that account regard them as any the less inspired because there is nothing in them which presupposes an abnormal state of mind" (pp. 82, 83). Here we have an inspiration which does not carry with it the idea of infallibility, and therefore the Divine authority of a large proportion of the Holy Scriptures is given up. In stigmatising those who have throughout consistently maintained the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures as "Bible worshippers," Dr. Redford surely borrows a shaft from the enemy's quiver, and with it seeks to wound his friends. He also says, "The student of Scripture must not be afraid of critical investigation. If he must, after mature inquiry, yield some positions which have been assumed, he has many others which remain unassailed. . . . We have sometimes to be content to fall back upon what may be called the main line of prophecy, withdrawing from a branch which seemed to belong to it, and yet may be found to have no true connection with it" (p. 121). If there are positions not yet attacked it is because the battle has been waged chiefly round the outworks hitherto; but how long will the citadel remain unassailed after the outworks have been carried? It appears to us that the author has, without sufficient cause, given up the first line of defence—the infallibility of the Holy

Scriptures—and retired upon the citadel; but we prefer to maintain the old position. We do not know on what other principle the perfect unity which pervades the whole Bible can be accounted for. It bears the stamp of the Infinite Mind throughout; and we find the same characteristics in the Book of Revelation as in the Book of Nature—entire unity of purpose with endless variety of expression. Dr. Redford would, doubtless, admit this; but we cannot see by what means the result was attained if the sacred writers were liable to error. If we adopt his theory of inspiration we are not even sure that the words of Jesus have been faithfully handed down to us. It is true that He is reported to have said to His disciples, “The Holy Ghost whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you;” but how are we to know that John’s memory did not prove treacherous, and that he was not mistaken in supposing that the Saviour ever gave this promise at all, seeing that his so-called inspiration did not preserve him from inaccuracy?

We shall presently point out another inconvenience which arises from the author’s theory, but must first say a few words about a very interesting and important section of the book—the chapters in which he deals with the prophet’s training, office, and mission. He divides the subject into two parts: the prophetic office and mission as they existed before the time of Samuel; and the more systematic form which they assumed during the period from Samuel to Malachi. The following short extract is very suggestive: “Employing the term prophecy in a large and comprehensive sense to represent the whole free manifestation of the Spirit of God in utterance, we may say that it was developed in two separate departments in the ages that followed Samuel—the one was the department of Worship; the other was the department of Revelation” (p. 66). The influence, on the religious life of the nation, of the schools of the prophets instituted by Samuel is traced out; and the author conjectures that these schools were colleges in which the youths of the country were instructed in reading, writing, music, the law, the history of their fathers, the principles of theocracy, &c.; the Pentateuch being the basis of instruction. From the study of the Pentateuch “under the guidance of the Spirit of God, prophecy itself as a distinct growth in Israel came forth.” It is set before us in its broad features as a system, and the prophets are studied as a united body, or order of Divinely-commissioned teachers, though, of course, there are separate notices of the individual writers of the Old-Testament Scriptures.

In considering this part of the subject the vital question arises, on what principle the sacred writings, which may be

properly called inspired prophecies, were "separated from all others, and how they came to be taken to represent the 'Word of the Lord'?" Admitting the entire absence of any data as to the way in which the Old-Testament Canon was formed, the author replies, in substance, that it was mainly the fulfilment of predictions contained in the writings which led to their ultimate acceptance by the Jewish Church; but this does not cover the whole ground, as some of the books contain no predictions, or only such as would receive their fulfilment in remote ages; whilst some of the prophets, according to Mr. Redford, received no direct revelation, and had no knowledge of Divine things except that which they had derived from the study of the sacred books already written. He therefore falls back on the voice of the Spirit in the Church, indicating the prophets whose writings must be admitted into the sacred Canon. "The work of the Spirit of God in the people of God must be as real as that which distinguishes the sacred messenger. The coincidence of the two voices—the voice of the Spirit in the congregation, the voice of the Spirit in the individual—though it may be long waited for, becomes at last an undoubted fact" (p. 79). The authority of the Holy Scriptures, therefore, rests on a twofold basis: "the authority of one great and good man who declares what he has seen and heard and handled of the Word of Life; and the authority of many good men, inspired with the spirit of faith and love, though not themselves organs of the Spirit, declaring, through their united testimony, their acceptance of the Word" (p. 79). This view, of course, we accept, but it brings us once more into collision with Mr. Redford's theory of inspiration. If the Holy Ghost did not preserve the sacred penmen from mistakes, and their writings were mixed with human error, how could He testify to the Church that their word was His Word? And if He did not preserve the prophets from mistakes, what guarantee have we that the "congregation" did not also make mistakes sometimes, rejecting inspired books, and receiving those which were not inspired? We are here brought face to face with a twofold element of uncertainty; and it appears to us that we must maintain the infallible inspiration of the writers on the one hand, and the unerring providential guidance of the Church on the other; or to a large extent give up our confidence in the Bible as the Word of God.

SAVILE'S FULFILLED PROPHECY.

Fulfilled Prophecy in Proof of the Truth of Scripture. By the Rev. Bouchier Wrey Savile, M.A. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

FOR many years the subject of prophecy has lain under a cloud of

prejudice. The name has been enough to repel hearer or reader. Instead of confining themselves to the fulfilments of the past, where there is abundant scope for research, interpreters of a certain school have used prophecy merely as a means of speculation about the future. The Divine has been mixed with the human, the certain with the utterly uncertain, and the whole subject has been involved in discredit. We are thankful for so many signs that reason and sobriety are likely to resume their sway in this important field. Several writers have lately treated prophecy in the spirit of Davison and Newton and Fairbairn. Mr. Savile's work, as a whole, belongs to the same honourable class. With the exception of the last chapter, in which the writer expresses his belief in a future return of the Jews to Palestine, the book is faithful to its title, *Fulfilled Prophecy*. All the chief subjects of Scripture prophecy are included in the survey,—the Supremacy of Japheth, the History of the Jews, the Man of Sin, the Messiah, the Great Empires. It seems to us that a chronological order would have been better than the one adopted. To treat of the fate of Babylon, Nineveh, Tyre, Egypt, after an account of modern Christendom, scarcely seems happy. On all these subjects the reader will find abundance of curious learning and ingenious suggestion. Indeed, the author is too prodigal of interesting matter; he tells us too much. It is hard to see the use of detailing fanciful legends (*e.g.* respecting the fate of the spoils of Jerusalem, p. 65), only to reject them. So again, the chapters on the Growth of Christendom, on Modern Rationalism and Infidelity, are somewhat irrelevant, and mar the continuity of the argument. The point on which the author has spent his chief strength is the identity of the "Little Horn," "the Apostasy," "the Man of Sin," and "Babylon the Great" with the Papacy. To this subject four chapters are given. The course of argument pursued, the exposition of texts and array of facts brought to bear, are well worthy of consideration. The author is almost angry with Canon Farrar for classing an interpretation, which has so many great names on its side, among "exploded expositions." Canon Farrar, however, had said that the exposition is held by "no sane man of competent education in the present age." It is well that the last clause was added, or Jewell, Hooker, Andrews, Usher, Butler, Warburton, Van Mildert would have been included in the condemnation. Mr. Savile gives much interesting information respecting "The Taxes of the Apostolic Penitentiary, or the Prices of Sins in the Church of Rome," the persecuting principles of that Church, and the evil lives of some of the Popes. He also gives some curious illustrations of the dogmatism of scientists. Büchner calls his opponents "mental slaves, speculative idiots, yelping curs." All who do not accept his teaching "for the most part

are either ignorant or superannuated." We suppose we must be thankful for the qualification. Huxley is scarcely more tolerant when he describes his opponents as "persons who not only have not attempted to go through the discipline necessary to enable them to be judges, but who have not even reached that state of emergence from ignorance in which the knowledge that such a discipline is necessary dawns upon the mind." We are sorry to say that the revision of the press in Mr. Savile's work has been very carelessly done. On page vii. the sentence beginning "Mindful" is unfinished. On page 3 is a sentence with a superfluous "not." "Mr." Thomas Aquinas (p. 285) is extraordinary. The following are among the misspelt names: Astrue, Shotten, De Witte, Bückner, Voght, Haechel, Shöttgen, Lozomen." Some of these are spelt rightly in other places.

RAWLINSON'S RELIGIONS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD.

The Religions of the Ancient World. By George Rawlinson. M.A. London: Religious Tract Society.

QUITE a model introduction to an important subject. A great drawback to the ordinary manuals of comparative religion is the difficulty of distinguishing between ascertained facts and the author's theories. No such difficulty is met with in Professor Rawlinson's book. Comment is avoided. The chapters deal exclusively with facts. Indeed, the author is of opinion that the time for generalisation on so vast and obscure a subject is yet far off. We heartily wish other writers held the same opinion and acted on it. The religions dealt with in the present work are those of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, India, Phoenicia, Etruria, Greece, Rome. Not the least interesting part is that which describes the deities and worship of ancient Egypt. The points of resemblance between Egypt and India are numerous and striking, as in the place held by sun-worship, animal-worship, and the priestly caste. The advanced point of culture reached early in Egypt is one of the greatest problems of ancient history, although the same difficulty presents itself in India in a somewhat less degree. Whether the problem will ever be solved, is doubtful. In his "Concluding Remarks" the Professor states some results which may seem inconsistent with his disclaimer of any attempt to generalise. However, his conclusions are negative, and are separated from the facts on which they are based, so that every reader can judge for himself of the extent to which they are borne out by what precedes. Among other conclusions Professor Rawlinson holds it proved that neither the religion nor the

Scriptures of the Jews could have been derived from other nations, and that "the facts point to a primitive religion, of which monotheism and expiatory sacrifice were parts gradually corrupted and lost, except among the Hebrews." Accurate and trustworthy, the work gives in small space a vast amount of information, and is a worthy supplement to the handbooks on separate religions published by the Christian Knowledge Society.

JEWES IN ROME.

A History of the Jews in Rome. By E. H. Hudson. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

THE title of this book does not accurately describe its contents. It is true it contains a history of Judaism in Rome, but it contains as well, in outline at least, a history of the rise and progress of Christianity and of the Roman Empire and its fall. The dates to determine the period, the earliest points of which are to be considered, are from B.C. 160 to A.D. 604: that is to say, from the advent of the Maccabees to the death of that Gregory who was practically the first Christian pontiff. Of course, in the history of any people, a period of nearly 800 years cannot be otherwise than eventful and at times of deep and critical interest. But what of a period which sees the ruin and dispersion of such a race as that of Israel! the development and decay of the colossal power of Rome! and the evolution of the mightier influence of Christianity! Miss Hudson is favourably known to a considerable circle of readers as the biographer of Queen Louisa of Prussia, but it argues no small amount of courage to make the attempt which is the *raison d'être* of the comparatively small volume before us. Still, as this is not an ambitious work, and the author does not seek to place herself by the side of Ewald, Renan, Milman, or even Farrar, but merely to provide that which is "suitable for reading in the family," there is no need to be exacting. The question is: does the book attain its end? and on the whole the answer must be in the affirmative. Another really serviceable volume has been provided for the shelves of the household library. Something of this sort was wanted. It is not always judicious to send young people, however carefully educated, to the fountain head of history or to the works of such scholars as those we have named. The fountain head itself is too often turbid and impure, and the scholarship of the critical historian is too often dissociated from reverence and faith.

Always the Jew is a problem, but most people are content to differentiate him by means of a general impression of his stubborn national vitality and keenness in commercial pursuits. Comparatively few are versed, for instance, in the heroism of the san-

guinary war which preceded the dispersion, and fewer still in the subsequent efforts of this indomitable race to resist the remorseless tyranny of imperial Rome, quenched only, as Josephus tells us, in rivers of blood. As far as the necessarily limited space at the writer's command permits, these topics are clearly put before the reader, and will help him to understand how it has come to pass that no form of civilisation, Pagan, Christian, or Oriental, and no development of barbaric oppression, have ever been able wholly to crush the Jew. But it is where Miss Hudson's pages are most consistent with their title that they are most attractive. The Jewish colony, first established on any large scale by Pompey, became one of considerable importance even in the capital of the empire. A wealthy Jew was one of the chief agents in the overthrow and assassination of Caligula when he had worn out the patience of Rome, patrician and plebeian alike, and it is a remarkable fact, which Miss Hudson has failed to point out, that a Jew, Tiberius Alexander, lived to see a statue erected to him in the forum—a distinction beyond which it was scarcely possible to go. Between this point of exalted privilege and the wretched garbage-mongers and beggars of the Ghetto in the trans-Tiberine district, every condition of life was known to the Jews. They were slaves, freedmen, soldiers, artificers, money-lenders, merchants, members of the imperial household, and everywhere to be met with in the city itself and its precincts. But the mass scarcely ranged above poverty, and that of an abject kind, and it is in the delineation of their lives that Miss Hudson is, perhaps, most successful. We obtain from her a graphic picture of the kind of people among whom St. Paul worked, when he had liberty to work at all, during his residence in Italy, and her description of the Jews' quarter, of which we reproduce a few sentences, will give an idea of the style and quality of her work.

“ We see very narrow streets united by crooked lanes, houses so old as to be falling into ruin, yet utter ruin has not abolished the Jews' Ghetto—it has lived on in a perpetual state of decay. Here and there its buildings are supported by huge props of timber, but they are full of Hebrew life, lying prostrate at the foot of the majestic height crowned by the Capitol of Rome. Some of the houses have been grand in their day, irregularly built and mostly with overhanging roofs, but not without pretensions to architecture, as some of the ancient pillars and doorways indicate; and wood-work on which are quaint carvings and devices of beasts and birds and a few Jewish emblems, all in a worn-out, neglected condition, all in harmony with the surrounding relics of the portico of Octavia, the theatre of Marcellus, the fish market of old Rome, the Flaminian circus, the Jewish ambassador's residence in the Forum Judæorum, and the circus of Balbus. . . . European costumes have changed, but everywhere the poor Jew is still conspicuously shabby

and dirty ; not as picturesque as the ragged Italian, nor does he look as lighthearted. The air in these narrow streets is so revoltingly impure that one can but expect to see pale and haggard faces. The wonder is, how people can live on, enjoying any degree of health and strength and spirit in such a noxious atmosphere. They look thin, sickly, and miserable ; yet here they are, in spite of all the revolutions that have overthrown governments and institutions, political and religious."

Not the least interesting part of this book is the narration of the history of the seven-branched golden candlestick and the golden table taken from the Temple at Jerusalem. It will be a matter of surprise to many to find that their history can be traced for several centuries after their deportation by the victorious Titus ; that they were removed from Rome to Carthage by Genseric, the Vandal king, recaptured by Belisarius, the general of the Eastern empire, transported to Constantinople, sent thence by Justinian to a Christian Church in Jerusalem, there to remain until they were captured by Chozroes II., who (A.D. 614) once more despoiled that often despoiled city. Here their history ends, and in what way they further ministered to Eastern cupidity no one can tell.

Miss Hudson has digressed, we have said, from her programme, but the digression is pardonable. There is an almost unrivalled attractiveness in the story of the upgrowth of a maligned and persecuted few, possessed of revolutionary and mystic ideas in religion, taking as their most sacred emblem the last sign of degradation amongst men, into a power in the State, into a position of unchallenged superiority. Both these stories, the survival of the Jew and the predominance of the Christian, are told by Miss Hudson in a wholesome way, and although it may be that, at times, her subject matter seems to be ill-distributed and undue attention is drawn to comparatively insignificant facts, yet it cannot be said that any matter of real importance has been overlooked. Those who read this volume will have a fairly adequate notion of what really took place in the period with which it is concerned. The writer frankly declares that it is little more than a compilation, and acknowledges that her ignorance of the dead languages has compelled her to fall back upon translations, histories, and comments. She has had the sense which all writers on this and kindred subjects do not possess, not to encumber her pages with numberless references to authors, many of whom would otherwise never have been heard of, and much to the distraction of the reader. She has used the writings of those who have really made solid contributions to history, and has used them with discretion. Now and again there are traces of the truth of the author's assertion that she has studied her subject in Rome, as, for instance, in the sentences previously quoted. Sometimes there are blemishes to be noted, not, it is true, of an aggravated character, but which, nevertheless, do not seem to have

a sufficient reason for existence. Apparently they are due to a want of careful revision.

On the second page there is an instance of failure in literary instinct which surely will be removed should a second edition be called for. As a prelude to the whole subject, the sublime words of the patriarchal covenant are cited. "And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." They are joined to and followed by this:

"But then there came a voice:

'Abram,' it said, 'I bid thee come
Forth from thy kindred and thy home,
To a far land which I will show,
Where I will make thy name to grow:
The favour of thy God possessing,
Thou shalt be blessed, and a blessing.'

—"From 'The Call of Abraham,' by Han Kinson."

Still the book is a good book and useful, and answers its purpose so well that it ought certainly to enlarge the audience which for some years Miss Hudson has been seeking to address.

JENKINS'S ROMANISM.

Romanism: A Doctrinal and Historical Examination of the Creed of Pope Pius IV. By the Rev. R. C. Jenkins, M.A., Honorary Canon of Canterbury, and Rector of Lyminge, Hythe. London: The Religious Tract Society.

AFTER referring to a work on the Papacy by his maternal ancestor, Dr. Valentine Alberti, written nearly two centuries ago, at the command of the Elector of Saxony, Canon Jenkins says: "The modern treatment of such a subject must, however, on account of the almost protean changes which the Church of Rome has undergone even in our own day, be essentially different from that which was adopted by our forefathers, . . . and as the new theory of development, though not outwardly accepted by the Papacy, is indirectly countenanced in the Bull *Ineffabilis* and the Vatican definition, and presents itself to too many minds with an almost fascinating influence, it is necessary to prove historically that modern Romanism is neither 'the faith once delivered' nor the natural outcome of that faith, but rather a development of those germs of spiritual disease which led the great Apostle to declare 'the mystery of iniquity doth now already work'" (Pref., pp. 5-6). The object and scope of the

present volume are explained in the first chapter, of which the following is the opening sentence: "It is less with a view of converting those who are within the pale of the Roman Church, than of confirming in the faith those who have had the privilege of a birthright in any of the reformed communions, that these pages are written" (p. 29). In view of the Romanising tendency of much of the teaching in the Anglican Church, and the energetic and persevering efforts of a large section of its clergy to bring about its reunion with Rome, this work is very seasonable; and we have no doubt that it will confirm the wavering minds of many whose attachment to Protestantism has been weakened by the progress of the Ritualistic movement.

It is a close and incisive criticism of the creed of Pius IV., which is professedly based on the decrees of the Council of Trent; and although his arguments are drawn mainly from ecclesiastical history, his final appeal, in all cases, is to the Holy Scriptures, as the only standard of Divine truth. The author points out the essential difference between the Apostolic Councils, which met under the direct guidance of the Holy Ghost, and were therefore able to secure unanimity, and to speak with Divine authority on all matters of faith and practice, and the Councils of a later age, open as they were to "every influence of fear, of fraud, of bribery, of intrigue, and of party feeling" (p. 18). In considering the general subject, an all-important question arises at the outset: What was the character of Pius IV., who undertook to dictate a form of faith to the entire Christian world? And the answer is, "He is described by his Roman biographers as 'passionate, envious, impatient, bitter, in his replies, greedy of power, cunning, a dissembler, and, at the same time, timid and ungrateful'—'a lover of money, over-indulgent to his kindred'—in fact, to have had every quality which could unfit him for the task. . . . His pontificate was stained with one of the most terrible tragedies which ever darkened the gloomy annals of the Papacy. The great family of the Caraffa, which had ruled Italy in the days of their kinsman, Pope Paul IV., after suffering an inhuman series of imprisonments and cruelties at the hands of Pius IV., was at last almost cut off, every chief member of it having been strangled or beheaded by the order of the relentless pontiff; even those against whom no guilt could be proved being compelled to redeem their lives with large sums of money" (p. 16). Another question of equal importance is, What was the character of the Council of Trent, on whose decrees the creed of Pius IV. was professedly founded? The author applies a number of general principles to it as tests; but we can only give a very brief summary of them.

After the Apostolic age, when the Church had spread over the world, the freedom of meeting and means of access to general

councils became impossible without the co-operation of the supreme civil power. The conversion of Constantine first rendered such a gathering possible, as the convulsions arising out of the Arian heresy rendered it necessary; and from that time to the separation of the Eastern and Western empires, the general councils were convoked by the emperors. They alone could make these assemblies a practical reality; and therefore they only had a proper claim to convoke them. But when the empire was broken up the imperial right to convoke the councils was divided amongst the heads of those states, without whose co-operation the council would not be general. The Council of Trent, however, was called only by the Pope, with the consent of the German emperor; but "all the Protestant states refused to take part in it, not a single legitimate bishop appearing from England, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, or the Protestant States of Germany" (p. 19). And further, a general council should be thoroughly representative. "It should represent all orders and degrees of the Christian Church, as the Apostolic Councils did, and as did, in later ages, the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, returning herein to the primitive law" (*ibid.*). But this was not the case at the Council of Trent. The laity were not represented at all, "and many were admitted to vote who, in the earlier Church, would have been strictly excluded; among them the bishops *in partibus*, as they are called. These, the creation of the popes, in order to perpetuate the fiction of an Eastern Church within that of Rome, as they had no jurisdiction, would have had no place at Nice or Chalcedon. Yet they formed almost the majority in the Council of Trent, and being (to use Cajetan's emphatic words) the *servi nati Pontificis* (born slaves of the pontiff), carried everything their master required in the council" (pp. 19-20).

Freedom of discussion and voting also was entirely suppressed. "The learned Vargas, the Spanish envoy at Trent, shows over and over again in his invaluable letters, written from the council, that its liberty was utterly destroyed. Bribery, intimidation, and even violence were resorted to so unscrupulously that the legates carried all before them. The clause *Proponentibus Legatis* reserved the right of initiating any motion to the legates alone; while the freedom of debate was effectually destroyed on every occasion on which it was claimed. Every one who ventured to differ from the fictitious bishops, with whom the Pope had packed the council, was cried down as a heretic or an innovator" (p. 20). "But the intimidation of those who could not be bribed was perhaps less fatal to the legitimacy of the council than the bribery of those who were too weak to need intimidation. The hundred and eighty Italian bishops, with whom the council was packed, besides the poor Greeks

and foreigners who helped to swell the majority, depended, with few exceptions, upon the Pope for their daily bread" (pp. 21-22). So that Vargas, "who was an eye-witness of the whole scene," said, "It is a premeditated game. The council can do nothing of itself. It is divested of all its authority. It has no liberty. The legate is the master, and holds everything in his hand. After this, we must not be surprised at anything" (p. 22).

Another test applied by the author is the necessity of moral unanimity. He argues that though the actual unanimity of the Councils in Apostolic times was unattainable in later ages, there should be at least moral unanimity in general councils in all matters of doctrine if their decrees are to possess any authority in the Christian Church; though, even then, their decisions would not be binding, as the final appeal must always be to the Word of God. The object of a council is not to originate religious truths, but to discover them; or rather, to ascertain what are the doctrines which God has revealed, and therefore the truth of a doctrine cannot be determined by a mere majority of votes, as the minority may have discovered a truth which the majority refuses to receive. "What is to be done, then, if there is not this moral unanimity?" asks a bishop quoted by the author, and the reply is, "I answer in a single word—*nothing is to be done.*" After a lengthy extract from a memoir drawn up by this bishop, Canon Jenkins presents crushing evidence of the utter and hopeless ignorance of the Romish bishops and clergy at the time of the Reformation, and consequently of their total unfitness to decide the great questions at issue between the Papists and Protestants. "Thank God," said the Bishop of Dunkeld, "I have lived many years without so much as knowing whether there were an Old, or yet a New Testament!" and a member of the Sorbonne exclaimed, "Unhappy man that I am, that these young men should be ever referring me to the New Testament. God knows I was over fifty years old before I knew that there was any New Testament at all" (p. 26). The general spirit of the Council, and the character of its proceedings, are thus summed up: "The tumults, the conflicts, the invectives, the altercations, sometimes resulting in personal outrage, which are unveiled to the reader of the great collection of Le Plat, must convince every impartial reader that the Council of Trent, of whose conclusions the creed of Pius IV. is the quintessence, was the most worldly, the most ignorant, and the most turbulent assembly which ever undertook to direct the hearts and lives of men into the higher doctrines of a Church whose distinctive character it is to be 'first pure, and then peaceable'" (pp. 36, 37). It is clear, therefore, that neither the decrees of the Council of Trent nor the creed of Pius IV. have the slightest claim to authority in the Christian

Church, and that they must be rejected as utterly untrustworthy and pernicious. It was impossible that such a tree as the Council could bear any other than evil fruit.

The author devotes an entire chapter to each of the thirteen articles of the creed, and there are three appendices: on The Doctrine of Intention and its Results; The Pre-Reformation Doctrine of the Eucharist, as illustrated by Bishop Tonstall; and The Illegitimacy of the Present Roman Church. Of course we cannot even indicate his various lines of argument, but the work is, in our opinion, a complete demonstration of the hollowness and rottenness of the Papal system. Though, as we might expect from a man of Canon Jenkins's high position, the book may be regarded as a learned treatise, it is very readable. The interest is sustained throughout, and the foot-notes—those terrible barriers to progress if we have little time for reading—are few and brief; whilst the marginal summary of the contents of each paragraph is a great aid to the memory. The young student of theology and ecclesiastical history will find in its pages much food for reflection; and the general reader will derive both instruction and entertainment from it, though the information is sometimes of a ghastly kind. We read of fingers and other fragments of the human body being found amongst the consecrated wafers after the act of transubstantiation—a blasphemous imposture which priestcraft can easily practise by a little manipulation of the paste of which the wafers are made. We read also of the absolution of dead bodies, to entitle them to full canonical burial; of the administration of "Holy Communion" to corpses, by placing the wafers in their mouths; of "bleeding wafers, lacerated hearts, ghastly wounds, and a mutilated Christ" in the modern visions and revelations upon which the "heart worship" in the Roman Church was founded, &c. As a set off against these "lying wonders" we may introduce our readers to Thomas de Hasselbach, a great German divine, "whose doctrine (Pope Pius II. observes) was to be applauded but for the fact that he had been lecturing for twenty-two years on the first chapter of Isaiah, and had not even then come to an end."

Canon Jenkins's views on Apostolical Succession, continued in chapter xiii. are specially valuable. He entirely repudiates the dogma as held both by Romanists and Anglicans. The following passages contain the germs of his argument: "Our belief is in the Holy Catholic Church, and not in any of the officers of that Church, however exalted their position may be in the body." "The Church was, in fact, an incorporation of baptised persons, possessing all its powers and privileges in community, having a perpetual succession in itself, and not merely in its officers or teachers, whom, by the process of election (as in the case of Matthias), it created out of its own body." "But the elective

right is in the people, and therefore the root of ecclesiastical power and privilege is in the whole Church and not in a special order or dynastic succession. And indeed a corporate body is the only human institution which never lapses and never dies" (257-8-9). His remarks on "the Power of the Keys" in chapter v. are to the same effect, and are worthy of special study, but our author is a Churchman of the noblest type; he combines (if we may judge from the book before us) the good qualities of all the schools without their defects. He is high without bigotry, broad without laxity, and evangelical without any trace of Calvinism. If the terms seem paradoxical, we may vary them by saying that he is at once a sound Evangelical Protestant and a true Catholic. We hope that the volume may have a very large sale, and that it will find its way into every Christian household.

JENKINS'S DEVOTION OF THE SACRED HEART.

The Devotion of the Sacred Heart. An Exposure of its Errors and Dangers. By Robert C. Jenkins, M.A., Rector of Lyminge, Hon. Canon of Canterbury. London: The Religious Tract Society.

CANON JENKINS'S larger work on the Creed of Pope Pius IV. has been quickly followed by the little volume before us, the value of which must not be measured by its bulk, as it is a thorough and searching exposure of the revolting superstition and idolatry with which it deals. The origin and history of the devotion of the sacred heart are traced, its nature defined, and its special aim—the conversion of England to Popery—pointed out. The author's object in writing it is thus stated at the end of the preface: "to exhibit, as briefly as possible, the history and inevitable results of a devotion which involves in its *foundation* the principle of Montanism, in its *practice* the errors of Arius and Nestorius, in its *implied teaching* the heresy of Macedonius, and in its moral principles and precepts almost every one of the fatal errors denounced by Pope Innocent XI. in his Bull *Cælestis Pater*, directed against Molinus and the Quietists in the last century." It will be seen, therefore, that Canon Jenkins's appeal is mainly to ecclesiastical history; but the principles which underlie his arguments throughout are unequivocally Protestant and Scriptural. His perfect mastery of the subject indicates sound learning and patient research, and he leads his readers into comparatively untrodden paths; but the interest is kept up on every page, so that whilst the student will find much to repay its perusal, the general reader will find nothing to repel, and much to interest him.

There is one point, however, on which we do not agree with our author, and to get at it we must briefly summarise his account of the origin of this pernicious delusion. He begins at an early

period in the history of the Church—the claim of Montanus, supported by two “prophetesses,” about the year 174, to an inspiration and a prophetic spirit which were designed to supplement, if not to supersede, the final revelation of God in the Holy Scriptures; and he shows how closely these were imitated by the Jesuit de la Colombiere, Mother de Saumaise, and the nun Margaret Mary Alacoque, the inventors of “the devotion of the sacred heart,” exactly fifteen centuries afterwards. Having pointed out the relation of these two events, he proceeds to trace the origin of the new superstition to the dogma of the continued suffering of our Lord even in His glorified state, which has been so largely developed in the Papal system. The introduction of this error into the Christian Church is attributed to Origen (“that arch-heretic,” as the late Dr. Kitto styled him), who asserted that Christ continually sorrows over our sins, and cannot joy whilst we remain in error. This dangerous heresy was effectually refuted by St. Bernard in a special sermon preached A.D. 1091, a striking passage from which is quoted on page 20. Origen, however, contemplated only mental and spiritual suffering, whilst the sufferings described in the hysterical visions of Margaret Mary and other Popish “saints,” are bodily, and marked by revolting features of material and sensuous horror.

Closely allied with these is the Popish dogma of the Corporeal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which gave rise to the festival of *Corpus Christi*, established by a Bull of Urban IV. in 1264. “Parts of our Lord’s body appearing suddenly in place of the wafer, bleeding hosts, and other ghastly spectacles, in which the integrity of the Divine body is disturbed, were the visionary phenomena on which the festival was established. These were carried on in Margaret Mary’s visions by the apparition of a lacerated heart, a wounded Christ, and many other morbid dreams” (p. 23). One of the outgrowths of these superstitions, also, is the worship, not only of the wounds of Christ, but of the nails, the spear, and other instruments by which they were inflicted. The “blessed wood” of the cross, and the “happy lance” that was thought worthy to pierce the Saviour’s side, are familiar terms in Popish and Ritualistic Manuals of Devotion. After pointing out the tendency of pious devotees to address our Lord as a suffering rather than a glorified Saviour, which was so remarkably developed in the hymns, prayers, and courses of devotion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he remarks that whilst the great Reformation cut off many of the more repulsive forms of the materialistic worship of Popery, it did not correct the tendency to address Christ rather in His suffering than His glorified state. This brings us to the point—explained in the following extract—on which we feel compelled to differ from Canon Jenkins.

"This is specially illustrated in the hymns and meditations on the passion, which are to be found in every Church more or less, and which the Puritan divines not less than their Laudian opponents, and the Nonconformists not less than the members of the Church of England in our own day, have composed or authorised. It was left, however, to the eminent and excellent Dr. Goodwin, the favourite chaplain of the Protector, to reintroduce in a more direct form the theory of Origen on the continuous suffering of Christ. Hence it is to him that the Italian bishops, who so energetically opposed the worship of the 'Sacred Heart,' assigned the reproduction of the principle upon which it rests. Pannilini, the Bishop of Chiusi and Pienza, in his famous pastoral to his clergy, observes, 'You know the origin of this false devotion, whose promoters wish to derive it from the celebrated revelations of Sister Margaret Alacoque, whom they acknowledge as their mother and instructress. But it is certain that it has its origin from Thomas Goodwin of the Calvinistic or Nestorian sect. Its first beginning was in truth obscure, but the heart worshippers think it well to save their reputation by rather deriving it from the revelations of the Sister Alacoque.'"

Passages from Dr. Goodwin's treatise on "The Heart of Christ in Heaven towards Sinners on Earth" are quoted, on which the Italian opponents of the new devotion ground their very grave charge against him. It is surprising that our author does not see that as their object was to discredit the worship of the Sacred Heart with all good Catholics, they could not do so more effectually than by assigning to it a Protestant origin, and that this was the reason why Dr. Goodwin's writings were pressed into the service by them. We admit that the passages quoted by the Italians are strong, but they fall very far short of Origen's broad and literal statements. The descriptions of the glorified Saviour's mental and spiritual suffering with His people on earth are guarded and qualified by "as it were" and other such expressions, which shows that he was speaking figuratively and "after the manner of men." The following passage is the most extreme: "Although Christ in His own person be complete in happiness, yet in relation to His members He is imperfect, and so accordingly hath affections suited to this His relation, which is no derogation from Him at all. The Scripture, therefore, attributes some affections to Him which have an imperfection joined with them, and those to be in Him until the day of judgment" (pp. 29, 30). We take exception to the application of the word "imperfect" in any sense to our Saviour in His heavenly state; but we regard it rather as an indiscretion on Goodwin's part than as a deliberate assertion of a pernicious error. The other passages adduced are rather overstrained presentments of the undoubted sympathy which binds our Lord in heaven to His suffering people on earth.

Of course such words as "sympathy" and "compassion," strictly speaking, carry with them the idea of suffering; but how can we speak of heavenly things in human language without such imperfect adaptations? With the exception of the unfortunate use of the word "imperfection," we think that Dr. Goodwin's views are borne out by the plain teaching of the New Testament. Our High Priest is "touched with the feeling of our infirmities." He said to Saul of Tarsus, "Why persecutest thou *Me*?" and in His description of the Day of Judgment He says to the righteous, "*I was hungry, and ye gave Me meat,*" &c. Is such identification of Christ with His people incompatible with the glorified state, and inconsistent with perfect bliss? Is not sympathy, in fact, a blissful feeling and a source of pleasure? The sense of suffering, if we suppose it to exist, is swallowed up and turned to gladness by the joy of helping the distressed. The perfection of Christ's human nature implies perfect sympathy; but the view of the Italian writers, which Canon Jenkins appears to endorse, is that His affections are annihilated, and that the human nature is swallowed up and lost in the Divine. Dr. Goodwin, unlike Origen, asserts the *complete happiness* of our glorified Saviour; and dwells on the *remembrance* of His own earthly sufferings as the source of His sympathy with His people; and he thereby exonerates himself from the charge preferred against him. We regret that our author thought it worthy of reproduction; but with this exception we can very cordially recommend this little book to our readers. We hope that it will be widely read, and that the manly Protestantism which is breathed in every sentence will stir up the Christian public to be very jealous of all Popish innovations, and very zealous for the faith once delivered to the saints.

MCARTHUR'S EVIDENCES OF NATURAL RELIGION.

The Evidences of Natural Religion and the Truths Established Thereby. By Charles McArthur. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

FEW who observe the signs of the times will doubt that the chief danger to religious faith is from materialism. Notwithstanding all the efforts to revive Spinoza's teaching, pantheism has little chance in an age like ours. The great stress of the conflict is with the materialism which is too often favoured in the high places of science. Mr. McArthur's book is a welcome addition to Christian apologetics in this direction. Thoroughly familiar with the teachings of modern science, he considers the great truths of natural religion—the being and government of God, the immortality of the soul—as they are affected by these teachings.

The topic treated at greatest length is the Immortality of the Soul, which forms the subject of three chapters, or rather it is the existence of an immaterial principle that is argued. The three branches of evidence considered are the historical, physiological, and psychological. Under the first head we have an appeal to the universal consensus of belief as expressed in the faith and worship of mankind as well as in the forms of language. The two other heads, of course, deal with the argument proper. Chapters vii. and viii., which give the physiological and psychological evidence, are exceedingly forcible. The difficulties of materialism and its utter failure to explain the commonest facts of thought and life are well brought out. How is the very existence of abstract ideas, or the process of memory, to be explained on a materialistic basis? "If the soul were material," or if there were no soul, but only matter, we may add, "we gather from our knowledge of the qualities of matter, that it could only entertain impressions," or there could only be impressions, "of objects having either material or real existence; and therefore the fact that the soul is capable of entertaining ideas which do not correspond with anything that has either material or real existence," or the fact that such ideas exist, "implies the immateriality of the soul." "Furthermore, there are pleasures and pains which are physical, inasmuch as they arise out of and are determined by bodily conditions, and there are also joys and sorrows of a spiritual nature, inasmuch as they do not result from physical causes, but are engendered by abstract ideas." Materialism makes much of the difficulty of understanding how two such different substances as matter and spirit can co-operate. Our author remarks that the objection assumes "an utter disagreement between the two, so that the two substances have nothing in common, an assumption for which there is no warrant, since we are not acquainted with the absolute nature of the matter." "If there may be in some one or more respects an agreement in the nature of matter and of spirit, the two substances may enter into relation at the point or points of agreement." The treatise is condensed in thought and expression.

GRANT'S GREAT MEMORIAL NAME.

The Great Memorial Name: or, The Self-Revelation of Jehovah as the God of Redemption. By P. W. Grant.
London: Hodder and Stoughton.

REGARDING the Divine name "Jehovah" as the symbol of redemption, the author traces the progressive revelation of both in the pages of Scripture. The stages of revelation reviewed are the Primitive, Mosaic, Prophetic, Messianic, Apostolic. The work

is thus at once a condensed summary and explanation of the passages of Scripture bearing upon the central theme—Redemption. It would be difficult to speak too highly of the spirit of reverence and faith pervading the work. That the author is right in recognising the unity of aim running through Scripture, we have no manner of doubt. The style is eminently sober and veracious. We wish that it were somewhat more bright and attractive. The book will scarcely convince opponents, but it cannot fail to be instructive to believers. The modern sceptical school claims the progressive, historical aspect of Scripture as its special discovery. On the contrary it would be hard to find an age when this truth was not recognised in a greater or less degree. The very structure of such a work as the one now before us, and as Pye Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, proceeds on this supposition. The truth recognised by the present writer and Pye Smith, along with the other, is the one which the historical school "so called" persistently ignores and implicitly denies, namely, the character of special revelation in Scripture. The gradual revelation, not of a body of supernatural doctrine or a perfect system of morals, or even of a scheme of redemption, but of a personal Redeemer—Jehovah, this the author believes and demonstrates to be the one ruling purpose of Scripture from first to last. The author disclaims all pretensions to learning and all desire to settle controverted questions. At the same time it is quite evident that he has read and thought much on the questions discussed, quietly noticing and refuting by anticipation the usual objections raised.

NAVILLE'S MODERN ATHEISM.

Modern Atheism; or, The Heavenly Father. By Ernest Naville. Translated by Rev. Henry Downton, M.A. Second Edition. London : Nisbet.

WE are pleased to see these excellent lectures in a second edition. M. Naville has all the ease and force of the best French writers. His discussions of the nature, methods and tendencies of modern atheism are not unworthy to rank beside the writings of Lacordaire and Didon on kindred subjects. We have been especially struck by the forcible exposition of the bearings of atheism on liberty of conscience and morality (pp. 68, 196). Even such a writer as Lecky, and still more, Draper, is fond of tracing modern toleration to scepticism. On such a view the most unbelieving ought to be the most charitable in word and act, the firmest believer ought to be the most intolerant. Is it so? Are positivists and materialists generally the most tolerant towards those who differ from them? Are even unbelieving scientists

models of charity in their treatment of opponents? Was the French Revolution, which was the political embodiment of the principles of Voltaire and his school, a time of freedom for all opinions and faiths? Atheism has had as long a history as Christianity. Where are its charities, its missions, its monuments of benevolence? In point of fact, modern toleration is the fruit, not of the destruction, but of the enlightenment of faith. M. Naville says, "Sceptical writers affirm that toleration has its origin in the weakening of faith, and, drawing the consequence of their affirmation, they recommend the diffusion of the spirit of doubt as the best means of promoting liberty of conscience. We have here the old argument which would suppress the use to get rid of the abuse. Persecutions are made in the name of religion; let us get rid of faith, and we shall have peace. Prisons have been built and the stake has been set up in the name of God; let us get rid of God, and we shall have toleration. Observe well the bearing of this mode of argument. Let us get rid of fire, and we shall have no more conflagrations; let us get rid of water, and no more people will be drowned." After showing the intolerant tendencies of unbelief, he proceeds: "Faith carries with it the remedy for fanaticism, but where shall be found the remedy for the fanaticism of doubt? In the claims of God? God is but a word, or a worthless hypothesis. In respect for the convictions of others? All conviction is but weakness and folly. When I hear some men who call themselves liberal tracing the ideal of the society which they desire, the bare imagination of their triumph frightens me, for I can understand that that society would enjoy the liberty of the Roman Empire and the toleration of the Cæsars." As for the question of morality, the renunciation of the moral standard is open and unblushing. Perhaps this was never done more openly than in some words of M. Taine quoted on p. 197: "We no longer know anything of morals, but of manners; of principles, but of facts. We explain everything, and, as has been said, the mind ends by approving of all that it explains. Modern virtue is summed up in toleration. That which is has for us the right to be. In the eyes of the modern savant all is true, all is right in its own place. The place of each thing constitutes its truth." We need not quote M. Naville's indignant exposure of such sentiments.

MAHAN'S INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

Introduction to the Critical History of Philosophy. By Rev. Asa Mahan, D.D., LL.D. London: Elliot Stock.

THIS Introduction, extending to eighty pages and arranged in five sections, indicates the principles and sketches the plan of a

Critical History of Philosophy which the author intends to publish in two volumes. At the same time he somewhat anticipates criticism by quoting in the preface the opinions expressed by Dean Payne Smith, and several American scholars, to whom the Introduction was submitted in manuscript. The opinions are highly favourable, and we sincerely agree with them. The author is evidently qualified for the formidable task to which he has set himself, not only by thorough acquaintance with the subject, but also by his eminently clear and vigorous faculty of exposition. He does not indulge in metaphors. The language is as condensed as the thought. Nor does he merely deal in criticism. He has a positive system of his own to advocate. This brief Introduction alone contains much valuable matter. One of the author's fundamental distinctions is that between principles and assumptions. He then shows how the proposition, lying at the basis equally of materialism and idealism, is an assumption, of which no sort of proof is ever attempted. The criteria of necessary truth are also expounded with admirable clearness. With equal cogency he states and explains the only four forms which philosophy can take—materialism, idealism, scepticism, realism. It would be hard to find a clearer outline of the nature of these theories than is given in pages 37-65. The plan of the volumes which are to follow is exceedingly comprehensive. The different systems of Oriental philosophy are to come first, then Greek philosophy, to be followed by mediæval and modern. To the latter "special attention" is to be devoted. If the body of the work is at all equal to the Introduction, it cannot fail to be of great service in the cause of truth. "Compte" (p. 40) and "exconcesis" (p. 74) are misprints.

HANDBOOKS FOR BIBLE CLASSES.

Handbooks for Bible Classes. "Romans," by Principal Brown. "Joshua," by Principal Douglas. "Life of Christ," by the Rev. J. Stalker, M.A. "Presbyterianism," by the Rev. J. Macpherson, M.A.

THE Clark series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes* answers strictly to its name, and has a special claim to confidence. In addition to portableness and excellence of matter—qualities which it shares with some other series—it has the not unimportant merit of cheapness. For a very moderate sum a Sunday-school teacher or teacher of Bible classes may obtain a commentary on Scripture in handy form. Such teachers will find in one of these manuals all the explanation necessary as a starting-point for their own teaching. The Scotch series, indeed, goes beyond the sphere of Scripture.

With a wisdom that is highly commendable it seeks to instruct the young in the nature and history of Presbyterian doctrine and polity. These extra volumes will naturally find their chief circulation in Scotland, although they are well worth the attention of outsiders who wish to understand the Scotch Churches. The two parts of Mr. Macpherson's volume deal with the officers and courts of Presbyterianism. The case for the peculiar function of the Ruling Elder is put as well as it can be. The gradation of Church courts gives Presbyterianism a compact organisation. Mr. Macpherson is careful to explain that by the *jus divina* of Presbyterianism is simply meant that the *fundamental principles* of Apostolic church-government have been retained, a very moderate position, and one taken by most writers in other churches. Mr. Stalker's manual has reached its eleventh thousand, and well deserves the honour. The subject is treated as well as so wide a subject can be treated in such brief compass. The work is bright, definite, suggestive. In his little book on Joshua, Principal Douglas has incorporated the results of the most modern travel and exploration. Any one who will master the book of Joshua, with such a guide, will have no mean acquaintance with the geography of the Holy Land. "To this hour, we are told by travellers, that there is no better guide to their geographical studies than the book of Joshua." We wish that it had been possible to add a map, however rough, to the handbook. We are surprised, also, that no table of contents is prefixed, as in the other volumes. The brief introduction touches lightly on all necessary points. We can easily believe that Principal Brown's *Handbook on Romans* is "the fruit of fond, unwearied, lifelong diggings in an exhaustless mine." The work is done lovingly, thoroughly. Compared with Mr. Moule's excellent handbook, we should say that the present one is more theological, dealing more closely everywhere with the doctrine of the epistle. Even in those parts where we should differ from the venerable author, we gladly acknowledge that the tone is by no means controversial. The expositor is in thorough sympathy with the Apostle. Joy, wonder, rapture inspire the one as the other. The study of such an exposition will be as great a blessing to the heart as to the head of the reader, and this, we think, every commentary on Scripture ought to be. While admiring the spirit of Dr. Brown's work, we by no means imply that the exegesis is inferior. On the contrary, it is eminently solid and thorough. The expositor knows as much as any one man can know of the literature of the epistle. We should like the student to weigh carefully every word of the exposition of chap. v. 12-19. In the exposition of the latter part of chap. vii. and chap. ix. he takes the line we should naturally expect him to do, but he is not aggressive. On chap. viii. he is very good. Take

this, on viii. 33: "If there could be any doubt as to the meaning of the all-important word, 'justification,' in this epistle—whether it means, as the Church of Rome teaches and many others affirm, '*infusing* righteousness into the unholy so as to *make* them righteous,' or, according to Protestant teaching, '*absolving, acquitting, or pronouncing* righteous the guilty'—verse 33 ought to set such doubt entirely at rest. For the Apostle's question in this verse is, 'Who shall *bring a charge against* God's elect?'—in other words, 'Who shall *pronounce or hold them guilty*?' seeing that God *justifies* them,' showing beyond all doubt that to *justify* was intended to express precisely the opposite of 'holding guilty'; and, consequently (as Calvin triumphantly argues), that it means 'to absolve from the charge of guilt.' After the same unanswerable mode of reasoning, we are entitled to argue that if there could be any reasonable doubt in what light the *death* of Christ is to be regarded in this epistle, verse 34 ought to set that doubt entirely at rest. For there the Apostle's question is, 'Who shall *condemn* God's elect, since Christ *died* for them?' showing beyond all doubt (as *Philippi* justly argues), that it was the *expiatory* character of that death which the Apostle had in view."

STANLEY'S AMERICAN ADDRESSES.

Addresses and Sermons delivered during a Visit to the United States and Canada in 1878. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D. London: Macmillan and Co.

THE executors of the late Dean were well advised in republishing these characteristic Addresses and Sermons. In them will be found all that was distinctive of the Dean's teaching and style. Freedom and order, the supremacy of morality, the good and evil in every one, the truth and falsehood in everything—it is wonderful what freshness is imparted to these ever-recurring themes in his writings. We need scarcely say how thoroughly we are opposed to the innermost principle of the late Dean's teaching. According to him nothing is entirely true and nothing entirely false. Absolute certainty, therefore, is out of the question for man. Logically, of course, doubt rather than faith is the normal posture of man. But, happily, logic does not govern human conduct, and, however inconsistently, those who hold the principles just stated believe instead of doubting. The natural counterpart of the other principle would be that nothing is quite right or quite wrong; but this has never been held. The moral consequences would be too serious. If the memorial-character of the present volume did not disarm criticism, there would be much to say in that direction. On p. 10 Professor Lightfoot is

represented as continuing at Cambridge the work begun "so admirably" at Oxford by Professor Jowett. This we suppose is a clever defence of the latter. The whole of the address on "The Prospects of Liberal Theology," from which this comparison is taken, is full of most questionable assertions. On p. 9 Dr. Stanley is made to say that "the non-Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews is now maintained by no one of any name or fame." We imagine Dr. Stanley said the opposite. Wherever the Dean is dealing with non-controversial topics, he must charm every reader of goodness and taste. He never wrote with more ease and grace and feeling than in the present volume. His happiness of allusion, eye for scenery, power of historic illustration were never better exemplified. Wesleyans will read with interest his address on John Wesley at a reception by bishops, pastors, and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in New York. Twice he quotes from Charles Wesley's hymn, "Wrestling Jacob." To our mind the most charming piece in the volume is the sermon on "The Holy Angels," full as it is of the peace and purity of the heavenly world, of which it treats so delightfully. The volume is worthy of one who was greatly beloved, despite all the perilous tendencies of his teaching.

RULE'S METHODISM IN THE ARMY.

An Account of the Establishment of Wesleyan Methodism in the British Army. By William Harris Rule, D.D.
London : T. Woolmer.

WE thank the venerable author for this brief, but exceedingly interesting and valuable monograph on a subject which no one else knows so well. But for such a record, much of the knowledge preserved here must have died with the author. The struggle, not for the rights of Methodism, but the rights of the Methodist soldier, was a long one. Tact, energy, enthusiasm, were needed to carry it to a successful issue, and these qualities Dr. Rule manifested in a high degree. It is a long way from the dreadful story told of two corporals reduced to the ranks and punished with 250 lashes for attending a Methodist service in 1803 to the present days of full and honoured recognition. Many disappointments and delays lay between. Dr. Rule's chief opponents were not commanding officers or Government departments, but Anglican chaplains, High and Low, who worked indefatigably in public and secret to defeat his plans. We can easily believe him when he says, "It gives me sincere pain to disclose such facts as these, and to find myself speaking in these pages as if Methodism and the Church of England, as it is still called,

were in open enmity ; whereas we were only in battle in that Church with a party, and our part in the contest was not on the side of aggression, but defence." The secret of his triumph is disclosed in the motto on the title page, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us." Looking back on the long conflict the aged veteran may truly say, "I have fought a good fight." Besides its worth as a mere history, the volume will be invaluable to all ministers at work in the army as an example of fine tact and a manual of conduct. In such work knowledge is no less necessary than zeal. Dr. Rule never dreamt of contesting an officer's order, however mistaken or even illegal he might deem it. He always went to the highest source of authority, and worked through appointed officials. His course will always remain on the whole a model to his successors in a noble field of toil. "Monogram" in the preface is, we presume, a misprint for "monograph."

ALLAN'S GOOD SHEPHERD.

The Good Shepherd. In Twelve Chapters, Embracing the Twenty-third Psalm. By James B. Allan. London: Elliot Stock.

THE intention of the writer is excellent. It is "to strengthen the believer, restore the backslider, convert the unbeliever, and turn the sceptic from his dark and comfortless negations." These are very large aims, but we can scarcely venture to hope that the present volume will realise them. Any new work on the pearl of the Psalms ought to be marked by striking excellence. The twelve chapters into which the present work is divided seem to us to be very ordinary homilies. The "sceptic" is little likely to be influenced in favour of immortality by the spiritualist stories at the end of the volume. The author asks, "Why should not the testimony of William Armstrong, John Miller, and Matthews Fiddler be accepted as proving the return of the departed Mrs. Miller?" Persons who are not sceptics will ask, Why should it be accepted? Such writing is worse than useless for the purpose avowed by the author. The references to spiritualism, however, are only few. The bulk of the volume is edifying but weak.

II. MISCELLANEOUS.

SAINTSBURY'S FRENCH LYRICS.

French Lyrics. Selected and Annotated by George Saintsbury. London : Kegan Paul, Trench and Co. 1882.

Was there ever reader yet who, on looking through a volume of selections, and of poetical selections more especially, did not wonder why some old favourites, loved perchance through many years, had been excluded from the august assembly, why other aspirants had been admitted?

If there be such a reader, we have never met him. Nor have we ourselves, in fluttering bee-like among these French Lyrics, sipping honey here and there, been able altogether to escape an occasional shock of mild surprise at the special flower selected, and the others cast aside. Mr. Saintsbury would scarcely expect that it should be otherwise. As he says in his introduction, "He who writes this has found fault with too many anthologies to expect that fault will not be found with his own." But we fully recognise that, taken in its simple form, criticism of this kind applied to a book of selections is commonplace and mainly idle. "First come, first served." Let the selector by all means have his first choice, his liberty of imposing his own taste upon us, so long as that taste is not manifestly wanting. And no one could for a moment think of bringing such a charge against the taste of Mr. Saintsbury whose knowledge of certain aspects of French literature is probably almost unique among Englishmen.

Though, however, we acknowledge the futility of much questioning why, for instance, Béranger's *Etoiles qui filent* should be preferred to *Ma Vocation*, yet there is a larger point of view from which, as it seems to us, the volume may be criticised without futility. With the selection from individual poets we shall not quarrel. But against the selection of poets we think we have a fair claim to object, and the more so that that selection seems to imply a certain narrowness of view and sympathy, and therefore that a protest may not be useless.

What do we mean? This. Mr. Saintsbury gives us specimens of the quite early French Lyrics; enjoys to the full the grace of Charles D'Orléans, the strength of that good-for-nought of genius Villon, the direct inspiration of Ronsard, one of the most genuine certainly of French poets; and even condescends to quote in full—though they gain by curtailment—Malherbe's fine and well-

known lines addressed to Du Périer on the death of the latter's daughter. But here his sympathies, which have been growing sensibly colder, freeze suddenly altogether. To read his preface, to go through his selections, one would imagine that the classical movement, which Malherbe did so much to inaugurate, which, speaking generally, ruled over French literature from Malherbe to André Chénier, had been mortal to all lyric life. Some half dozen poems as typical of the work of nearly two centuries ! That really is very little. There was, we remember, a certain Minister of Napoleon III. who summed up what thirty-three years of Parliamentary government had done for France in the one word *rien*—*nothing*. Did no song ring at all in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in which so much that is fairest, most really national of spirit, came to adorn French literature ? Might we not, at least, have been favoured with a chorus from *Athalie* ? Molière and Lafontaine are great names. Is it so clear that no lyric could have been culled from their works ? The latter wrote *Ballades*, as well as fables and *Contes*. Better poet in his own line was never none. Is it even evident that nothing with lyrical movement could be found among the tragedies of Corneille—say *Polyeucte* for example.

Whence comes this insensibility on the part of Mr. Saintsbury ? Sainte-Beuve writing his first book in the first ardour of his *romantic* zeal,* brought no such railing accusation against the ruling gods as does Mr. Saintsbury when he speaks of "the Malherbe-Boileau dungeon, where the lyre was an instrument forbidden under pain of instant transformation into a Jew's harp." But then Sainte-Beuve, even in his earlier days, was not a "youth of Sion," and may never have heard of the national instrument to which Mr. Saintsbury refers. However that may be, it seems to us that Mr. Saintsbury, in a very laudable desire to get behind the scenes of French poetry, to study it not merely from without, as a foreigner, but from within, must have surrendered himself too entirely to the latest poetical influences reigning in Paris. This, of course, is mere conjecture. But how else shall we account for antipathies that extend to the whole classical literature of France, and go even so very much beyond ? We have named Sainte-Beuve. His relations with the *Romantiques* were, as we all know, very much strained towards the latter part of his life. He no longer formed part of that true church in which "Papa Hugo" pontificates. Accordingly this volume contains no lines from the pen of Sainte-Beuve. Again, it has been the fashion of late in Paris somewhat to decry Lamartine. Accordingly Mr. Saintsbury seems to think that he has furnished an adequate account of that real and great poet's genius

* The *Tableau Historique et Critique de la Poésie Française au XVI^e. Siècle*.

when he has stated: "Almost the whole poetical value of Lamartine is expressed in the following famous piece (*Le Lac*). He made infinite variations on the note"—whatever that musical operation may be—"but seldom changed it to advantage." Nay, looked at in this connection Mr. Saintsbury's silence itself is suspicious. He quotes unhesitatingly from living poets—Victor Hugo, Leconte de Lisle, Théodore de Banville. Why not from the younger men? His own explanation is—"The French Parnassus is so well peopled now that full selections would be impossible, while a scantier choice would be invidious as well as doubtfully wise." "Invidious"—*there* seems to be the rub. And yet should not the London critic stand too far removed from the local influences of Paris to be in fear of such a charge? De Quincey long ago complained that criticism was becoming too cosmopolitan—losing its liberty. There are degrees of excellence, and of a very marked kind, among the younger French poets. Mr. Saintsbury might well have given us a few verses from M. Coppée, or M. Sully Prudhomme. We should even have been glad to see their senior, M. de Laprade, represented.

But all this while we are not doing justice to what of real insight, pains, and research is to be found in this volume. Once admit Mr. Saintsbury's standpoint—and after all, what author or compiler may not fairly ask as much as that?—and then his selection is interesting and admirable. The time has fortunately gone by when the average English reader, even when he knew French, had made it a fixed article of his belief that there was no such thing in existence or possibility as French poetry. Ah, those dreary schoolboy hours spent in painfully conning inappropriate French classics—whose beauties are not for schoolboys—how much they had to answer for! But a better time has dawned. French poetry in England has now many votaries. And to all who wish to fan the flame of their love for an old favourite, or to enlarge, it may be, the sphere of their affections, we cannot do better than recommend this daintily compiled, daintily printed, daintily got up little volume.

LANG'S ILIAD.

The Iliad of Homer done into English Prose. By Andrew Lang, M.A., late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford; Walter Leaf, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and Ernest Myers, M.A., Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Macmillan.

THIS translation, of which Books I. to IX. are Mr. Leaf's, Books X. to XVI. Mr. Lang's, Books XVII. to XXIV. Mr. Myers's, of course challenges comparison with the *Odyssey* by Messrs. Lang and Butcher; and both invite us to discuss the general question as to

the superior adequacy, in the full sense of the word, of prose or verse renderings. We must resist the temptation of discussing this enticing question, and confine ourselves to remarking that, if the consensus of critics has pronounced this volume not quite equal to that in which Mr. Lang previously had a share, the reason is not in the execution but in the subject. The wonderful diversity of the *Odyssey* makes it pleasant to read in terse idiomatic prose, just as the tales of the Round Table are eminently readable in old Sir Thomas Malory. But the *Iliad* through whole books is taken up with an account of battle after battle, each battle being a series of single combats, which it needs all the art without art of a consummate poet to render interesting. In Homer's Greek it is the magic of the language, the glorious rhythm, the little changes of particles and tenses, which carry us through; but even Horace felt that *bonus interdum dormitat Homerus*; and, though habit prompts us to make allowance, to accept as matter of course the permanent epithets (as when a man who is standing in a council-hall is called swift of foot, and so on), we sometimes feel a sense of weariness. This feeling is of course much stronger when we are reading a prose translation. In verse, even the level verse of Lord Derby, we are kept on the alert by curiosity; we know, or half-know, the Greek, and we want to know what the translator will make of this or that phrase, how he will turn this or that expression. In prose all this is lacking, and therefore all the more credit to the translators for having given us what is not only a school-boy's crib, or a scholarly rendering, but what any cultured non-Greek reader can take up with real pleasure. We note (and it is noted in the preface) a want of consistency in spelling the proper names. Mr. Myers would spell all in Latin fashion with *c* and *us*; as it is, the plan arrived at is a compromise; we have Phœbus and Cretans, but Kronos and Antilochos. On this we make no comment. As to the character of the work and the merits of the respective translators, we leave that to speak or itself by extracting three brief well-known passages:

Iliad i. 47. "So spake he in prayer, and Phœbus Apollo heard him, and came down from the peaks of Olympus wroth at heart, bearing on his shoulders his bow and covered quiver. And his arrows clanged upon his shoulders in his wrath, as the god moved; and he descended like to night. Then he sate him aloof from the ships and let an arrow fly, and there was heard a dread clanging of the silver bow." The author of the Holy Grail would have done this more grandly: but then we must bear in mind the probable aim of the authors, to help on general culture, not merely to give a rendering which should redound to their own credit. We have underlined the words which seem to us inadequate; but the passage is a very trying one for mere prose. Here is a battle scene admirably done by Mr. Lang. *Iliad* xi. 90: "And in rushed

Agamemnon first of all and slew a man, even Bienor, shepherd of the hosts, first himself and next his comrade Oileus, the charioteer. He easily leaped from the chariot and stood and faced Agamemnon, but the king smote the brow of him with the sharp spear as he came eagerly on, and his vizor heavy with bronze held not off the spear, but through vizor and bone it sped and the brain within was all scattered, and so was Oileus overcome, *despite his eagerness*. And them did Agamemnon, king of men, leave in that place with their breasts gleaming when he had stripped them of their corslets. . . . That, except in the words which we have italicised, is worthy of the author of "Helen of Troy." This is from Iliad xxii. 342 : "Entreat me not, dog, by knees or parents. Would that my heart's desire could so bid me myself to carve and eat raw thy flesh, for the evil thou hast wrought me, as surely is there none that shall keep the dogs from thee, not even should they bring us gold or gold ransom, and here weigh it out and promise even more, not even were Priam, Dardanos' son, to pay thy weight in gold, not even so shall thy lady mother lay thee on a bed to mourn her son, but dogs and birds shall devour thee utterly." We have chosen this passage, because, from its revolting character, so utterly unlike our conceptions of chivalry, even in its faintest beginnings, it presents difficulties to the translator. Readers will judge how Mr. Myers, so well known as a critic and a writer, has overcome them.

These two lines, "Take heed now, lest I draw upon thee wrath of gods, in the day when Paris and Phœbus Apollo slay thee, for all thy valour, at the Skaian gate." How different from Pope's :

"Phœbus and Paris shall avenge my fate,
And stretch thee here before the Scæan gate."

The translation is prefaced with two highly finished sonnets, from each of which we extract a few lines. This is by Mr. Lang :

"The sacred soil of Ilios is rent
With shaft and pit : foiled waters wander slow
Through plains where Simois and Scamander went
To war with gods and heroes long ago."

And this is by Mr. Myers :

"Athwart the sunrise of our western day
The form of Great Achilles, high and clear,
Stands forth in arms, wielding the Pelian spear.
The sanguine tides of that immortal fray,
Swept on by gods, around him surge and sway,
Where through the helms of many a warrior peer,
Strong men and swift, their tossing plumes uprear."

Here is a specimen of Lord Derby's "level style," as we have called it :

"Fierce round the ships again the battle raged.
Well might ye deem no previous toil had worn

Their strength who in that dread encounter met
 With edge as keen and stubborn will they fought
 But varying far their hopes and fears; the Greeks
 Of safety and escape from death despaired,
 While high the hopes in every Trojan's breast
 To turn the ships and slay the warlike Greeks,
 So minded each, opposed in arms they stood.
 On in swift sailing vessels stern that bore
 Protesilaus to the coasts of Troy,
 But to his native country bore not thence.
 Hector had laid his hand."

Contrast this with the following, which we really must quote from Mr. Lang, it is so exquisite:

"And straightway they made a stand round the two Aiantes, strong bands that Ares himself could not enter and make light of, nor Athene that marshals the host. Yea, they were the chosen best that abode the Trojans and goodly Hector, and spear on spear made close-set fence, and shield on serried shield, buckler pressed on buckler, and helm on helm, and man on man. The horsehair crests on the bright helmet-ridges touched each other as they nodded, so close they stood each by other, and spears brandished in bold hands were interlaced; and their hearts were steadfast and lusted for battle. Then the Trojans drave forward in close array, and Hector led them, pressing straight onwards, like a rolling rock from a cliff, that the winter-swollen water thrusteth from the crest of a hill, having broken the foundations of the stubborn rock with its wondrous floods; leaping aloft it flies, and the wood echoes under it, and unstayed it runs its course, till it reaches the level plain, and then it rolls no more for all its eagerness—even so Hector for a while threatened lightly to win—to the sea through the huts and the ships of the Achaians, slaying as he came, but when he encountered the serried battalions, he was stayed when he drew near against them."

MUIR'S ANNALS OF THE EARLY CALIPHATE.

Annals of the Early Caliphate, from Original Sources. By Sir William Muir, K.C.G.S., LL.D., D.C.L. Author of "Life of Mahomet." With a Map. Smith and Elder.

THE Life of Mahomet is incomplete without a history of his immediate successors. These extraordinary men, who, with forces numerically insignificant, crushed the Persians on the one hand and the Romans on the other, were full of the spirit of the Founder, and managed to inspire their followers with it to a degree to which the world has seldom seen a parallel. "A people is upon thee, loving death as thou lovest life," was the message sent by Khālid (The Sword of God) to the Persian satrap Hormuz,

and the words tell the secret of Arab success. Enthusiasm nerved every arm and heightened courage to recklessness, at the same time that the leaders showed the most consummate skill in planning the wild forays which resulted in the conquest of whole countries.

The difficulty in Sir W. Muir's way is that all his authorities are Arabian; the Christian writers are silent about defeats the crushing nature of which is proved by what followed from them. It is one of those cases in which we wish the lions had been painters; the Arab style is monotonous, and it is sometimes hard to know how much of the detail is fact. Thus after every great victory we are told that numbers of the enemy's troops were found chained together lest they should run away—a statement which Sir W. Muir is disposed to regard as a “contemptuous fiction.” But besides the Arab Annalists—Tabari, Ibn al Athir, &c., he has gone to Dr. Weil, and Von Kremer, and also to the admirable essay of Caussin de Perceval. It is rather disgraceful to us English, whose Mahometan subjects are reckoned by millions, to have to look to Germany for our facts and to France for the inferences from them. “The endowment of research,” which was so much canvassed not long ago, may be valuable; but the endowments of literature, so much more valuable in this country than in any other, have certainly failed to produce anything like that phalanx of scholars which, in the very slenderly endowed universities of Germany, have attacked and mastered almost every subject with a thoroughness to which we can lay no claim.

Sir W. Muir's work, however, though with little pretence to originality, is carefully and thoroughly done. He begins with the election of Abu Bekr in A.D. 632, the eleventh year of the Hegira, and tells in great detail the story of the first Caliphs,—Abu, Omar, Othman, Aly, continuing his narrative through the reign of Hasan, who resigned the throne to Muavia, and of Yizid, Muavia's son, in whom the precedent of hereditary succession was established. It was Yizid who at the battle of Kurbala defeated and killed the sons of Aly, Hassan and Hussein. After him began a succession of troubles ending in the substitution of the Abbasside for the Ommeyad dynasty, to which intricate history Sir William devotes his last chapter. Thenceforward, as he says, the history of Islam spreads itself out into the history of the world. Such an eventful period, the founding of what was to be for centuries the most powerful empire in the world, cannot fail, however treated, to be full of interest. Sir W. Muir's treatment of it leaves a sense of want in the reader's mind. Not that he is deficient in picturesqueness; for nothing can exceed the vivid pictures which, quoting from the Arab chroniclers, he gives of separate scenes; but he seldom attempts to generalise upon his

facts, to search out the spirit which underlies the picturesque details. This is in our eyes not altogether a defect; we would much rather have a history all fact than all inference, and we cannot but feel that the mind of the public is weakened by having so much of its thought done for it. Historians, following in the wake of newspaper editors, often seem as if they wished to turn history into a series of leading articles. It is positive relief to find a writer who is content to compress his own reflections into a few pregnant lines in each chapter and to suppress altogether those disquisitions on the possible feelings of the chief actors of a story which are such a poor substitute for history.

Caliph means successor; and Abu Bekr (The True) was a worthy successor of his son-in-law. It is strange, looking to the family quarrels which soon became chronic in Islam to find him and Omar, connected with the prophet by precisely the same tie, yet absolutely without personal jealousy; it is as strange as is the picture which Sir W. Muir gives of the two old men with hair and beard dyed red more like Etruscan gods than like our notion of Arab chiefs.

It was only a year after Mahomet's death that the Arabs first measured swords with the Persians, and that same year the horrible carnage of the "river of blood" was perpetrated:

"The Persians advanced, and the Moslems were hard pressed as they had never been before. The battle was fiercely contested, and the issue at that time so doubtful as to make Khâlid vow to the Lord that if he got the victory, the blood of His foes should flow in a river. At last the Persians, unable to withstand his impetuous generalship, broke and fled. To fulfil his savage oath, it was proclaimed by Khâlid that no fugitive should be slain, but that all must be brought alive into the camp. For two days the country was scoured by the Moslem horse, and a great multitude of prisoners gathered. Then the butchery commenced in the dry bed of a canal, but the earth drank up the blood. Company after company was beheaded, and still the gory flux remained stagnant. At last, on the advice of an Arab chief, Khâlid had a flood-gate opened above, and the crimson tide redeemed his vow. There were flour-mills upon the spot, and Tabari tells us, with apparent satisfaction, that for three days corn for the whole army was ground by the reddened flood. The memory of the deed was handed down in the name of the 'River of Blood,' by which thereafter this stream of infamous memory was called. When the battle was over, the army found ready spread in the camp of the enemy a sumptuous repast, to which the Persians, when surprised by Khâlid, were about to sit down. It was a novel experience for the simple Arabs, who handled the white fritters with childish delight, and devoured rich pancakes and other delicacies of an Eastern table with avidity. Khâlid ate his supper leaning on the

body of a stalwart hero, 'the equal of a thousand warriors,' whom, in single combat, he had but just cut down."

The next year 40,000 Moslems discomfited the vast host, 240,000 strong, sent against them by Heraclius, 100,000 of the Roman troops having been engulfed in a ravine at the fatal field of Wachsa,—"toppled over the bank even as a wall is toppled over."

The marvel is that the Arabs were fighting at the same time the two most powerful empires in the world: very soon after Wachsa was fought the four days' battle of Cadesiya, in which Rustem and his generals were not only defeated but their force annihilated. These astounding victories were stained with cruelty such as might have been expected from the teaching of the Koran. After Cadesiya we are told—

"No sooner was the battle ended, than the women and children, carrying pitchers of water, and armed with clubs, on a double mission of mercy and of vengeance, spread themselves over the field. Every fallen Mussulman, still warm and breathing, they gently raised and wetted his lips with water. But towards the wounded Persians they knew no mercy; for them they had another errand; raising their clubs they gave to them the *coup de grâce*. Thus had Islam extinguished the sentiment of pity, and, against nature, implanted in the breasts of the gentler sex, and even of little children, the spirit of fierce and cold-blooded cruelty."

It is curious to find Yezdegurd, one of the refugee princes of Persia, taking refuge in Merv and calling on the Khan or Khacan of the Turks and on the emperor of China for help. The Khan espoused his cause; but in the end the Turks retired from the quarrel. Curious, also, is the way in which "popular feeling" at Kufa and Bussorah, cities which the Arabs had founded on congenial soil, soon took shape as a sort of Socialism which opposed the supremacy of the Koreish and led to the troubles which eventually destroyed the Ommeyad dynasty. The beginning of these troubles was the rising which resulted in the death of Othman. Othman had been weak, and given to nepotism; but his reign was on the whole the most prosperous of those which can be called purely Arab. With the Abbassides foreign influence came in, the Shiyites (followers of Aly, *i.e.* Abbassides) being tintured in religion as in politics with Persian heresy. The death of Othman is one of Sir William's "cameos of Moslem history," and deserves to be quoted as a sample of his style. After his guards were overpowered and slain, Othman "had retired by himself into an inner chamber of the women's apartments; and, seated there awaiting his fate, read from the Corân, spread open on his knees. Three ruffians, sent to fulfil the bloody work, rushed in one after another upon him thus engaged. Awed by his calm demeanour, his pious words and mild appeal, each one returned as he went. 'It would be murder,' they said, 'to lay hands upon him thus.' Mohammed,

son of Abu Bekr, in his hate and rage, had no such scruples. He ran in, seized him by the beard, and cried, 'The Lord abase thee, thou old dotard!' 'Let my beard go,' said Othman, calmly; 'I am no dotard, but the aged Caliph, whom they call Othman.' Then, in answer to a further torrent of abuse, the old man proceeded: 'Son of my brother! Thy father would not have served me so. The Lord help me! To Him I flee for refuge from thee.' The appeal touched even the unworthy son of Abu Bekr, and he too retired. The insurgent leaders, on this, crowded in themselves, smote the Caliph with their swords, and trampled on the Corân he had been reading from. Severely wounded, he yet had strength enough to stretch forth his aged arms, gather up the leaves, and press them to his bosom, while the blood flowed forth upon the sacred text. Thus attacked, the faithful Nâila cast herself upon her wounded lord, and, in endeavouring to shield him, received a sword-cut which severed some of the fingers from her hand, and they fell upon the ground. The band of slaves attempted his defence. One of them slew Sudân, the leader, but was immediately himself cut down and killed. Further effort was in vain. The rebels plunged their weapons into the Caliph's body, and he fell lifeless on the ground. The infuriated mob now had their way. A scene of wild riot followed. They stabbed the corpse, and leaped savagely upon it; and they were proceeding to cut off the head, when the women screamed, beating their breasts and faces, and the savage crew desisted. The palace was gutted; and even Nâila, all wounded and bloody, was stripped of her veil. Just then the cry was raised, 'To the Treasury!' and suddenly all departed" (p. 339).

The battle of the camel, the rise of the strange sectaries called Kharejites (theocrats) whom our author likens to the Covenanters, and who, proclaiming the absolute equality of all, rushed to the charge with the cry, "On to Paradise;" and the conflict between Aly and Muavia, give colour to Sir William's closing chapters. We have been careful to compare Sir William with the portion of Gibbon which bears on the same subject. The proper names are differently spelt, and it is notable that Gibbon wholly distrusts the Arab historians; thus in regard to the victory of Wachsâ (or the Yermak, as he calls it, from the name of the river) he prefers the very meagre narrative of Theophanes. How it came to pass that the Roman hosts, flushed with victory from the campaign against the Khosroes, went down before the Arab irregulars is a mystery about which Sir William can only make the following remark: "In discipline and combined movement, and in the weight and style of his equipment, the Roman, no doubt, surpassed the Arab. But the armament of the Roman did not so greatly excel as to give him a material advantage. It had no analogy, for example, with the superiority which in these days crushes the barbarian

before the sanguinary appliances of modern art and science. It is strange to reflect how a single Gatling might have changed the day and driven Islam back to wither and die in the land of its birth" (p. 104). The early success of the Arabs against Rome was no doubt helped by religious disputes among the population of Syria, and by the fact that a large part of that population was very near of kin to the invaders. But still that such insignificant forces should have been able at the same time to utterly crush Persia and to cut off several limbs from the great Roman empire cannot be adequately explained. It was in God's providence, and is one of His mysteries.

HERICAULT'S LA REVOLUTION.

La Révolution, 1789-1882. Par Charles D'Héricault. Appendices par Emm. De S. Albin, Victor Pierre et Arthur Lotte. Paris: Dumoulin. 1883.

M. D'HERICAULT, looking at France as she is, sees revolutionary ideas in full force; and he rightly judges that the best way to combat them is to show categorically not only that the "old Revolution" was effected at a terrible cost—such an outburst of savage cruelty having seldom disgraced humanity—but also that it wholly failed in all that it undertook to do. Everything—public charity, the administration of justice, arts, literature, finance, education—was hopelessly out of joint. The men of the Terror, with true Nihilist instinct, had pulled everything down, but they had rebuilt nothing, at any rate in a practicable shape. By the year IX. of the Republic, roads were out of order, bridges, &c., falling to ruin, the country drifting back to barbarism, the advent of the despot inevitable to hold the commonwealth together. This is for many a new way of looking at the matter. We have been accustomed to deplore the excesses of the Terror, but at the same time to condone them because of the supposed good that ensued, and because it is always imagined that the *ancien régime* was so bad, so rotten to the core, as to make a wild and cruel upheaval inevitable at its overthrow. M. D'Héricault and his co-workers show that this is a mistaken view. Nothing came of the Revolution which would not have come in the ordinary course of peaceful reform; and the old *régime* was not radically bad. On the contrary, it had built up France to be the foremost power in Europe; it was in many ways less oppressive than the governmental system of other European countries; it might have been reformed, and the king and the higher orders were most anxious to go on rapidly in the path of reform. The burdens on the people have been shamefully exaggerated by writers whose aim has been to find excuses for the Revolution. M. D'Héricault gives chapter and verse to show that they were far less galling than those to

which Englishmen were subject in Stuart times. Our struggle between King and Parliament was needlessly embittered by faults on both sides; but how different it was from the Revolution! Of course M. D'Héricault, who looks on Luther as the first mover of the mischief, and classes Lutherans, Jansenists, and Freemasons together as alike in fault, cannot see the real reason of the difference. The English Parliamentary party were Christians, the French Revolutionists were unbelievers. But, though one of his hands is thus tied in combating the Revolution, our author makes out a terribly strong indictment against it; and, we think, is quite right in charging its excesses on "philosophic hatred of Christianity." It was this prevalent infidelity (and the lesson is surely one for us of to-day) that paralysed the resistance of the Court party and made a very large section of the nobles willing, nay ready, to favour any changes just because they were new. The king himself was a noble character; anxious for reform, he was yet sound in faith, and the way in which he upheld his clergy is in favourable contrast with the way in which Charles I. gave up Laud, who, whatever were his faults, had been a zealous and devoted servant of the crown. But the mind of the country was saturated with new ideas. A great and sweeping change had come to be looked on as inevitable. The vast majority in the States general were lawyers, who brought (as French lawyers always do) an inexorable *logique* to a subject to which strict logic was inapplicable. Hence instead of accepting the *cahiers* (bills of reforms brought on at the opening of the States) every one was bent on making a clean sweep of the past; guilds, corporations, every organisation that could form a nucleus for resistance was pulled down; and thus, when (as always happens in a revolution) the men of violence came to the front there was no force to meet and check them. As to the exaggerations about the old *régime*, it is enough to record the fact that under it the number of peasant proprietors was then fully two-thirds of what it now is. The reports of travellers vary. Arthur Young is gloomy enough; but Horace Walpole, not long before, signalises a vast improvement on what he had seen on a former visit. There were cottage gardening societies, local agricultural shows, the prize-men at which were invited to dine with the President; one of the original engravings which add so much value to M. D'Héricault's book represents a bashful peasant taking his seat among lords and ladies. All might have gone well but for the violence of such men as Diderot, who, while he was a pensioner of the Empress of Russia, actually wrote: "We must strangle the last king with the entrails of the last priest." That this insane hatred of priests was in any way due to the vices of the clergy is open to grave doubt. There were sad scandals in high places; but De Tocqueville's testimony is very weighty. Beginning (he says) with a thorough hatred of the old *régime*, he closed his researches with a deep respect for it;

and the French clergy of that time he is sure were as God-fearing, self-denying, progressive as any clergy the world has ever seen. Their fate was terrible. M. D'Héricault's account of the treatment of those banished to Guiana, but unhappily not sent there, is enough to make the blood run cold. Marched across France in the depth of winter; dying on the road (the *déportés* were all over sixty years old); met by processions in which a pig was dressed as the Pope, and they, each tied to some brute beast in stole and chasuble, were forced to see some brother priest guillotined; servant maids who gave them a bit of bread seized and put in prison; they were at the ports condemned to months of living death in holds so foul that no doctor dared go near them. Of one batch of 827, in ten months only 285 were left alive. The treatment of the nuns passes belief. How could Frenchmen with a spark of manhood left strip Sisters of Charity, and flog them in the streets? And meanwhile, when his friend Meillan pointed out to Robespierre that man after man of his confidential agents was a scoundrel, a thief, a fraudulent bankrupt, a debauched wretch, his only reply was: "Never mind; he's a good patriot." The amazing thing, which even the fact, noticed above, that every organisation capable of taking the lead in resistance had been destroyed, is hardly sufficient to explain, is that the mass of the nation stood by and saw all this done. So little interest did the general public take in things that at Pétion's election only 6,000 voted out of 80,000 voters.

M. D'Héricault, throughout, is looking at the present while writing of the past. France has changed eighteen times her form of government since '93, and she seems no nearer to settled content. He has one thing strongly in his favour—all the men, De Tocqueville, Taine, Lanfrey, Quinet, who have really studied the subject, have given up that "Republican legend" which Erckmann Châtrian's novels have done so much to extol. We have said that the engravings in this volume add vastly to its importance. Of course a certain license is allowed to the caricaturist. Gilray is not an unimpeachable authority about George III. and his times. But the greater number of these are not caricatures. Most of them are Republican prints, "glorying in their shame." Such a scene as the "*Fête de la Nature régénérée*" sufficiently condemns the system under which it was possible.

BROCKLEHURST'S MEXICO TO-DAY.

Mexico To-day; a Country with a Great Future: and a Glance at the Prehistoric Remains and Antiquities of the Montegumas. By Thomas Unett Brocklehurst. With Coloured Plates and Illustrations from Sketches by the Author. Murray.

THE frontispiece of Mr. Brocklehurst's book, the rich plain of

Mexico, with its lake and floating gardens and rows of poplars, and beyond them the white city, a mass of domes and campaniles backed by the stern array of the snow mountains, is an index to the work itself—so picturesque, so full of varied interest, so glowing with colour.

He writes as an enthusiast, but then he has a subject which might well rouse to enthusiasm the most unimpressible of travellers. A glorious country, where nature is bounteous in a way almost beyond the imagination of a native of our latitudes; two old civilisations, the Aztec (or rather the Tottec) and the Spanish; everything to be done, and no reason why it should not be done with full success—that is Mr. Brocklehurst's subject; and he treats it in the most delightful manner. A few lines from his description of the market show him in his lighter mood: "... Vendors who are not possessed of stands spread out their wares on mats, utterly regardless of space. . . . Indian women stretched on mats indolently watch their wares. . . . Fruits of fifty kinds, very few of them worth eating. Dealers in fried meats dole out their commodities to hungry customers. Tortilla vendors do a roaring business. Girls with great coops of chickens on their backs, and a dozen live fowls hanging with their heads downwards from their waist-belts, jostle past you; while a donkey places his pointed unshod foot on your favourite corn. The *duénas* (housekeepers of swell families) drive hard bargains in the shrillest possible tones. *Rancheros* in gay and gaudy *sarapes* or *ponchos*, whiff cigarettes, while huckstering over some desired object, which, when bought, they will hang on the saddle pommel of their mustangs, patiently waiting for them at the gates. Look out for the sticks that support the awnings covering the stalls, or they will poke you in the eye. Look out for the merchandise spread beneath your feet, and look out for a peck from the beak of some half-strangled turkey; look out for the fat little happy Indian babies, mixed up with everything. Look out for discarded but still-lighted ends of cigarettes which are thrown carelessly about; and don't look out for the bad smells." It is hard to catch Mr. Brocklehurst in serious mood; even while discussing the Pyramids of the Sun and Moon (the former 682 feet at the base and 180 high—that of Cheops being 728 feet at base and 448 high) near the site of the old Aztec city of Teotihuacan (once twenty miles in circumference) he is in his usual high spirits—the result of the perfect health which he enjoyed during his visit. Thus, of the quaint little clay implements found, like the small clay and stone heads, in myriads as the plough passes over the fields where once the city stood, he says: "Will any one corroborate my idea that these were made for the purpose of holding joss-sticks to be burned before the household deities?" He is most serious when he points to Mexico as a promising field for the investment of capital. Americans are thronging in; they

are even very anxious to push life insurance among the as yet unwilling Mexicans, and there is something very comical in Mr. Brocklehurst's account of a colonel who had been through the Federal war working for the New York Life Company, and bemoaning the folly of some don, recently deceased, of whose large personal property more than two million dollars was found in old trunks in his bedroom. Of the common people he speaks in high terms. They are hardy, and, where sure of pay, exceedingly hard-working, which is a great wonder, considering the demoralising effect of centuries of compulsory labour with little or no pay. This Spanish system accounts for the drudgery to which the women are subject (making *tortillas*, besides doing much of the farm work). "The Spaniards exacted for themselves the labour of all the men, so that the women had to take more than their share in providing for the households." The only people likely to succeed as immigrants are Italians, for they can readily learn Spanish, the language of the civilised part of the community and that used in all the schools. What Mr. Brocklehurst is anxious for is that England should resume diplomatic relations with Mexico; she may thereby, he thinks, do the country an immense amount of good. He also looks for great benefits from the railway which is soon to connect New York with Mexico city, though the engineering at the Mexican end, both of roads and railways, struck him as defective—the tunnels and culverts being perfectly inadequate to take off any fall of water, such as sometimes occurs in the tropics.

Possibly under English and American influence the strange rule may be rescinded which prevents you from buying postage stamps beforehand, "every sender has to take his letters to the central office and wait while they are stamped." The prison regulations, too, whereby (as under the Spanish rule) an accused man may linger for years without being brought to trial, might well be altered for the better. Mexico, no doubt, is a country which must improve under the vigorous efforts that are being made to promote education and culture. It has been kept back, as Ireland was, by losing at the conquest nearly every native of the higher classes. As Humboldt years ago remarked, "the monks burned all the hieroglyphical paintings by which all kinds of knowledge were transmitted from age to age; and the missionaries, ignorant of the language, could substitute few new ideas for those which they had uprooted. . . . If all that remained of the French and German natives were a few poor agriculturists, could we read in their features that they belonged to nations which had produced a Descartes or a Leibnitz?" Mr. Brocklehurst says little about the unhappy Maximilian. He saw the rifles which had been used at his execution, as well as the old muskets used to shoot Iturbide. His comment is, "No man with the mouth and chin of Maximilian could rule a turbulent country." His illustrations add much to the

charm of his book ; he has had the help of Mr. Whympster and Mr. Vincent Brooks ; and he is thus able to give the strange picture of the side of Popocatepetl ("the mountain that smokes")—on which the ice rises into cones and pillars which remove all danger of slipping to any distance, but on the other hand cut sadly the hands of those who try to climb without gloves. His drawings of Aztec works of art are very curious ; while the plate representing Felix Parra's grand picture of "Las Casas" shows that that picture deserves all the praise he gives it. The healthiness of the city (as a fact centenarians abound) is remarkable considering the evil smells and the great difficulty of draining a dead level. The abundance of flowers (the corridors and courtyards of all the houses being full of them) has often been noted ; so had the revulsion from clericalism which now leads to the neglect of valuable church property ; Mr. Brocklehurst found some fifty splendid vellum chant books, date about 1600, rotting in the precincts of a disused church. Among the most promising objects of cultivation he instances coffee, hitherto much neglected, but now much in demand for the United States. There is one hindrance to all tillage, the Mexican mole, three times the size of ours, and furnished with outside teeth, enabling it to keep its mouth shut so as to prevent its being filled with earth, while it eats through the roots. As we said, the archæological and historic parts of the book are full of interest ; they correct Prescott, who unhappily had never seen Mexico when he wrote, and who "has turned history into a romance." But every chapter will instruct as well as amuse. The stories are good—the curious history of Señor Gillow's family, for instance ; and the tale of the magistrate who had both his watch and his turkey stolen by dexterous thieves. Thieving by the way, wholly unknown in Yucatan, is strangely common in Mexico. We part with Mr. Brocklehurst unwillingly. His adventures with the "volcano man," with the one person in Ameca-Ameca who spoke English, and whose apology for shortcomings was, "Im zpeaks ze French better zan de England ;" his experiences of hotels—in all alike, small matters as well as great, he is a cheerful and evidently thoroughly well informed companion.

COLQUHOUN'S ACROSS CHRYSE. ✓

Across Chryse : being the Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through the South China Border Lands from Canton to Mandalay. By A. R. Colquhoun. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co. 1883.

COMMERCE may claim as her own these fine volumes which Mr.

Colquhoun has just given the public. He had returned to England in May, 1881, after thirteen years' absence in the East, and felt all the seductions of home life after long and hard service, but his desire to survey the vast territory of Indo-China, to discover how it might best be opened up to British trade, was too strong to leave him at rest, and by the middle of December he was in Canton ready for his journey. "Chryse," the scene of his travels, represented to the ancient geographers their vague notions of the region between India and China. After much delay, caused by the difficulty of finding interpreter and servants, the exploring party started from Canton on February 5th of last year. The captain of one of the best ho-tans (literally river ferries) had entered into an agreement to take them up the West River to Pe-sê—about 600 miles—in forty days. The little party of seven consisted of Mr. Colquhoun, his friend and assistant, Mr. Charles Wahab, C.E. and interpreter-in-chief, and his assistant, Coolie cook, and two boys. Instruments for survey, photographic apparatus, visiting cards of the modest size 7 by 3 inches, complete Chinese dresses, &c., were on board. It was found necessary to carry money in silver ingots of 13 ozs. each, as no credit could be procured on any of the towns en route, and this increased the risks of a long journey among river pirates and road bandits. Mr. Colquhoun is no believer in firearms for foreign travels, and says he would infinitely prefer an umbrella, or, better still in China, *a baby*, but this treasure was so precious that they were obliged to place revolvers in sight to deter any would-be robber.

The voyage up the river was occupied in careful surveys of the country, but the Chinese regarded them with such suspicion, that it soon became necessary to use great precautions and to adopt the full Chinese dress to avoid the painful and dangerous curiosity of the mob. A gun-boat was given them as an escort up the river, and they felt comparatively secure now. Their Chinese cook had the national love of pork, and it needed all the explorer's firmness to save them from a daily repetition of the dish in some form or other. The account of the various incidents on this voyage has great interest. They passed through all kinds of scenery—sometimes it was quite wild, then beautiful country villages were seen nestling in groups of fine trees. Mr. Colquhoun and Mr. Wahab spent about twelve hours a day in surveying the river, and kept a meteorological register and aneroid readings with great care. These heavy duties left no idle hours. High tribute is due to the boatmen. There was never any occasion to find fault with them. They were hard-working, sober, and good-natured. One morning Mr. Colquhoun watched them gathered in two little groups, round two wooden trays, on which were little bowls filled with coarse beans and roots. Near the tray was a large bowl of beautifully cooked rice. Each man had a small bowl of this rice in his left

hand, while with his right he worked his "nimble lads" (chopsticks) with wonderful dexterity. Near Pe-sê the party was amused by watching a group of thirty fishermen of one of the aboriginal tribes who were busy on their canoe-rafts. Each man had two cormorants which dived for the fish, and were awarded at each capture by a small fish or bean curd. At Pe-sê the journey in the ho-tan ended. The little party had received great kindness at the hands of the Mandarins of the various towns, and had gained very accurate knowledge of the river. Great curiosity was felt about them at Pe-sê. All day a crowd of 500 thronged their boat. The windows were darkened by faces flattened against the panes. From Pa-ot, a little above Pe-sê, to Bhamo their land journey was full of troubles. Servants deserted them or become mutinous and could not be trusted. The difficulties of their position will be understood when it is known that neither Mr. Colquhoun nor his friend could speak Chinese, and their disobedient servant was the only man who could act as interpreter when they visited the Mandarins to seek redress. Money ran short, and fever was only ward off by frequent applications to the medicine chest. Sometimes their road was along the Chinese highways, worse than a London street with the pavement up. Their route lay through the province of Yünnan, the extreme south-west province of China. Many interesting glimpses of the Aboriginal tribes, subdued by the Chinese, are given. The horrid "clubfoot" of Chinese civilisation was rare. The women were often strikingly pretty, and, without the affected prudery of the towns, were modest and friendly. They saw faces which would have been reckoned beautiful anywhere in Europe, and at one village fair they managed to get a sketch of the village belle and heiress, "a tiny creature, with a light yellow bamboo hat, stuck coquettishly on one side of her head," who was "most bewitching."

The country had been desolated by plague and civil war. For the present the civil war is over, but the oppression and injustice of the Chinese Mandarins in Mahomedan suits makes it improbable that men who are so much superior to their oppressors in physique will long continue quiet under such provocation. The population was greatly reduced, and the ruins of costly and extensive works gave evidence of better days in the past. At Talan a blue-balled Mandarin came out to receive the party with soldiers in gay uniforms, and red banners floating on the breeze. The Sub-Prefect of the City pressed them to occupy rooms in his own Yameu—an honour which perhaps no other modern traveller has received. This welcome hospitality saved them from the incessant tumult of the inn, which often disturbed their rest far into the morning. From Talan Mr. Colquhoun intended to enter the Shau country and survey it down to Rangoon. In one of the first villages a crowd of men, women and children came round them

asking for medicines. Fever, goitre and eye diseases had attacked almost every one in the village. Soon after, on the very edge of the Shau country, the interpreter refused to proceed, and Mr. Colquhoun was left helpless. "Those days were amongst the most bitterly disappointing of my life," he says. The route was changed and after a long and trying journey the party reached Tali, where Mr. George Clark, of the China Inland Mission, received them with great kindness, and they had the pleasure of hearing a hearty English voice again. The survey of 1,500 miles from Canton to Tali ended the exploration work, but a twenty days' journey to Bhamo was still before them. From Bhamo they intended to sail down the Irrawadi to Rangoon. This journey to Bhamo was not the least adventurous part of their travels. Their guide mutinied, and it was only the great kindness of Père Vise, the Roman Catholic priest of Chu-tung, that enabled them to overcome their troubles and get safely to Bhamo. There the American missionaries received them on the 12th July, with a kindness which no words can express, and Mr. Stevenson, of the China Inland Mission, opened his house and purse to the worn-out travellers. Two days later the party sailed down the Irrawadi. Mr. Wahab, utterly prostrate, was carefully tended, and reached Rangoon and Calcutta, but never recovered. Mr. Colquhoun was better and could act as nurse to his little party. On the 12th of September all his arrangements were complete, and he started for England on one of the P. & O. steamers. Mr. Colquhoun is now in England. He has brought his survey before the Chamber of Commerce, and hopes also to receive Government aid in further exploration of the Shau States, with a view to the opening out of trade. No one can read this book without feeling that there is a great future before British Burmah and the Shau States. Railways could be constructed from Rangoon, which would pass through rich provinces that cannot be developed for want of carriage power. All merchandise has to be borne on the backs of porters, ponies or mules, and the cost is enormous. Gold and other metals; rice, maize, peas, beans, most European fruits, &c., are found. The most celebrated tea in China comes from this territory, but it is so costly when delivered at Shanghai, that it cannot be exported to Europe. The peasantry in the south and west of Yünnan are in such a comfortable condition that they drink tea everywhere, while in other parts of the province they drink principally hot water. (The water is so bad that it is not safe to drink it cold.) There is a splendid future for railway extension in this district, and its vast wealth would abundantly repay development. In four days Mr. Colquhoun counted over 2,000 animals laden with cotton.

Missionary workers in this part of China, are coming to the conclusion that it is necessary to commence with the children to obtain real converts among the Chinese. The Aborigines, who are

not steeped in Buddhism and Confucianism, give greater promise, and good work is being done among them. Opium smoking causes great mischief. Nearly all the Chinese Mandarins Mr. Colquhoun met begged for medicine to quench their craving for this drug. The Yunnanese cannot use it with the moderation of some of the Chinese proper who live in the plains, and soon become sodden in body and mind. "We constantly met Mandarins," says Mr. Colquhoun, "being carried in their sedan-chairs under the influence of the drug, lying sunk in a heavy sleep while they were conveyed over some precipitous road." In one place they saw a man, lying in heavy sodden sleep, and his wife and two companions were only able to rouse him after ten minutes' effort.

Mr. Colquhoun's volumes are full of beautiful engravings, mostly from photographs taken on the journey. They are of manifest interest, and are likely to bear lasting fruit in the extension of railways, and the opening up of new fields of commerce.

RIDSDALE'S GREAT NAMAQUALAND.

Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand. By the Rev. Benjamin Ridsdale. London: T. Woolmer.

It is a long time since we have read a missionary narrative of such intense interest. The book is nothing more than the story of the writer's three years' labour in the Namaqua territory to the north of the Orange River in South Africa; but the story is told so simply and naturally, and the life described is so complete a contrast at every point to life in this country that the interest continues and grows to the very end. The ruling feature of Namaqualand is the terrific heat, which lasts nine months of the year, often making sleep impossible and life next to intolerable. The vast sand plains, almost bare of shelter of any kind, burn like an oven. Oxen sometimes journey four days without finding water. The author's three years' toil, from 1844 to 1847, so reduced him in health as to make a change of sphere essential. The first chapter describes very vividly the nine weeks' journey of 600 miles in waggons from Cape Town to Namaqualand. Supplies for a year or two had to be carried the whole distance, and, when exhausted, had to be replenished by a special journey to the Cape. In crossing the Orange River the English travellers were disgusted with the native modes of crossing and tried their skill at a raft, but after several narrow escapes from drowning were only too glad to return to native ways. Nisbett Bath was the central mission station. But a large portion of the book is occupied by deeply thrilling accounts of the periodical visits made

by Mr. Ridsdale to out-stations occupied by native agents. Many are the hairbreadth escapes chronicled. Still more interesting to lovers of missions is the account of the work done by the missionary in teaching and training the native churches, the simplicity and gratitude with which the people received the truth, and the wonderful transformations effected by Christianity in native character. A touching practice on the part of the native Christians was that of retiring from the noise of their huts to the bushes for secret prayer. Again and again has Mr. Ridsdale come upon them engaged in this way. We do not find Namaqualand or Nisbett Bath on the list of Wesleyan Missions at present.

SMITH'S DR. DUFF.

Men Worth Remembering. "Alexander Duff." By Thomas Smith, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

DR. DUFF was one of the greatest modern missionaries. He was the founder of the system of English education for Hindus, and as a missionary advocate at home he has had no equal in his own line. Dr. Smith was his colleague in labour at Calcutta, and writes therefore from fulness of knowledge and sympathy. On minor points we might find fault with the biography. The word "disrupt" seems to us far from classical. Nor do we understand the sense of "appropriating," in the following sentence: "The pulpit, church-court and platform were his appropriate rostra—appropriate because his whole life was spent in appropriating himself to them." On one of the early pages too, speaking of the common phrase used in biographies, "the son of poor but pious parents," Dr. Smith adds, "As it is officially ascertained that Scotland is now the richest section of the British Isles, it is to be feared that it has lost somewhat of its pre-eminence in piety." We may accept the first officially ascertained fact, but scarcely see the logic of the inference. However, we admire the brief biography greatly for its stubborn honesty. Like the painter of Cromwell, Dr. Smith does not omit the warts. He rightly believes that any one good enough to have his biography written is strong enough to have his defects known. Like his teacher, Chalmers, Dr. Duff possessed a nature of passionate fervour and eloquence of inexhaustible copiousness; but, unlike Chalmers, Duff had none of the discipline of severer studies. His biographer says that he was averse to philological and mathematical study. We are surprised to learn the extent of the preparations he made for public efforts. His faculty of mental, apart from written, preparation was extraordinary. One of his duties as Missionary Convener to his

Church was "by long and frequent letters—for which he ever apologised as 'brief notes'—to cheer and sustain the missionaries who were bearing the burden and heat of the day." We are glad to see Dr. Smith's advocacy of higher education in India as a missionary agency. "The abandonment of our higher class missionary institutions would be simply a handing over of the mind of India to atheism and scepticism. It can only be a question of idle speculation whether it would be a gain or a loss to put an arrest at once on unchristian and on Christian education. The unchristian cannot be arrested; I trust that the Christian shall not" (we leave the Scotticism of the "shall" unaltered). At the same time Dr. Smith insists that the missionary educator shall keep his missionary aims uppermost. It was scarcely necessary to characterise Simeon, the father of Anglican Evangelicalism, as "overpolished and exquisitely finical" (p. 17).

JUDSON'S LIFE OF DR. JUDSON.

Adoniram Judson, D.D., his Life and Labours. By his Son Edward Judson. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

ANOTHER missionary, as great as Duff, although of a different order. Judson's greatness is in spiritual, rather than intellectual qualities. Not that the latter were inferior. His Burmese Bible and Dictionary prove his ample mental equipment for the work to which God called him. But his intellectual powers were overshadowed by the moral. In spiritual stature, in absolute self-surrender and absorption in God's work, he was of the truly heroic type. In the calendar of the universal Church his name will ever rank beside the Xaviers, the Martyns, the Brainerds, the Careys, the Livingstones, the most Christ-like because the most self-renouncing souls. His distinctive glory in the future will be as the Apostle of Burmah. Landing in Burmah in 1813, the first messenger of Christ to its shores, he did not return to America till 1845, and then only for a year. Four years more of toil and suffering weakness, and he lay in his ocean-grave almost within sight of the land to which his whole life had been given. It is because Judson's spirit of intense faith and intense devotion is indispensable to the Church, that we rejoice in the publication of lives like this. May many readers catch the holy flame! Judson died so far back as 1850, and a complete life now appears for the first time. No explanation is given of the delay, and we will not ask it. The biography may not commend itself to a fastidious taste. Many would have preferred greater quiet and simplicity of tone in some parts. But greater defects than these would not suffice to hide the greatness of the character and life here described. We have no

doubt that a mere worldly judgment would set down the intensity of Judson's Christian character to fanaticism. But a similar charge would lie against the very greatest names Christianity has to show.

The time of Judson's arrival in Burmah was long before the days of British power. He toiled six years before seeing a single convert. He and his work lay every moment at the mercy of a cruel, capricious heathen despot. In 1823 he tried to establish a mission in imperial Ava itself. But just then the first war with the British broke out. The emperor threw all the Europeans into prison. There they lay amid almost incredible horrors twenty months. The story of suffering told in the seventh chapter is well-nigh without parallel. Perhaps the most heroic figure of all is Mrs. Judson with her infant incessantly seeking to mitigate the prisoners' condition by appeals to authorities and jailers. Strange it is that flesh and blood survived so long a martyrdom. No wonder that after the trial was ended, to be followed by the death of wife and infant, there came a terrible physical reaction. This is the explanation of the fit of asceticism described in the ninth chapter. For a time Judson shunned society, spending much of his time in a solitary hermitage. But this mood passed away. His self-denial needed no outward austerities for its exhibition. His whole life was a continuous sacrifice.

Judson was married three times. His wives were all memorable women, as full of missionary ardour as himself. In the hope that a long voyage would be a benefit, he was carried on board ship in what proved to be a dying state. He died in great suffering a few days after leaving the Burmese coast. His widow did not hear of his death for several months.

The volume is full of interesting details of missionary methods, trials and triumphs. We see the founding of the Burmese church amid hardships, peril and fierce persecution. Judson was permitted to reap as well as sow. At the time of his death there were upwards of 7,000 Christian Burmans and Karens in 63 churches. The missionaries, native pastors and assistants numbered 163. One of Judson's chief means of usefulness was found in the *zayats*,—buildings in favourable thoroughfares for preaching and worship,—where he sat through the day and conversed with inquirers. America may well glory in having given to the Church so saintly a soul, so apostolic a life.

PRENTISS'S LIFE OF MRS. PRENTISS.

The Life and Letters of Elizabeth Prentiss, Author of "Stepping Heavenward." By the Rev. G. L. Prentiss, D.D.
London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1882.

MRS. PRENTISS was well known by her writings to the religious

public, and this book will tend to make her not only more widely known but more highly esteemed. The cheery tone of *Stepping Heavenward* rings out on every page of the biography. Dr. Prentiss would have done wrong if he had withheld from the religious world such a record of devotion—devotion of all kinds, filial, conjugal, parental, philanthropic, and above all Christian—as this book contains.

Mrs. Prentiss was highly favoured in her birth and early surroundings. A daughter of Dr. Payson, her educational advantages were considerable, while her father's house was the resort of scholars and men of culture. Her marriage introduced her to some of the best circles of the Presbyterian Church; and as she was a good correspondent, her letters furnish a series of pictures of American life hardly anywhere else to be met with, and very different from those we encounter in the pages of foreign visitors. The main interest centres, as it ought to do, in Mrs. Prentiss herself, a soul of rare endowments, overflowing with sympathy toward all around her, and combining in an extraordinary degree the apparently opposite qualities of exuberant wit and deep spirituality. Some critics have complained of the profusion of the feast provided for them, but we cannot endorse their criticism: there is such freshness, picturesqueness, simplicity, in the book that he must be a very prosaic reader indeed that can easily get tired of it, and the multiplicity and occasional smallness of the details only gives naturalness to the whole.

LIFE OF MRS. LEGGE.

A Life of Consecration. Memorials of Mrs. Mary Legge. By one of her Sons. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1883.

IN Mrs. Legge a more homely personality confronts us, also the wife of a minister, but leading a very different life from that of her vivacious American sister. Mrs. Legge's story is that of a long battle with adverse fortune, waged with the indomitable hardihood that is inspired by deep convictions of duty. Her lot was cast in the Eastern counties, where her husband spent the whole of a long and laborious ministerial career, sowing on most unfriendly soil and content to reap but a scanty harvest. Mrs. Legge was an admirable help-meet, managing the affairs of a large household,—which for many years comprised a number of students for the ministry,—educating her family, and cultivating her own mind with an energy truly remarkable. Her letters, mainly addressed to her children, display an intelligent interest in many subjects besides those which most naturally inspire them. Though necessarily void of much incident, the life of Mrs. Legge was well worth writing, and we have pleasure in commending it

to our readers as the memorial of one who might be truly termed a model pastor's wife.

WORDSWORTH'S SHAKESPEARE.

Shakespeare's Historical Plays, Roman and English, with Revised Text, Introductions, and Notes Glossarial, Critical and Historical. By Charles Wordsworth, D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrew's. Three Volumes. Blackwood and Sons. 1883.

THESE three volumes form the first instalment of what will no doubt be in future honourably known as "Wordsworth's Shakespeare," and are the result of an attempt to "edit the twelve historical plays of Shakespeare in a thoroughly readable form for families and students." The task has not been lightly undertaken: it has been before the author's mind for twenty years, being suggested by the need he felt for a work better adapted for general reading than the ordinary expurgated editions of Shakespeare. Besides passages expunged on the score of indelicacy, such "peccant redundancies" have been removed as appeared objectionable on account of obscurity, doubtful allusion, quibbling, excessive buffoonery, slipshod diction, or bombast,—a wide field for action in such an author as Shakespeare, and requiring to be worked with great care, if all parties are to be satisfied. Conceding the right to such procedure—it is an age of revision—we cannot complain of the way in which the editor has accomplished his task. The Clarendon Press Series will "bear him hard," to quote a thoroughly Shakespearian expression; but outside the range of schools and competitive examinations these volumes will probably have a circulation befitting their merit, and this most recent attempt to popularise the writings of "the myriad-minded man" will meet with deserved success.

The type and binding are, we need hardly add, altogether worthy of the eminent firm who have undertaken the publication.

DOBSON'S FIELDING.

English Men of Letters: "Fielding." By Austin Dobson. London. Macmillan and Co.

WE doubt whether it is wise to add lives like Fielding's to the series. Interest of its own it has none. Mr. Dobson has corrected many details and done all that can be done by industry and a clear style, but even he cannot make bricks without straw. The sole interest of Fielding is in connection with his writings, and even for these we cannot wish an unlimited circulation. Fielding

may have been the "robust and masculine genius" Mr. Dobson speaks of; "Joseph Andrews," "Jonathan Wild," "Tom Jones," "Amelia" may deserve all the praise he bestows; but morality, we are thankful to say, still counts for something in the world. We are willing to accept the biographer's own estimate on this point. We wish to use no stronger epithets than "recklessly immodest," "unbridled license" applied to some of Fielding's plays; these are enough to condemn any writer, whatever his intellectual qualities. Unfortunately Fielding's works were but too faithful a reflection of his own life. We are astonished at the following sentence of the biographer's: "That Henry Fielding was wild and reckless in his youth it would be idle to contest;—indeed it is an intelligible, if not a necessary consequence of his physique and his temperament." We can only characterise the opinion of the last sentence as monstrous and mischievous in the extreme. Daniel Macmillan, whose memoirs so many have lately read with delight, would scarcely have endorsed such a sentiment. It may be true that Fielding's "pet antipathy" was "hypocrisy." But hypocrisy is not the only sin in the world. As an author, Fielding was guilty of sins quite as worthy of reprobation as hypocrisy. But even apart from this feature, there is nothing in Fielding's life to make it worth telling at length. The incidents strung together are quite barren of interest or moral.

SIDGWICK'S POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The Principles of Political Economy. By Henry Sidgwick, Author of "The Methods of Ethics." London: Macmillan and Co.

THE time had come for an elaborate treatise like this. Economical writers like Mill, Jevons, Cairns, Macleod, had put forward widely divergent views on the cardinal points of the science, views on which ordinary students were little able to decide. Mr. Sidgwick comes, and in his clear, calm, judicial style, compares, discusses, and adjudicates upon the conflicting theories and arguments. In our judgment the treatise is one of the very best, if not the best, on the subject. The plan is comprehensive, the language precise and clear, the tone impartial, the line taken on all disputable points moderate. Simply as an exercise in reasoning, or a model of direct exposition, the work is an admirable study. In relation to the subject matter, its merits are just as high. The treatment is as thorough as the variety of topics allowed. If a certain amount of haze is often allowed to rest upon the final conclusions, this is due either to the nature of the subject or the present stage of research. The temper of the whole work is in close conformity with the author's language respecting the possibility and value of

definitions on some questions. On p. 52 he says, "The economists who have given most attention to the matter seem to me commonly to fall into two opposite errors at the same time. They underrate the importance of *seeking* for the best definition of each cardinal term, and they overrate the importance of *finding* it. The truth is—as most readers of Plato know, only it is a truth difficult to retain and apply,—that what we gain by discussing a definition is often but slightly represented in the superior fitness of the formula that we ultimately adopt; it consists chiefly in the greater clearness and fulness in which the characteristics of the matter to which the formula refers have been brought before the mind in the process of seeking for it." The spirit of this just remark pervades the entire volume. The reader will find no exact definition of those most abstruse subjects—Value, Wealth, Capital; but after reading Mr. Sidgwick's chapters his knowledge will have attained "greater clearness and fulness."

At the outset Mr. Sidgwick discusses the question whether the subject is to be regarded as a science or an art, a mere generalisation of facts or an enunciation of rules of conduct. In reality it is both, a science first and an art afterwards. The first two books treat the subject on its scientific side, under the two heads of Production and Distribution. Under the first head the reader will find such questions discussed as Value, Wealth, Capital; under the second such questions as Exchange, Value, International Values, Money, Interest, Rent, Wages general and particular, Monopoly and Combination. Into this part of the work the writer has thrown all his strength. Any one who thinks that he understands such plain things as Money, Capital, Rent, will speedily find himself undeceived on reading these chapters. Every definition set up is at once shown to be defective. Thus, after canvassing the various definitions of money that have been given, the writer says, "Still, under existing circumstances, the distinction between metallic money and banker's obligations—especially in a community that abstains from inconvertible paper—remains fundamentally important; and I should have no objection to restrict the term money to the former, if any short word, sanctioned by usage, could be found for the whole medium of exchange. Since however this is not the case, it seems best to use 'money' in the wider signification which it has in the money market, and refer to metallic money as 'coin.'" But even this definition is not wide enough to cover all cases. Bullion, not coin, is the medium of commerce. Some government and railway bonds are shown to come under the denomination of money. Many thorny points emerge in connection with capital. For example, are a manufacturer's uninvested money and his stock part of his capital? Mill's view is that "the distinction between capital and not capital lies in the mind of the capitalist—in his will to employ them for

one purpose rather than the other." On this Mr. Sidgwick remarks, "But granting that it is the intention of the owner of wealth, rather than the consequences of his acts, which determines whether that wealth is or is not capital; it yet seems more according to analogy to regard the wealth as becoming capital, not when the owner's intention is formed, but when it is executed." If so, it is not intention merely which makes wealth into capital. Another difficult point is the relation of land to capital. "English economists generally agree in excluding land from their definition of capital." Yet Mr. Sidgwick thinks that "a fundamental distinction between land and capital, extending throughout the whole range of economic discussion, must be abandoned." When capital is considered from the individual's point of view, it includes land; when considered from the community's point of view, land forms no part of it.

The third book, which contemplates Political Economy as an art, evidently opens up a wide field. Mr. Sidgwick wisely limits himself to one section of the field, the relations of government to the question in hand, and even this section he treats rather in the way of suggestion than of exhaustive discussion. It is almost needless to say that on such subjects as Protection, Communism, and the whole question of government intervention or non-intervention, he has much to say that will repay attentive study. As one reads his arguments for and against, the instantly recurring thought is that there is much to be said on both sides. The decision generally turns on practical, rather than theoretical, grounds. Thus, in reply to the question, "how far government may legitimately go in preventing acts that are not directly or necessarily harmful, on the ground that they are likely in some indirect way to have harmful consequences to other persons besides the agent," he says, "The question would be generally admitted to be one of degree; and it does not appear to me that the answer to it in concrete cases can reasonably be decided by any broad general formula; but rather that every case must be dealt with on its own merits, after carefully weighing the advantages and drawbacks of intervention." So again as to patents he remarks, "It seems hardly possible to frame the regulations of a patent law on any other principle than that of carefully balancing opposite expedencies." We wish we had space to quote the sensible comments on "unearned increment" (p. 509). Such increment, if it does not belong to the landowners, still less belong to the tenant. The only party that can put in a claim is the community. But two objections lie against the enforcing of such a claim. First, the fact that "at least a great part of the future unearned increment of rent is already discounted in the present market price of land;" and secondly, the difficulty, we may say the impossibility, of separating the unearned from the earned increment.

The earnest study of a reasoned, solid treatise like the present one will inevitably tend to the formation of intelligent and moderate views on some of the burning questions of the day.

COPYRIGHT AND PATENTS.

Copyright and Patents for Inventions. Vol. II. Edinburgh :
T. and T. Clark.

Now that the question of patents is under consideration, this volume cannot but be full of importance for those interested. The compiler calls it "a thing of shreds," but the shreds are exceedingly valuable, consisting as they do of opinions by experienced students, Reports of Commons and Lords' Committees, Royal Commissions, and special societies. The compiler is no friend of the principle of patents, preferring the public interests to private monopolies. Even if such monopolies are allowed he would give them a more limited range than they have enjoyed hitherto. But whether he is right or wrong in his own views is immaterial. In the body of the work (a body of considerable bulk) he has given the reader abundant materials for confirming or correcting the opinions intimated in the preface.

END OF VOL. LX.

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